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ETHNOLOGICAL
MAP OF
ASIA
KIPTSCHAK
JAGATAI
TURKISTAN
EASTERN TURKISTAN
CHINA
ARABIA
INDIAN OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
Bay of Bengal
EXPLANATION

RESEARCHES

INTO THE

PHYSICAL HISTORY

OF

MANKIND.

70000

BY

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SOME apology is due to the readers of this work for the late appearance of the present volume. The author has only to say, that the delay has arisen from circumstances connected with the publication that were not within his control. The manuscript was nearly ready for the press two years ago.

It may be proper to add, that no similar delay is likely to occur in the appearance of the fifth volume, which will complete the work.

The delay has been, in one respect, fortunate, since it has enabled the author to avail himself, for the ethnological map which accompanies this volume, of the systematic view given in the late work of Baron Alexander von Humboldt, of the physical geography of Asia, and the positions of the great table-lands and mountain-chains of that continent,—circumstances which have often determined or modified the migratory movements of nations.

Of the utility of this map in illustration of many passages there is no need of saying anything at present. The reader will speedily become aware of it. It may be proper to observe, that the sites of the great mountain-chains have been laid down according to M. de Humboldt, and the positions of places and tribes from the maps of D'Ohsson and Klaproth.

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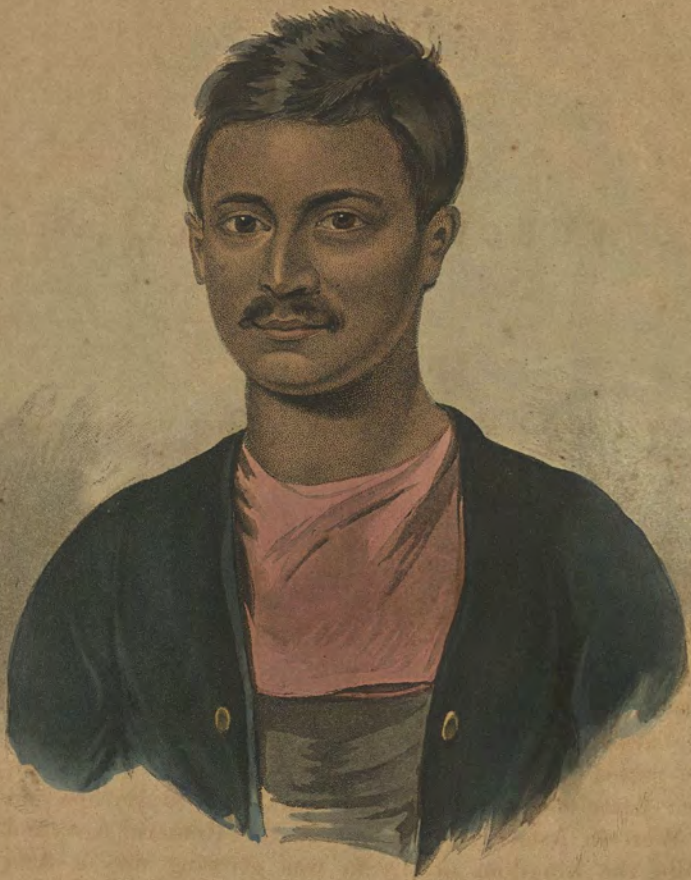

Ram Ruttun
A Brahman

ETHNOGRAPHY

OF

EUROPE AND ASIA.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE ANCIENT AND MODERN POPULATION OF IRAN, OR THE MEDO-PERSIAN EMPIRE, FROM THE TIGRIS TO THE INDUS.

SECTION 1.—*General Observations.—Outline of the Physical Geography of Iran.*

THE first appearance of the ancient Medes and Persians, during the sixth century before our era, on the theatre of human affairs, was almost as sudden as that of the Hunns, or Turks, or Mongoles, in a later age. Shortly before the period when they gained the mastery of the world, their name seems to have been unknown to Europe and to Western Asia. The Greeks of the Homeric age, and while the kingdom of Lydia was growing up in Asia Minor, appear never to have heard of the Persians; nor have we any proof that their existence was known, except by the predictions of the Prophets, to the ancient Hebrews. Even in the historical records referring to preceding times, which the Greeks afterwards found in the East, there is no trace of an ancient empire, or even of an independent nation, in the countries between the Tigris and the Indus, dating its existence many generations before Cyrus. The Assyrian Kingdom of Ninus and Semiramis and their successors is said to have reached

to the borders of India. Whence then came that great and powerful race, who suddenly overturned all the dynasties of Asia, subdued the civilised parts of Africa, and of Europe? Were they one, perhaps the first, of those great swarms, who, from the remote regions of High Asia, have poured themselves down in different ages to overrun the Eastern World; or had they been, as it is generally supposed, the primeval inhabitants of some region in the vast extent of Iran, who, like the Arabs in later times, after remaining for ages in quiet obscurity, suddenly emerged, as if moved by some inward impulse, and, like that people, became almost universal conquerors? In order to answer this question, and various inquiries which are connected with it, we must enter into some investigations.

Before we proceed to the history of the Persian race, it will be advisable to take a brief survey of the geographical features of the country which they inhabited.

Iran, the country of the Arian, or Medo-Persian race, is, for the most part, a plateau, or high table-land. It is bounded on the east by the long valley through which the Indus, after penetrating the barrier of the Himálayan chain, takes its course from north to south; and on the west by the channels of the Assyrian rivers, and by the Persian Gulph. This high region forms a four-sided figure, nearly that of a parallelogram, but having its greatest length on the northern border, which faces the Caspian Sea and the plains of Turkistan, and its greatest breadth towards the east and the valley of the Indus. The western border of Iran seems shortened where the land is contracted between the southern extremity of the Caspian and the northern end of the Persian Gulph; while the chains of bordering mountains, taking on this side an oblique direction from north-west to south-east, namely, from Tabriz, or even from Mount Ararat, towards Ormuz and the corner of the Persian Gulph, shorten, by one third, the southern side of the rectangle, or cause the whole outline of this region to assume the form of an irregular trapezium. The whole extent of the space

included between these boundaries is from 70 to 80 thousand square geographical miles, or about one-tenth part of the whole surface of Asia. A traveller who takes his way from the low valley of the Indus and traverses the eastern border formed by the long chain of the mountains of Soliman, or one who, from the north and from the plains of Turkistan, follows the path of many a nomadic tribe through Ferghana and Badakshan, and passes the Jaxartes and the Oxus, and the borders of Samarkand and Bokhara or of Balkh towards the northern boundary, enters in either direction on an Upland raised between three and four thousand feet in average elevation above the lower country whence he commenced his journey. The Iranian table-land is insulated or surrounded by low tracts, except on the angle which points towards the north-east. In that quarter it is joined by a great isthmus of high land to the lofty region of Eastern Turkistan and Tibet, and the greater plateau of High Asia. This isthmus, as it may be termed, is formed by the Alpine heights of the Hindu-Khúsh, or Indian Caucasus, which reach above the level of perpetual snow. The northern boundary of Iran, if we trace it from its eastern extremity, stretches westward from the Hindu-Khúsh towards Bamian and Herat, along the northern limit of Khorasan and Kohestan; it subsides on the borders of Balkh and Herat into hills of moderate elevation,* but rises again further to the westward, in Hyrcania, into the heights of Elburz and the snowy tops of Demavend; thence reaching, still in the same direction, Georgia, it joins itself to the very nucleus of Mount Taurus. The Imaus and the Paropamisus of the ancients, were parts of this series of mountainous elevations, and were regarded by Strabo and Pliny as a great ramification or northern extension of Mount Taurus.† This northern

* Ritter's Erdkunde. See, also, Lt. A. Conolly's Narrative of an Overland Journey to India, vol. 1, p. 227.

† Plinii H. N. 5. 27.

The chain of Taurus was, by the early Greeks, before the expedition of Alexander, confined to Asia Minor. Arrian, but particularly Strabo, following Eratosthenes and Pliny, gives it a much greater extent, and describes it as rising from the coasts of Pamphylia and Cilicia, and reaching, by the Hyrcanian or

border faces the midland hollow of the Asiatic continent which contains the Caspian and Aralian Lakes, and the beds of the Oxus and the Jaxartes. The low countries of Mazanderan and Ghilan on the shore of the Caspian Sea, are placed beyond and below the northern side of the great Upland. On the western side, where Iran is contracted into its narrowest breadth between the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulph, in the meridian of Hamadan or Ecbatana, the Alpine tracts of Armenia and Kurdistan approach its borders; and here the plateau is broken into chains of hills separated by deep hollows or valleys, such as those which contain the Kisilirmak, and the tributary streams of the Araxes and the Tigris, and the mountain-lakes of Van and Urumiyeh. It loses here the level character of its surface, and rises into lofty heights in the mountain-land of the ancient Medes and the modern Kurds. The western and southern sides of the Iranian Upland are bounded by a vast series of parallel mountain chains, which* run out from, or are a prolongation of,

Caspian Sea, to Mount Imaus, which Strabo expressly declares to have been the termination of the chain of Taurus. Pliny likewise mentions the northern chains of Persia as parts of the same Taurus, which he terms "Numerosis nominibus insignis. Imaus primâ parte dictus, mox Emodus, Paropamisus, Circuis, Chambades, Paryadres, Niphates, Taurus, atque ubi se quoque exsuperat, Caucasus."— Strabo, 15. p. 689. Pliny, H. N., 5. 27. Ritter is the first modern writer who has traced these extensive notices to the works of the ancient geographers. See his "Iranische-Welt," s. 550.

* A late eminent writer on the physical geography of these regions, which he has himself visited, and of which he has studied in the country the geographical structure, has deduced, apparently without any acquaintance with the writings of Professor Ritter, from his own observations compared with those of others, a result exactly coinciding with that of M. Ritter, and strikingly confirming his general and systematic views. The following is a note appended by Mr. Ainsworth, to the account of Kurdistan, given in a late number of the Transactions of the Royal Geographical Society :—

"It might be added, as one of the great peculiarities of the mountains of Kurdistan and of the Persian Apennines, that they do not constitute, as is usually the case, chains which rise towards the centre and fall towards the sides; but a country of mountains gradually rising towards an upland beyond. But this is also the case with Taurus, where the waters spring from the northern declivities, as at the Gölek Böghäz and the pass of Pelverreh, and great rivers, as

the Southern Taurus, making a great oblique sweep from the north-west towards the south-east. The formation of this great chain is such as to render all the south-western border of the plateau a series of longitudinal valleys and successive elevations, by which the traveller, who passes from the lower lands of Khuzistan, Irak-Arabi, Algezira, or from the low countries of Assyria, after crossing the Tigris, towards the interior, has to ascend over a series of long terrasses or mountain-steps, which are separated by the courses of rivers or longitudinal valleys; but over which he mounts successively to a higher elevation. To this may be compared, on a small scale, the ascents and valleys of the Jura, or of the Sierra Morena in Spain, or the Lange Kloof in South Africa, or the valleys of Bhútan in Eastern Asia. Such is the description of the country, given by Pliny, who says that the ascent into the interior of Persia from the coast, was compared by the ancients to a great ladder:—"Quâ vero ipsa, scilicet regio maritima, subit ad Medos, '*Climax Megale*' appellatur locus, arduo montis ascensu, per gradus, introitu angusto ad Persepolin, caput regni dirutum ab Alexandro."* Further eastward, in Mekran, the southern border of the Iranian plateau presents its front immediately against the Indian Ocean. The eastern boundary consists almost uniformly of long mountain-chains, which rise from the south-eastern angle of Belúchistan, and fronting the valley of the Indus, stretch northward, taking the name of Soliman, towards the highest regions of Kábúl and Kafiristan.†

the Seihun, Geïhun, Euphrates, and Tigris, find their way through the chains. In the Kurdistan mountains we find the greater and lesser Zab presenting similar phenomena, and the same is the case with regard to the Diyallah in Luristan. The elevation of the great Persian Upland, east of these mountains, is, according to Fraser, at Zergan, 4500, at Isfahan 4000 (Hamadan is evidently higher), at Tabriz, according to Brown, 4500, and from several observations by myself, at the Lake of Urumiyeh 4300 feet. The sources of the Zab, according to Col. Monteith, are at an elevation of 7500 feet, which will be found to agree with the thermometer level."— Journal of the Roy. Geog. Soc. of London., Vol. 11, p. 22.

* Plin. *H. N.* b. c. 29. † Ritter, Iran-plateau, 712.

The plateau of Iran varies in actual elevation. The south-eastern corner, Belúchistan, is a high country, and the table-land of Kelát rises, according to Pottinger's estimate, to the elevation of 8000 feet; at Kábúl the eastern border has still the elevation of 6000 feet; towards the interior and the inland lake of Zareh, and the country of its tributary streams, and the valley of the Hindwend, and the desert plains which surround the lake, the level gradually subsides, but not so far as to render this region one of low or depressed surface. Accurate measurements are wanting in this eastern region of Iran. The elevations of its western parts are better known, chiefly through the estimates of Mr. Fraser, which have been systematised by Oltmann and Knorr. From these we obtain what Ritter terms a profile of the surface of the plateau, in a line from Abushír through Shiraz, Isfahan, Tehran, and thence eastward to Nishapúr and Meshed, which gives us the medium height between Isfahan and Tehran, 3900 feet. Above this point, particular tracts rise 1000 feet higher. Mount Demavend exceeds the average elevation by 7000 feet, while no part is depressed 1000 feet below the general level.*

SECTION II.—*Of three different historical sources of information respecting the Old Persian Race.—Principal discrepancies.*

The people who formed the principal inhabitants of the extensive region now described, are one of the great branches of the Indo-European family of nations. Intermediate between the Indians and the Greeks, they resembled both those races in some of their principal traits of organisation, but yet constituted a peculiar tribe marked by decided characters of their own. A distinct people from the earliest ages, they preserved among themselves an ancient poetical theogony and a mythical history of their origin, and a sacred literature handed down from early times, of which the Magi, a sacerdotal caste corres-

* The greater part of this outline is taken from Professor Karl Ritter's admirable "Uebersicht des Iran-plateaus." Erdk-v-Asien. B. 6.

ponding in many respects to the Brahmans of the Hindoos, were the guardians and depositories. Remains of this ancient literature, and a part of the sacred books of the Magi, have been discovered by European scholars in the hands of the Parsees, in India, who are the descendants of the ancient Persians; but although the authenticity of these books is now generally allowed, a great difference of opinion yet exists as to the era of their origin, and even as to the country where they were composed. By some it has been maintained that the compositions, attributed to Zoroaster or to his followers, were written during the reigns of the celebrated princes of Persia, the successors of Cyrus, in Susa, or Persepolis, or at least in the Persia known to the ancient Greeks: others refer them to an era long antecedent to the age of Cyrus, and suppose them to have been composed in Bactria, or in a country beyond the limits of Persia. Although these documents afford us some valuable information respecting the ancient mythology, and the language of the old Persian race, yet the history of the people, as is obvious from what has been said, still requires elucidation which it has not obtained from this quarter.

In attempting to explore the history of Persia, there are two classes of writers from whom we may expect to derive some information. These are the Greek writers who lived near, in respect of time, to the events which we have to investigate, and the native historians of Persia, born in the country, but at a much later period.

The Greek history of Persia, as we have observed, scarcely begins before the age of the great Cyrus. The father of that prince was Cambyses, probably a chieftain of Parsis, or Farsistan, of whom we know nothing but his name and country. The royal clan, or family, were the Achæmenidæ. According to some accounts, Cyrus was the third in succession from the foundation of the monarchy by a Median warrior.* Even the history of

* *Μηδος γαρ ἠν ὁ πρωτος ἡγεμων στρατου,*
Τριτος δ'ἀπ' αὐτου Κυρος, εὐδαιμων ἀνηρ.
Æschylus, in Pers.

the Medes goes back but a few reigns in the account given by Herodotus, the most authentic that could be obtained by him from the people themselves. Herodotus professes to trace the Median kingdom from its origin, when the people first assembled under a political government, and chose Deioces for a king, where a king had never reigned before.

Far different is the account given of the ancient state of Media and Persia in the works of the oriental historians, which some modern writers, following Sir William Jones, have preferred to those transmitted from the Greeks. According to these writers, the Achæmenidæ, or the Kaianian dynasty, as they are termed, were the restored descendants of an ancient royal house, which had reigned over Iran for centuries in great splendour and magnificence, and whose martial achievements form a celebrated cyclus of oriental poetry. In order to form some idea of the credit due to these accounts, we must consider for a moment the circumstances under which they appear to have had their origin.

During the first century of the Hejira, the ruin and devastation which followed the victories of Omar seem to have swept away nearly all the fruits of intellectual culture in Persia, and to have exterminated the priesthood, who had been the depositories of ancient literature. Some centuries appear to have elapsed before the conquerors and the subdued coalesced into one people, and the natives of Persia, metamorphosed into Moslims, began with a new mind to cultivate their mixed language, and to embellish it with the flowers of poetry. In the eastern court of the Ghaznevide Sultans, where the fortune of arms in a later period fixed the centre of power and of royal magnificence, on the borders of Afghánistan, the genius of Persian poetry, almost the only poetry that has existed among Mohammedan nations since the commencement of their era, first displayed itself. As the history of the Arabs and of the Khalifat, from whose ruins the new dynasty had just emerged, presented no inspiring themes, the great poet of Mahmoud's court chose for his subject

the wars of the primeval Persians. A very slender thread of ancient story, decorated by the gaudy ornaments of oriental poetry, in which no rules of artificial construction or unities of time or place, no regard to probability or the nature of things, prevented the fancy from soaring into the wildest regions of romance, was woven by Ferdusi into the splendid fictions of the Shahnameh, celebrating the exploits of heroes and magicians, the glories of the golden age of Iran, when Jemshid sat upon the royal throne of Istakhar, and Rustam fought against the warriors of Turan. A whole cyclus of poetical fictions came suddenly into existence in the east of Persia, more brilliant than the romance of Western Europe, and nearly coëval with, or not long posterior to, the stories of king Arthur and his court, or of the chivalry of Charlemagne. Certainly, the internal evidence of reality is as remote from the tales of the Shahnameh, as from those of Boyardo and Ariosto; and it is a singular instance of perversity of judgement or the love of paradox, that some writers of the present age should gravely pronounce the oriental history of Persia, which is only the Shahnameh reduced into a still more absurd form, to be more worthy of credit than the almost contemporary accounts left by the ancient Greeks. Only a few zealous admirers of oriental literature have indeed been carried thus far by their enthusiasm; but it is to be observed, that most modern writers on the ancient literature of Persia are contented to receive, on the credit of Ferdusi and Mirkhond, facts which are utterly at variance with all the accounts left by the classical writers of upper Asia; and these are facts of great importance in the history of the East.

One of the facts admitted on such authority, is the existence of a great and powerful monarchy in Iran before the age of the Achæmenidæ. According to the Mohammedan history of Persia, the Kaianians, who correspond with the Achæmenidæ of the Greeks, were, as I have said, but a second dynasty, who, after a period of national misfortunes and decline, re-established in its pristine splendour the throne of Iran. They were successors and remote

descendants of the illustrious Pishdadians, or lawgivers, who had reigned over the land for many ages before the great reverses which their power sustained. Persia recovered her ancient dominion and greatness in the third generation before Kai Khosru, or Cyrus the Great, with whom began the second line of monarchs. The existence of the earlier Persian monarchy seems to be generally looked upon as an historical fact, even by those who take a moderate and sober view of the credibility of eastern writers; but it is utterly irreconcilable with all that the Greeks have left respecting Persia and Assyria. The three first Kaianian princes were, evidently, Astyages, Darius the Mede, and Cyrus, under whom the power of the Medes and Persians became formidable to Babylon. Herodotus makes no mention of any Median or Persian monarchy, which had preceded that erected by Astyages and his ancestors. He virtually denies the fact by attributing the antiquity of 700 years to the dominion of the Assyrians. The same construction may be put on the silence of Xenophon. It is plain, from his account of the birth and fortunes of Cyrus that he knew nothing of a former empire over which the ancestors of his favourite hero had reigned with great splendour and power. A third Greek writer, a contemporary of Xenophon, who had enjoyed better opportunities than either of becoming acquainted with the history of Asia, was Ctesias, who resided in the centre of the Persian empire, and is supposed to have had access to the archives of the monarchy. Ctesias differs from Herodotus in many respects; but fully agrees with him in regard to the greater antiquity of the Assyrian compared with the Persian monarchy, and carries it much further. If his account is at all founded on truth, Persia was long subject to the Assyrians, who, in the time of Semiramis, had possession even of the eastern part, and carried on war with the princes of India. Without attaching a high degree of credit to the authority of Ctesias, we may presume that, residing as he did at Susa, and engaged in collecting information respecting the ancient history of the East, he must have heard the tradition of the existence of an earlier Persian

monarchy preceding that of the Assyrians, or at least coëval with it, and equally powerful, had any tradition of the kind existed during his time in Persia; and when he makes the Assyrian empire extend over all Upper Asia, he enables us to draw, with certainty, this conclusion:—that the ancient Persians had, in his times, no tradition of such a dynasty as the Pishdadian.*

But the true character of the stories which fill the Shahnameh and the Persian history of Mirkhond, can be determined with some degree of certainty, since the sources are probably yet extant whence the materials of these stories were derived.

There are passages in the Zendavesta containing the really ancient traditions referring to Kaiomorts and Jemshid, and some of the events noticed in the story of Ferdusi. It seems evident that these are the sole foundations on which the poet, who probably had a slight knowledge of the contents of the old Persian Scriptures, span out the thread of the Shahnameh. And how did he proceed? By metamorphosing ancient patriarchs, the first men, who fed their flocks like Abraham and Moses, and listened to the revelations of the Supreme Maker of the new earth, into kings and warriors, just as other Mohammedan writers transformed Solomon into a magician, and the early patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament into champions and men at arms.† The Zendish traditions have little in common

* A denunciation contained in the prophecies of Jeremiah has been adverted to, as proving the existence of a monarchy in Persia. It commences thus:—

"Ecce ego confringam arcum Aelam;
Et summam fortitudinem eorum."

* * * * *

"Et ponam solium meum in Aelam,
Et perdam inde reges et principes."*

But this prophecy was delivered during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and subsequently to the commencement of the dynasty of Kaianians or Achæmenidæ.

Justin records the existence of a Median or Persian monarchy, said to have been powerful in Asia before the era of the Scythian invasion. But it is plain that he founded his relation on that of Herodotus; and that his Persian monarchy was subsequent to Deioces.

† Strabo, Geography, p. 720.

with the stories of the Shahnameh, excepting a few names, and they appear to furnish a conclusive evidence against the existence of an ancient monarchy in the east of Persia prior to the Achæmenidæ.

A second opinion, which rests partly on the authority of the Mohammedan story, or on a prejudice taken up from that quarter, is the origin of Persian power and civilisation, and the seat of government, and of the Magian literature, in the remote East. It is now maintained, that Zoroaster and the early Magian priests, and the earliest sovereigns of Iran, had their abode not in Media, but in Balkh or ancient Bactria, or in some country to the northward of Khorasan, and beyond the boundaries of Persia. I shall have occasion to refer again to this hypothesis when considering the history of the Zendish literature, and the Magian religion. I only advert to it in this place as connected with my present subject. As Ferdusi lived in the East, at Ghizni, or Ghazna, he naturally was led to place the scene of his epos in the countries with which he and his readers were acquainted. Khorasan and Turan are the theatres which it might be supposed that he would choose for the adventures of Feridun and Rustam and Afrasiab. Even the successor of Cyrus, who must have been Cambyses, is made to hold his court in Balkh,—how truly every one knows. It may be suspected that the general representation given of Persian antiquity by the Shahnameh has had more influence on the judgement of some modern writers than they are fully aware. I allude to those who place the seat of the early Persian civilisation, and the Magian literature, not in Media or Persia, but in Balkh, and on the borders of Turkistan. I shall make some further observations on this hypothesis, which is maintained by some of the most learned oriental scholars of the present day.

Section III.—*Ethnological Investigation.*

As the records of historians carry us back with certainty to no very distant era in the subject of these researches,

we must have recourse to a different kind of investigation, namely, an inquiry into the languages, ancient monuments, and relics of early literature and mythology, which may throw light on the history of Iran and its ancient inhabitants.

Paragraph 1.—Name.—Topographical Divisions.—Languages.

The proper appellation of the ancient Median people, was Arians, or Ἄριοι.* This name appears to have included the whole Persian race, or the whole assemblage of nations who spoke dialects of the Median language. The Greek geographers lay down a region in the East, which they term Aria and Ariana, and which appears to have been co-extensive with the Iran of oriental writers. Its name first occurs in an extract from the Division of the Habitable World, by Eratosthenes.† In this, Ariana is termed the second great region after India. It is said to have had the form of a parallelogram, its eastern side being defined by the Indus, and its western, by a line drawn from the Caspian Gates to the extremity of Carmania, bordering on the Persian Gulph. Strabo gives to Ariana, which he also terms Aria, the same extent. He endeavours to define its boundaries with greater precision. He says, that Ariana had the same boundaries towards the north and south as India, namely, the Indian Ocean on one side, and the same chain of mountains on the other. He means to intimate that the same series of hills, which bounds India towards the north, is continued so as to form the northern border of Iran. "The eastern limit of Ariana," says Strabo, "is the river Indus, which separates it from India. The outline of the whole country is a quadrilateral figure, reaching from the Indus to an imaginary line drawn from the Caspian gates to Carmania. This seems to exclude from Ariana some of the western provinces of the Persian empire, as well as countries to the northward, inhabited by the same

* *Herod, lib. 7. c. 62.* † *Strabo, Geogr. lib. 2. p. 78. Ed. Casaub.*

people. But in an ethnological sense, the extent of the Arian country was, even according to Strabo, much wider; for that geographer expressly informs us, that the name of Ariani comprehended the Persians and Medes, as well as the northern Bactrians and Sogdians; and, he adds, what is very important as a proof, that all these nations spoke dialects of one language.* That the same name was recognised by the Persians themselves as the designation of their race, we know from other sources. In Pehlvi inscriptions on coins of the Sassanidæ, deciphered by M. Silvestre de Sacy, the princes of that dynasty are styled Kings of Kings, and Sovereigns of the Arii and Anarii, meaning Monarchs of Iran and countries beyond Iran.† The name of Airya, in Zend, according to M. Burnouf, corresponds with the Aria of the Greeks.‡ In Pehlvi it is Eeriene, and Eeriene Veedjo or the "Pure Iran" is in the Pehlvi parts of the old Persian Scriptures, the primitive seat of the Arian race, the offspring of Kaiomorts.

We collect from the evidence of these remarks the ancient name of the Arian race, and the fact that the whole people of Iran spoke one language. Through the history of this language we shall be enabled to proceed further into that of the race. For this purpose we must begin from modern times.

Paragraph 2.—Of the Modern Persian dialects.

Perhaps there is no modern writer whose opinion would be likely to carry greater weight, in regard to the groupe of languages belonging to the modern Persians and the Persians of the middle ages, than Herr Von Hammer. In a memoir by that learned oriental scholar, on the language and literature of Persia, I find some remarks which are important to my purpose.

* Εἰσι Περσαι, Μηδοι, Βακτριοι προσαρκτοι και Σογδιανοι πως ὁμογλωττοι παρα μικρον.—Strabo, p. 724.

† Silv. de Sacy, Mem. sur les Inscr, de Nakschi Roustam. Ritter, Erdkunde, v. As. B. 6. s. 23

‡ The name of Airya, in Zend, corresponds with the Aria and Ariana of the Greek geographers. It is Eeriene, in Pelhvi.

Von Hammer begins by admitting what indeed nobody will deny,—that the modern Persian belongs to the great family of languages, which he terms, Indo-Sclavo-Germanic. He remarks further, that it approaches more nearly than any other Asiatic idiom to the Germanic and Teutonic languages.

We must distinguish, he says, the Persian from the Median or Arian language; he means the Zend, an idiom which, though prevalent in Persia as a sacred language (witness the Magian books, and the cuneiform inscriptions), is yet distinct from the Persian, and has few direct relations with it.

We must here observe, that this opinion of Von Hammer is clearly contradictory to that of the learned men who have made the Zend language their peculiar study; they all find, as we shall perceive, extensive relations between the ancient and modern languages of the Persian empire.

We learn, says Von Hammer, from ancient historical notices, that there were two distinct dialects in Persia from remote times, the eastern or Deri, and the western, or Pehlvi. The Deri was spoken beyond the Oxus, and at the foot of the Paropamisus, at Balkh, Meron, in Badakshan, at Bokhara, and Bamian. The Pehlvi was in use in Media proper, in the towns of Rei, Hamadan or Ecbatana, Isfahan, Nehawend, and at Tabriz, the capital of Aderbeijan. Pehlvi prevailed till the conquest of the Moslims. It was the language of the historical books from which Ferdusi drew the relations of the Shahnameh, of some inscriptions such as that of Nakshi Rustam, and Pehlvi legends are read on the coins of the Sassanidæ.* Ferdusi mentions no other old Persian than the Pehlvi; and no written monument, anterior to the conquest, is known in any other language, or character. From this remark we shall find that the Zend and the language of the cuneiform inscriptions are exceptions.

* The Pehlvi, and the characters of Sassanide coins, gave way after the conquest, to the Cufic, which were used till the 5th age of the Hejira, and are found in the oldest Persian MS. in Europe. This is a medical dictionary, by the son of the poet Esedi, A. D. 1055.

Lexicographers speak of five other languages in the list of Persian idioms, thus making seven. To these seven mentioned in the preface to the Farhang Jehángiri, Von Hammer adds five, completing the number of dialects known in the empire of Iran. They are as follows : —

1. Pehlvi, the western dialect, the most ancient.
2. Deri,* the oldest eastern dialect known, the language of the court of Ghizni.
3. The dialect of Khorasan, especially of Herat and Tous.
4. Soghdi, the idiom of Transoxiana, of Samarkand, and Soghad.
5. Segzi, the dialect of Sedjistan. This is, according to Von Hammer, the idiom of the Beluches, or natives of Belúchistan.
6. Zawouli, in Zawoulistan, or Zabulistan.
7. Parsi, originally the dialect of the province, of Fars.† This is the basis of the modern Persian.
8. Khowaresmi, spoken in Khowaresm, especially at Khiva.
9. Ghilani, in Ghilan.
10. Kazwini, in Kazwin.
11. Kermani, in Kerman.
12. Tabaristâni, in Tabaristan.‡

"Two languages spoken by principal nations on the borders of Persia, namely, the language of the Kurds and that of the Afgháns, cannot be termed Persian dialects, because, although they contain a great number of Persian words, the ground-work of these languages is not Persian."

He observes that the Persian language bears a great affinity in structure to the German. This appears in the elements of articulation, which coincide; in the plural ending an for en, as sisteran, for schwestern; in a re-

* Von Hammer supposes the idiom of the Desatir, for the authenticity of which he contends, to be an old form of Deri, perhaps spoken at Bamian.

† Of which Shiraz is the capital.

‡ Professor Rask distributes these dialects somewhat differently. He thinks that Deri was the court language of Fars, the south-western province.—Some remarks on the Zendavesta, by Professor Rasmus Rask, Tr. of Roy. As. Soc. of London, vol. 3.

semblance of nearly all the formative terminations, such as *bar*, and *keit*. The structure of Persian verbs is also very similar to that of the German and English. With respect to the agreement in words, it is observed that nearly one-third of the whole stock of Persian words are replaced by similar words in the Germanic dialects. The whole number of Persian words is twelve thousand; of these nearly four thousand are common to the Persian and the German idioms.

Paragraph 3.—Of the Pehlvi and Zend.

The Pehlvi, or a dialect nearly allied to it, was probably the language of Persia during the age of the Sassanidæ. Pehlvi characters appear on the coins of princes of that dynasty, and in inscriptions on monuments erected during their reign. The Pehlvi appears to have been the only written language for many centuries previous to the Mohammedan conquest. The priests had in their hands sacred books, in an older idiom, now termed Zend, but the versions and commentaries, by the aid of which the original texts were understood, were in the Pehlvi. When the Persian language is mentioned by writers of the Byzantine empire, it is probable that the Pehlvi is always meant. This language differs much from the older idiom of the Persians, which is an Indo-Germanic dialect, whilst the Syrian or Semitic language has contributed in great part to the formation of the Pehlvi. It has the characteristics of languages introduced by foreign races. The words of which it consists are truncated, like those of the modern dialects of southern Europe, and are nearly destitute of grammatical terminations.*

The Pehlvi was the language of the middle ages of Persia. How long previous to the time of the Sassanidæ it came into use is uncertain; but at some remote period it seems to have superseded the Zend. There are, likewise, proofs of the earlier existence of another ancient language, which has been termed the Persepolitan. It is the idiom of the cuneiform inscriptions which have been discovered on the

* Burnouf, Nouv. Journal Asiatique, Num. 3.

walls of temples in Persepolis, and engraven on various monuments of the ancient Persian and Median empire. These are sources from which some information may be obtained important to my present inquiry. I shall begin with some account of the language of the Zendavesta.

Zend is the name given to the idiom in which the original texts of the Zendavesta are written, though it is not certain, as M. E. Burnouf has remarked, that this term properly belongs to the language of those ancient compositions.* The Zendavesta is a part of the old sacred scriptures of the Magi, commonly attributed to Zoroaster and preserved by the fire worshippers of Persia at the time when they were driven out of the country by the armies of the Caliphs. The exiles were principally priests and persons of the higher class, who adhered to their ancient superstition, while the mass of the people embraced Islàm. They took refuge in the eastern borders of Persia, where they were called Guebres; while others, who went towards India, and settled in Guzerat and Surat, had the name of Parsees. The scriptures of the Parsees were little known to Europeans,† till the enterprising Anquétil Du Perron procured several manuscripts of them in Guzerat, and made a translation of their contents, by the aid of the Mobeds, or Parsí priests, which he published in Paris, in 1771, in three quarto volumes. The genuineness and real antiquity of this work were for some time a matter of controversy; but since the investigation of Professor Rask, who travelled into the East partly with that object, and since the attention of

* Burnouf, Commentaire sur le Yaçna.—Avant-propos.

† Our learned countryman, Hyde, mentions the Zendavesta; and he had among his manuscripts parts of it, as the Izeschné or Yaçna, and the Néaeschs; and one of his manuscripts contained the Zend alphabet. The Vendidad Sadé, containing the Vendidad, the Izeschné, and the Vispered, which are the principal parts of the Zendavesta, was procured by Geo. Bouchier, an Englishman, at Surat, and brought to England in 1723. In 1754, Anquétil du Perron saw at Paris, four leaves of the Vendidad, copied from the Vendidad Sadé, at Oxford, and he resolved to go in search of the work.

Hyde, in his account of the ancient languages of Persia, seems to have depended much on the Farhang Jehángiri.

M. Burnouf and others have been devoted to the inquiry, few persons have entertained any doubt upon the subject. The writer last mentioned has given the best account of the Zendavesta, and he has already published a critical and learned commentary on a part of one of the books, of which the compilation consists. It appears that the Zend (that is the original text), is in a very ancient dialect, which had long been unintelligible to the Parsees, and even to their Mobeds, or priests. At a remote, but unknown period, the meaning of this text had been transferred into a version and commentary in a language of later date, and probably at that time a living dialect; this last is the Pehlvi language. It is much doubted whether even this version and commentary are now fully comprehended by the Parsees; yet it was from them, with the aid of the Mobeds, that Anquétil du Perron made his French version. This version is, at best, neither an exact representation of the original Zend text, nor of the Pehlvi translation. Different parts of the texts have been retranslated of late, particularly the Yaçna, which is now in the process of publication, by M. E. Burnouf. For effecting such a correction, until lately, there appeared to be no adequate means. Nothing was known in the Zend language except the works translated by Anquétil du Perron and a short vocabulary of Zend and Pehlvi words appended to the publication. The principal resource which has enabled M. Burnouf to correct the version of the Yaçna, is a translation into Sanskrit made about three hundred years ago, by a Parsí Mobed, named Neriosengh, at Bombay. It was made from the Pehlvi version; but such is the affinity of the Zend and Sanskrit languages, that an acquaintance with the latter has enabled M. Burnouf to undertake a restoration of the original Zend text, and, if we may use the expression, resuscitate a language which had been a dead one, in the full sense of the term; that is, an idiom which no human being had understood for many centuries.

The recognition of the Zend language has already led to further results, which are very important in their bearing upon the history of the Persian race. In the first place, it has greatly facilitated the steps which have been gained to-

wards the decyphering of the Persepolitan and other inscriptions found in Persia. These inscriptions contain, apparently, records of ancient historical events. Secondly, this discovery has served to illustrate the relations which the old Persian or Arian race bore to other branches of the Indo-European stem. It also throws some light on the obscure subject of the old Magian doctrines, which are supposed to be one of the most ancient forms of Pagan theology. On this latter inquiry, I shall make some remarks in a future section. I shall conclude the present, which is devoted to merely the philological part of my subject, by bringing together the most important particulars relative to the Zend language, and its relations, and by a very brief and summary statement of the facts discovered in the examination of cuneiform inscriptions.

Paragraph 4.—Relations of the Zend to the dialects of Persia and to the other Indo-European languages.

It has been a matter of dispute when, or in what province of the Persian empire, the dialect preserved in the Zendish compositions was a popular and living language. Mr. Erskine, the principal opponent of the antiquity and genuineness of the Zendavesta, expressed an opinion that it could only be a provincial idiom, spoken on the borders of India, or a comparatively modern Indian dialect. He has laid much stress on the circumstance, that the Zend is entirely omitted in the enumeration of Persian dialects, given in the Farhang Jehángiri. But Professor Rask has well observed, that no dialect is assigned in that work to the provinces of Shirwan, Ghilan, Azerbáïjan, in short, to the whole of ancient Media. In Azerbáïjan, a great country, where the soil spontaneously emits the consecrated element, and in the name of which the old Zendish term for fire is preserved, it is supposed by Rask, that Zoroaster flourished, and that the Zendavesta was composed.* This was the opinion of Anquétil du Perron, and the impression derived from his Parsí instructors, as it had been that of Hyde. It has

* R. Rask, das Alter und die Echtheit der Zendavesta, &c. Deutsch-uebersetzt.

been generally received, that the Magi had their original seat in Media and Persia, or in the western provinces of the great empire of Iran, where, from the earliest periods known to us, were the seats of power; and this opinion seemed to be supported by the relations of the Medes with the Babylonians, from whom the former are said to have derived the art of writing, at least the use of cuneiform letters, and with whom they had many of their habits and institutions in common. A different opinion was maintained by Rhode, author of an ingenious and learned work, which contains the best analysis of the doctrines and fables of the ancient Magi.* Rhode deduced his conclusions, as he says, from geographical notices, collected from the Vendidad. Perhaps he may have been unconsciously influenced by impressions derived from the Shahnameh and the oriental fables. It was his opinion, and it appears to be that of M. E. Burnouf, that Zend was the language, not of Media, but of Balkh or Bactria, and of Sogdiana.†

I shall have occasion to revert to this question in the sequel.

* Die heilige Sage und das gesammte Religions-system der alten Baktrer, Meder, und Perser, oder des Zendvolks, Von J. G. Rhode. Frankfurt, 1820.

† The proofs of this opinion, which Lassen pronounces to be no longer a subject of doubt—"es ist jetzt nach Burnouf's schönen Untersuchungen nicht mehr zweifelhaft,"—are derived, by M. Burnouf, from an analysis of the names of places given in a chapter of the Vendidad, which contains a collection of geographical notices.

M. Burnouf says, "Il est sans doute difficile dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, de fixer même approximativement les limites géographiques de cet idiome. Mais on peut dejà avancer, qu'au nord le nom de la Sogdiane (Ǧughdha), au nord-ouest celui de l'Hyrcanie (Vĕrkhâna), au midi celui de l'Arachosie (Haraqaite) sont des preuves aussi incontestables que nouvelles de la nationalité du Zend dans ces provinces. Le triangle que formerait une ligne passant par ces trois points, laisserait certainement au midi, à l'ouest, et au nord-est plusieurs pays où cette langue a dû fleurir. Mais il embrasserait déjà la plus grande partie des contrées, où les renseignemens que nous a conservé l'antiquité classique placent une nation puissante, celle des Ariens, nation dont le nom se trouve en Zend comme en Sanscrit, et pour laquelle le Zend dût étré l'idiome national, comme it fut plus tard pour les Perses, proprement dits, l'idiome de la religion et des lois. Il comprendrait, en un môt, non seulement ce que les anciens appelaient l'Ariane dans son amplitude la plus éten-

It was long ago conjectured by Paulin de Saint-Barthélemy, from no other sources of information than the vocabulary of Zend and Pehlvi words published by Anquétil du Perron, that the Zend was a dialect nearly related to the Sanskrit; and the same opinion has been stated in very strong terms by Dr. Leyden, and other celebrated philologers. It is only of late years, and chiefly since Sanskrit has been studied on the Continent, that the relation between these two ancient languages has been developed. It is now admitted, that the Zend is allied as a sister language to the Sanskrit. According to M. Bopp, the relation between these two idioms is nearer than that which subsists between most of the distinct branches of the Indo-European system, and it may be compared to the degree of affinity which the Latin bears to the Greek, or the old Norse to the Mœso-Gothic.* It has further been remarked, by M. Burnouf and others, that the Zend bears a still closer affinity to the idiom which has been termed the parent of the Sanskrit, or the most ancient form of that ancient language, namely, the dialect of the Vedas. If we remember that the Vedas, according to the opinion of Mr. Colebrooke, one of the best informed writers on Indian history and philosophy, were probably composed, in part at least, fourteen centuries before the Christian era, we shall obtain a clue to discover the probable antiquity of the Zend. Another fact of great importance in the history of languages is, that the Zend stands at the head of one in two great divisions of the Indo-Eu-

due mais encore quelques contrées plus on moins célèbres, soit par leur fertilité, soit par le rôle qu'ils ont joué dans l'histoire, et qui pour la plupart portent des noms dont la langue Zende seule peut rendre complètement raison."

This last observation is followed by an attempt to demonstrate, that a great part of the names of places in the ancient Persian empire, handed down by Herodotus, Ptolemy, and other Greek writers, and of which many are recognised in the geographical chapter of the Vendidad, are clearly significant in the Zend language. The result is obvious; it represents the Zend, or the Zend and its cognate dialects, as, in an early period, the national idiom of the Persian empire.—See Burnouf, Commentaire sur le Yaçna; Notes, p. xciii et. seq.

* Bopp, Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend u. s. w.: Berlin, 1833. Vorred.

ropean idioms, whilst the Sanskrit may be reckoned as the most ancient member of the other. To the former class are referrible the modern Persian as well as the Germanic dialects and some other idioms of northern and western Europe, while with the Sanskrit are associated, as we have before noticed, the classical languages of Greece and Rome. The work in which M. Burnouf has been engaged, viz., in translating, and it may almost be said decyphering, the Zend text of the Magian Scriptures, has led him to a very careful scrutiny into the structure of the Zend language, and its component radical words. The following brief statement contains his results on this last particular. It seems that the lists of Sanskrit *dhatoos*, or radical words, contains nearly all the roots of the Zend; but that many of these were roots not used in classical Sanskrit, and only found in the Vedas. Of these oldest roots many were foreign to the Greek and Latin languages; and only a part of them are recognised in the Germanic dialects. The whole collective number of Zend and Sanskrit roots is, in following out these observations, divided by M. Burnouf into the following classes :—

1. Zend radicals which belong almost exclusively to it and the idiom of the Vedas or to the most ancient Sanskrit, very rare in the Greek and Latin languages, more common in the Germanic dialects.

2. Zend radicals which do not belong to the classical Sanskrit, yet, being mentioned in the lists of roots, certainly belonged to that language, and probably to its most ancient form. The numerous roots belonging to this class are rare in the learned languages of Europe.

3. Zend radicals which belong to all ages of the Sanskrit language, and are common to the Greek, Latin, Germanic, Slavic, and Celtic idioms. This class is the most numerous of all, and may be said to form the common foundation of all these languages.

4. Lastly, Zend radicals which cannot be connected with any known radicals in the languages above mentioned.

Nearly all these have been recognised, more or less modified, in the Persian dictionaries.

The general conclusion which M. Burnouf has drawn from the consideration of these facts, seems to be the only ground on which we can understand the relations of the Indo-European languages to each other, and it coincides with the opinion which I have ventured, on one or two occasions, to put forth, as suggested by a different series of observations. Bournouf says, "these researches prove, that the different languages which compose the Sanskritic family, ought not to be considered as derived one from another, but that, putting out of sight the different ages of their culture which appear to establish among them a sort of chronological succession, they belong *primitively* to one and the same ground-work, from which they have drawn their materials in unequal proportions. This inequality, so striking in the employment of radicals, is also to be observed in the greater or less developement which the roots have undergone in different languages, Some roots, which in the Sanskrit have remained unproductive, have given origin in Zend to numerous scions; whilst other roots stopped, as it were, in one of these idioms, in the midst of their growth, have only gone through the first stage of developement; and, in other instances, only the last: in a word, derivatives, as well as radicals, are unequally distributed between all these languages, in which, however, something has been derived from an original common foundation, developed according to the same laws.

The particular relations of the Zend, on one side to the Sanskrit, and on another to the Germanic dialects, have been illustrated by the same writer, in several memoirs, in the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique* of Paris.* One of the most striking peculiarities of the Germanic language, in comparison with the Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit, is the preference which it makes of guttural and aspirate consonants

*Affinité du Zend avec les dialectes Germaniques, par E. Burnouf, Nouv. Jou. Asiat. tom. 9, 1832. See also, Extrait d'un Commentaire sur le Vendidad Sadé, par M. E. Burnouf, Nouv. J. As. 3. And in the same number of the Journal, a paper entitled, Analyse comparée du Sanscrit et des langues qui s'y rapportent. Bopp, Berlin, 1829. In the Vergleichende Grammatik of the same writer, the grammatical peculiarities of the Zend are illustrated.

and of the simple aspirates, when the other languages have sibilants, and even when they have mute consonants. This is common to the Teutonic and the Zend. Thus we have

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*Zend.*	*Gothic.*
pra	προ	pro	fra	fra*
prat'hama	πρωτος	primus	frathema	frama
tuam (tu)	τυ	tu	thwam	thu.
tri	τρεις	tres	thri	threés.

It is curious to find this relation again reversed, as follows:—

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*Zend.*	*Gothic.*
bhratri	φρατωρ	frater	bratar	brothar.
bhu	φυ	fu	bû	bim.
bhri	φερε	ferre	bar	baira.

It would be foreign to the object of the present work, further to pursue any philological disquisition on the affinity of these languages. It is only important to note the near relation of the Zend to the Sanksrit, as well as to the Germanic dialects. That the Zend was in fact the language of the Arian, or old Persian race, cannot be called into doubt. It is supported by the observations of M. Burnouf, above cited, on the relation of Zend roots to the modern Persian.

Paragraph 5.—Of the information derived from Cuneiform Inscriptions.

It is well known that ancient inscriptions, in a peculiar character, termed, from the description of the letters, arrow-headed and cuneiform, or wedge-shaped, are found engraven on monuments of stone, and sometimes on bricks, in various parts of Upper Asia. The regions in which these remains have been discovered, comprises Mesopotamia, Armenia, and the western part of Persia, not extending beyond the Great Salt Desert towards the East, or to the northward beyond the chain of mountains of which Demavend is the culminating point, and reaching, westward, to the Euphrates and Lake Van equidistant from the Euxine and the Caspian. They are numerous

in the neighbourhood of Hamadan, the Ecbatana of king Astyages, and on the walls of palaces, and on the colossal pillars of Persepolis, and on the ruins of other cities within the limits above traced. Beyond these boundaries are a few inscriptions of a similar kind, where they are probably relics of the widely-extended conquests of the Achæmenidæ, as on the isthmus which joins Africa to Asia.* "The region of cuneiform inscriptions," says Lassen, "holds, geographically, the middle place between those of Semitic alphabets, towards the West, and the various Indian systems of writing found in the remote East. These three kinds of writings, comprise all the alphabets of Upper Asia and of the ancient world, and the discovery of the arrow-headed writing was wanting to complete the palæography of Asia."†

Modern travellers in the East have been struck, at an early period, by the singularity of these characters, and brought with them copies of many inscriptions, in the hope of their future elucidation. The first collectors were Cornelius le Bruyn, and the indefatigable Carsten Niebuhr, and at a much later time, Sir Robert Kerr Porter made great additions to the earlier collections. Lastly, the enterprising Schultz, who perished in his travels through Kúrdistan, had collected forty-two copies of cuneiform inscriptions, chiefly in the various parts of ancient Media which he had traversed.‡ Inscriptions in the same characters, but grouped in different ways, have been published many years since, in Europe, from the Babylonian bricks.

The arrow-headed characters are found in three different sorts of combinations, one, which is, apparently, the most

* Of the same kind was, doubtless, the inscriptions in Assyrian letters, which Darius engraved on a pillar near the Bosphorus, as a memorial of his Scythian campaign

† Die Alt-persischen Keil-Inschriften von Persepolis. Entzifferung des Alphabets und Erklärung des Inhalts, &c. von D. Chr. Lassen. Bonn. 1836.

‡ E. Burnouf, Mem. sur deux Inscriptions Cunéiformes trouvées près d'Hamadan. Paris, 1836.—Ritter, Erkunde von Asien. B. 6. s. 74.

simple, is that principally seen in the Persepolitan inscriptions; the other two are termed, conjecturally, Median and Assyrian. It was in those of the former kind that the first step was made towards an elucidation, by the discovery of the names of Xerxes and Darius, the credit of which belongs to Dr. Grotefend.* They were found in two inscriptions. The name of Achæmenes was traced by M. Saint-Martin, but read afterwards more correctly by Rask, who made it to be Aqâmnôsôh. The word "khshah" was found to represent king, and the title king of kings, gave the plural termination of the genitive in anam, as in Zend and Sanskrit.† Hystaspes was read Vyshtaspa, by Saint-Martin, and by Grotefend, Goshtaspa. These words, which were detected chiefly by looking for them in positions where they were likely to be found, afforded to the two critics last mentioned a considerable number of the vowels and consonants of the arrow-headed alphabet, which were eked out by fortunate conjectures, and gradually corrected. Still, the great mass of the inscriptions remained undecyphered, and the grammatical construction of the language in which they were written, though it was perceived to be allied to Zend, was unknown when M. Burnouf undertook the investigation. His researches comprise several inscriptions of considerable length. The first was a double inscription, found at the foot of Mount Elwand, consisting of three double groupes of arrow-headed characters, engraved on a block of red granite. The three groupes are in different styles of writing; the former is that of the most simple kind; the two others in the kinds as yet undecyphered, which are supposed, though little is yet known on the subject, to represent the words of languages more allied to the Semitic or Assyrian. The first is a double inscription, consisting of twenty lines, containing, on one side, the name of Darius, and on the other, that of Xerxes. I shall not attempt to trace the steps by

* The discovery of Grotefend was made known in an appendix to Heeren's Ideen, in 1805.—See also Bellino.

† Corresponding with the Greek ων, and Latin orum.

which M. Burnouf has succeeded in decyphering these twenty lines, but shall copy, in a note, this first-discovered continuous specimen of the language of Cyrus and Darius.*

Results obtained from the study of the ancient inscriptions of Iran.

The following are the principal results drawn by M. Burnouf from the elucidation of this and other Persepolitan inscriptions, in regard to the literature and language of ancient Iran.

1. The Persepolitan writing does not represent all the elements of speech necessary for pronouncing, and evidently belonging to the words. This proves, in the opinion of Burnouf, the vowels being chiefly deficient, that the system of writing occupying the first rank on the monuments of Persepolis, is of Semitic origin; the language, however, plainly belongs to the series of Indo-Persian dialects, in which the complete and regular indication of all the vowels is requisite, in order to display the inflections, and ascertain the sense and relation of words. The disagreement, in M. Burnouf's opinion, is owing to a contest

* *Inscription.*	*Literal Interpretation.*
1. Bû izrk âurmzdâ	L'être divin Ormuzd
2. ah ômâm buiôm	il le Homa excellent
3. âdâ ah âim âçmâmu	a donné; il ce ciel
4. âdâ ah mrtôhm	a donné; il l'homme
5. âdâ ah chôhâtâm	a donné; il la nourriture
6. âdâ mrtôhahâ	a donné à l'homme;
7. ah dârhium khchâhyôhm	il Darius Roi
8. aqûuuch âôim	a engendré ce
9. dlunâm khchâhyôhm	des braves Roi,
10. âôim plâm	ce des braves—
11. frmâtârm âôm	Chef ceci est
12. dâchiuch khchâhyôh	Darius Roi
13. izrk khchâhyôh	divin, Roi
14. khchâhhyôh ânâm	des Rois,
15. khchâhhyôh ôahunâm	Roi des provinces
16. pl ôzuâ nâm khchâhy	qui produissent les braves, Roi
17. khchâhhyôh âahâhâ buiôhâ	du monde excellent,
18. izrkâhâ rurôh	divin; redoutable
19. âpôh gôchtâcpahâ	Protecteur de Gôchtâçpa
20. pup akhâmnôchôh	fils Achéménide.

between the Semitic and Japetic literature in Upper Asia. He supposes that the Persians, before Cyrus, were ignorant of the use of letters, and adopted them from the Assyrians.*

2. In regard to the language of these inscriptions, it has been shown, by M. Burnouf, to bear a very near affinity to the Zend, and this extending even to the most minute features in the structure of words. He adds, "we can thus positively affirm, that the language which occupies the first rank in the Persepolitan inscriptions, is not the idiom of the sacred books of Zoroaster; but, at the same time, we may be sure, that it has sprung from the same origin. It is a proximate dialect of the Zend, and more closely resembles that language than does the Sanskrit or the idiom of the Brahmans.† It has a character of its own, which is that of a derived dialect, the grammatical forms of which have a tendency to become effaced, and to furnish a foundation or commencement of the modern Persian." The Persepolitan dialect, barbarous as it is, appears to me more interesting than would be inscriptions in the exact dialect of the Zendavesta. Such a discovery would give us no information as to the language spoken by the people five centuries before the Christian era. But these inscriptions enable us to affix a date to the Zend language itself, and to the religious system of which it has preserved the remains. They indicate, also, the wide extent of its influence in Eastern Asia, by the surprising number of geographical and ethnographical names, explicable by means of the Zend, and testified by the evidence of ancient writers to have belonged to various nations and provinces between the

* This opinion is confirmed by the testimony of Herodotus, who says that Assyrian letters were used by the Medo-Persian kings. We are told by that writer, that Darius engraved on a pillar, situated on the bridge over the Thracian Bosphorus, the names of all the tribes of which his army consisted, in Greek letters on one side, and Assyrian on the other. Burnouf supposes these Assyrian letters to have been the arrow-headed characters introduced at that early period into Persia, through the medium of the Medes, from Nineveh and Babylon.

† Burnouf, Mem. sur deux Inscriptions, &c.—Resumé, p. 165.

Tigris and the Jaxartes, within the vast empire of Iran. "Aujourd'hui les doutes qu'on a élevés sur l'authenticité de la langue Zende ne sont plus fermes: et il faut bien admettre que cette langue a vécu quelque part en Asie, puisqu'au 5ème siècle avant notre ère elle avoit commencé à vieillir en Perse."

3. Lastly, in respect to the contents of the inscription, the results of M. Burnouf's researches have confirmed many conjectures, and have added much new information. Four proper names had been decyphered, viz., Achæmenes, Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes; and a few other words had been detected. In addition, Burnouf has completely explained the two inscriptions of Elwand, although, apparently, without a clue to the discovery. He has, moreover decyphered, in one of the inscriptions given by Carsten Niebuhr, an enumeration of the countries subject to Darius, which might be compared, if it were not more concise, with the well-known enumeration of Persian Satrapies, preserved by Herodotus. The style of the inscriptions displays the pride and pomp of oriental monarchs in the titles which Xerxes gives himself of "king of kings," "divine king," "king of the provinces which produce heroes." This prince is described, as surrounded by those "Pehlvân," so anciently celebrated through all Asia, whose noble images environ those of the king in the monuments of Persepolis, as, in the preceding age, the same band of guards had surrounded the great Cyrus, by whom it was instituted. They furnish a commentary on those splendid representations of Persian monarchs, which, after so many ages, decorate the imperishable ruins of their ancient palaces." But a still more important result for history, is the authentic proof furnished of the existence of the worship of Ormuzd in the age of Darius and Xerxes. Ormuzd and the sacred Homa are mentioned in them: they enumerate the benefits sent by the Supreme, under whose special protection Darius and Xerxes are represented to be.*

* Mémoire sur deux Inscriptions cunéiformes trouvées près d'Hammadan, par le Dr. Schulz, par M. Eugène Burnouf, Paris, 1836.

M. Burnouf's general results are in accordance with those obtained by M. Lassen, whose work appeared during the same year, and carried further the same inquiries into the orthography and language of the inscription. Professor Lassen has also pursued the investigation of geographical names recorded in one of the inscriptions discovered by Niebuhr, and has compared them with the enumeration of Persian Satrapies given by Herodotus, thus illustrating the text, and confirming the authenticity of that historian.

The language of the inscriptions, meaning that of the first already decyphered kind (for the two others are as yet unknown), is supposed, both by Lassen and Burnouf, to be a dialect somewhat nearer to the Sanskrit than is the Zend, which yet maintains a character peculiar to itself, and must be considered as a distinct idiom. In some, but not in numerous praticulars, it makes an approach to the modern Persian dialect. It was, doubtless, once a real spoken language, in which, as the generally understood or popular idiom, the inscriptions on the walls of temples in Persepolis were engraved, and we hence may conclude, that at least two nearly-allied dialects prevailed in Persia during the age of their ancient monarchy. Lassen terms this dialect of the inscriptions the Medo-Persian, in contradistinction to the Zend of the Magian books, which he names Soghdo-Bactrian. That dialectic differences existed between different tribes united under the monarcy of the Achæmenidæ appears clearly, from a passage already cited from Strabo, who says, that these nations, namely, the Medes, the Persians, the people of Ariana, the Bactrians, and the Sogdians, differed from each other a little, and but little, in their languages. And this account receives confirmation from another testimony, preserved by the same compiler; in which it is certified as the declaration of Nearchus, that most of the customs and the language of the Carmanians are those of the Medes and Persians.* If

*Νέαρχος δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα ἔθη καὶ τὴν διάλεκτον τῶν Καρμανιτῶν, Περσικά τε καὶ Μηδικὰ εἴρηκε. The expression is much stronger as to the identity of the

the language of the decyphered inscriptions were preceding the Zend, it might be conjectured, that this series of characters represent the words of the ancient sacred language of Persia, and that the two undecyphered ones which follow, contain its explanation in the popular idiom; but there is difference enough between the dialects of the former and the Zend to disprove that supposition. The idiom of the cuneiform letters is but a cognate dialect of the sacred language, and the information derived by M. Burnouf from these researches is, that the Zend was the old vernacular language of the northern provinces of Ariana; and that the Persepolitan decyphered inscriptions precede the popular language of southern Persia, or the principal idiom known in the great capital of the Achæmenidæ.

Paragraph 6.—General results of researches regarding the Languages of ancient Iran.

The results of these researches into the remains of antiquity in Persia, and a comparison of the dialect in which the decyphered parts of the cuneiform inscriptions are composed, with the idiom of the Zendavesta, afford data which illustrate the history of the Arian race.

The Medes and Persians, the people of Sogdiana, Bactria, and the Ariana of ancient geographers, had, as we have reason to believe, one language, a language which differed only in dialect in the different provinces of the extensive empire over which it was spread. The people termed themselves, as we learn from Herodotus, Arii. In the remains of the Zoroastrian writings, which contain the oldest traditions of the race, all these nations are considered as one people, the people of Ormuzd; and the people, as well as the country, bear, in the Zendavesta, the designation of Aria, or of Eeriene, the primitive seat of the Arian race.

languages of the Carmanians, Persians, and Medes, than are the words used by the translators of Strabo. "Nearchus asserit, Carmanitarum mores ac sermonem magna ex parte Persarum esse ac Medorum æmulos." The "magna ex parte" relates only to the manners.

It may be worth while to observe, that this name affords an additional illustration of the original affinity of the Indian and Persian races. Among the Hindoos ĂRYA designates the "Men of the people," or the third and most numerous class of the Indian community, including husbandmen and traders, termed, also, Vaisyas, while Āryavarta is the land of the Brahmans. This community of names is perhaps a relic of that ancient time which separated, as M. Burnouf expresses himself, the Arian people into two great branches, of which one remained in Bactrian Aria, and the other sought the Aria of the Brahmans. The Zendavesta makes a distinction of the "New Men," opposed to the "Men of the first law;" the former were contemporary with the writing or compiling of the Zendavesta. "These men of the First Law, the famous Pishdadians, so celebrated in the fables of the Persians, were the common ancestors of the Arians of Bactria, and the subjects of the Brahmans." Aria, or Iran, is in the Magian books termed "Eerïené Véedjô," the pure or sacred Iran. From this land, created by Ormuzd to be the cradle of the Arian family, the ancient traditions of the Zend scriptures, trace, as we shall find, the subsequent migrations of the sacred people.

I have already adverted to the languages of the Magian books, as affording evidence as to the ancient dialects of the race to whom they belonged. In the next section I propose to consider, whether anything further can be collected from the substance of these ancient scriptures, or from the parts of them still extant, that is fitted to throw further light on the history of Iran, and the origin and early condition of the Arian people. In the present section I confine myself to the evidence which is obtained from languages, ancient and modern, and from inscriptions.

The Medes, the Persians, and the Bactrians, who spoke, as I have said, cognate dialects of one language, and were long united under one monarchy, were one of the ancient and principal branches of the Indo-European family. Two, as it seems, of the dialects of this language are more or less known, namely, the Zend, preserved in the Zendavesta;

and, secondly, the idiom in which the cuneiform inscriptions are written. This last may be supposed to have been the language of the western parts of Iran, during the reigns of the Achæmenidæ, since the monuments, on which these inscriptions are engraved, are found in various provinces of Iran, to the westward of the Great Salt Desert. The Zend was, probably, coëval with this dialect; but the precise time and place to which it belongs cannot be determined. It was, perhaps, the idiom of the northern countries of Iran, as Azerbáijan, Khorásan, perhaps Balkh or Bactria. It is indeed not certain that the Zend had not become already, in the time of Cyrus, although still used for literary compositions, a merely sacerdotal or learned idiom. This seems not improbable when we advert to its near affinity to the language of the Vedas.

In the provinces of Iran, bordering on the west, a new language was at length formed, by the mixture of Zend with Syrian, to which the name of Pehlvi belongs. Through the agency of what causes, or in what time this became at length the court language, is unknown. It had, probably, spread gradually from the more civilised countries of Babylon and Assyria, into the contiguous parts of Iran, and had become the vernacular language, and was so generally used in the reigns of the Sassanidæ, that the Zend and Persepolitan were no longer understood; so that new inscriptions or public monuments were written in the Pehlvi characters and language.

The Zend is the ancient basis of the modern Persian dialects. The latter differ from it in having acquired all the characteristics of modern languages, by the loss of the inflections and the abbreviations of syncopized or truncated words, nearly as the French and English differ from the Latin and Mœso-Gothic.

SECTION IV.—*Remains of ancient Persian Literature, illustrating the history of the Arian Race.*

Very different opinions have been maintained, both by older and later writers, on the questions, at what period of time, and in what region of the East, the writings attributed to Zoroaster were composed, and the system of religion and mythology which they contain developed. As this inquiry has an important bearing on the history of the Iranian race, and the eastern nations in general, I shall survey the principal facts on which the discussion turns; and shall endeavour to enable my readers, or such of them as have not already directed their attention to the subject, to form an opinion concerning it.

Paragraph 1.— Of the time and place where the Magian Literature and Mythology were cultivated.

Our learned countryman, Hyde, who first opened the field of the Magian religion and philosophy, placed the reputed author of this system in the reign of Darius Hystaspes. Anquétil du Perron was of the same opinion, and even ventured to fix a particular year, 589 B.C., as the probable date of the birth of Zoroaster.* Kleuker, the German translator of the Zendavesta, came to a similar conclusion, which was also espoused by Herder, and Johannes Müller. Other German writers, among whom were Tychsen and Heeren, maintained that the Gushtasp, before whom Zoroaster is said to have pronounced the Zendavesta, was not, as is generally supposed, Darius, the son of Hystaspes, but the first Cyaxares. The difference between these two opinions is not, chronologically, very important, nor does it involve any points of much consequence in history. It is not so with respect to the hypothesis of later writers, who carry back the age of Zoroaster to a period anterior to the com-

* Mem. sur les anciennes langues de la Perse. Par Anquétil du Perron, Mem. de l'Académie de Bell. Lett. T. 31., item Vie de Zoroastre, Zendavesta, Vol. 2. p. 5.

mencement of authentic history in the remote parts of Asia; and to a date long preceding the origin of the Medo-Persian empire known to the Greeks.*

Those who suppose that Zoroaster was contemporary with one of the kings of the Medes and Persians of the house of the Achæmenidæ, have generally adhered to the opinion, that Media was the seat of the Magian language and literature. This, by the writers above mentioned, was considered to be a fact hardly questionable, and it was expressly maintained by Professor Rask, who devoted himself to the investigation of the Zendish remains, and travelled to the East in pursuit of that object. Other writers have adopted the hypothesis set forth by Rhode, according to whom the author of the Zend books lived, not in Media, but in a remote region, in the eastern parts of Asia, near the Oxus, and perhaps in Balkh or Bactria. These writers likewise assign a very ancient origin to the Zend books, and

* It may be useful to some of my readers to refer to the table of Persian sovereigns of the two dynasties, according to Mirkhond and other Mohammedan historians.

The First dynasty:—Pishdadians, Lawgivers and Kings. 1. Kejomaras, or Cayoumers.—(This is the Kayomorts, the first created man of the Zendavesta, or, at least, of the Boundehesh.)

3. Siamek.
4. Hushang.
5. Tahmuras.
6. Djemshid, the splendid and magnificent monarch of Persepolis.
7. Zohak.
8. Phridún, or Feridún.
9. Manujeher, surnamed Firouz.
10. Nodur.
11. Afrasiab, king of Turan, Scythia or Tartary.

Here ends the Pishdadian dynasty; and this seems to be the era of the conquest of Southern Asia, by the Scythians.

Second dynasty:—Kaianians, viz., the Achæmenidæ.

1. Kai-kobad.
2. Kai-kaus,—Cyaxares.
3. Kai-khosrou,—Cyrus the Great.
4. Lohrasp, who must be Cambyses. He was a philosopher, who resided in the Bactrian provinces, far from the real seat of historical events.
5. Gushtasp, or Kishtasp, Darius Hystaspes.

The remainder are unimportant to my subject. The reader will find the whole list in Sir. W. Jones's Essay on Persian History, or in the 5th vol. of the Ancient Universal History, or in Malcolm's History of Persia.

the representations which they contain. They suppose these compositions to be older, by many centuries, than the age of the Achæmenidæ. M. Eugène Burnouf, one of the most profound students and successful investigators of the ancient literature of Persia, has become a powerful advocate for this opinion; and there has been of late a very prevailing disposition among the students, both of the Zend language, and of the ancient idiom of the Vedas, to carry back to a very remote age the antiquity of compositions in both of these idioms, which are considered to be more nearly allied than is the Zend to the classical Sanskrit, and nearly coëval as to the period of their existence as popular languages. The Vedas were supposed, by Mr. Colebrooke, to have been compiled more than fourteen centuries before the Christian era. The near affinity of the Zend to the idiom of the Vedas, affords, evidently, a strong presumption in favour of the high antiquity of the Zendavesta, and the same consideration gives countenance to the opinion, that these books were composed, and that the idiom in which they were written prevailed, in a remote part of Persia, near to India, in Khorasan, or in Bactriana.

A closer attention, however, to the style of representation which prevails in the Zendavesta will display, if I am not mistaken, so great a contrast between it and all the compositions in the Vedas, that no unprejudiced person can fail to be convinced, that these books had their origin in very different times, and probably in distant places. But, in order to furnish evidence in proof of this remark, I must take a brief survey of the contents of the Zendavesta.

Paragraph 2.—Of the books contained in the Zendavesta.

The principal portion of the Zendavesta now extant, is the Vendidad, or the "*Law given*" by Ormuzd. It is in a tolerably entire state, and is supposed to have been written by Zoroaster himself. It consists of narrative and imprecative passages in the form of express revelations from Ormuzd to Zoroaster, who consults him. In these passages are many

remarkable things relating to the history of the ancient Iranian race, and to the religious rites and notions of the Magi. But the Vendidad is but a small part of a series of works of which the remaining are lost, or are unknown in Europe, except by the titles yet extant in manuscript catalogues written by Parsees. The entire series contained twenty-one sections, or noshkas; and of them, only a part of the twentieth noshka is the Vendidad.*

The Yaçna, or Yashna, termed in Pehlvi, *Izeshné*, is a series of liturgies, or solemn prayers, addressed to Ormuzd, professedly by Zoroaster. Rhode supposes it to be a collection, of various ages, a part having been written by Zoroaster. It contains fragments from the Vendidad, and, probably, from other noshkas no longer extant. This work is now under publication in a new and corrected version, by M. Burnouf. The Vispered is a series of invocations. These three works, the Vendidad, Yashna, and Vispered, are together termed the Vendidad Sadé. Besides these, there are several pieces of inferior importance, such as the Sirouze, termed by Kleuker a liturgical calendar, containing directions for the prayers proper to each day in the month, and an invocation to the protecting Genius of each day, matters savouring of the late Chaldean style; the Yeshts Sade's,—a collection of hymns or praises; lastly, the Boundehesh,

* The entire enumeration is given by Rhode. The following is a specimen: 1. Nosk, Setud-Yesht; contains thirty-three chapters, and treats of the nature of God and of Spirits. 2. Nosk, Setud Guer: twenty-two chapters, ordaining prayers, purifications, &c. Rhode conjectures, that the prayers in the Yeshts and Izeshné, other extant works, are parts of this noshka. 3. Nosk Veheshtmansre: treats of faith and obedience to the Law, the opinions of Zoroaster, &c., relating to the resurrection. Parts of the Izeshne, and two pieces of the Boundehesh, are fragments, according to Rhode, of this book. 4. Nosk Bagh; on the contents of the Law, &c. From this, the Yesht-Ormuzd is probably an extract. 5. Nosk Duasdah-Hamast, *i. e.* the twelve hamasts; treats of the wicked, the upper and lower worlds, the nature of all beings, the divinity, waters, trees, animals, &c. Parts of the Boundehesh are, apparently, extracts from this work. A fragment of the ninth nosk, is, in like manner, extant in the Izeshne. The other noshkas treated, as it seems from the catalogue, of similar matters. The twentieth is the Nosk Vendidad, which is still extant according to Rhode in its entire state. M. E. Burnouf thinks that we have only a part of it.—Rhode, Die heilige Sage, &c., der alten Meder, &c.—Burnouf, Comment. sur le Yaçna.—Avant-propos.

which is a work of greater importance; but this book is not extant in Zend, and never existed in that language in its present form. It is only to be found in Pehlvi, and was compiled at a comparatively late period, but contains a variety of fragments or extracts from different parts of the original Zendavesta, now lost in the Zend language. It is a sort of Persian Genesis, and consists of thirty-four pieces of different composition. Many of them are evidently passages of the old Magian laws and mythology, excerpts from the lost Noshkas of the Zendavesta. Some are of later date, and contain notices of some particular sects. Critical care is requisite, in order to distinguish the ancient and genuine parts of the Boundehesh from the more recent. M. Rhode has carefully analysed the different sections, and has noted what parts are genuine sources of information respecting the ancient doctrines of the Magi.

Paragraph 3.—Mythos of the Zendavesta.

According to the mythos or theogony of the Zendish Scriptures, "Zerouane Akerene," that is, "Uncreated Time," gave origin, in the beginning of all things, to two great and powerful agents. One of them was Ahura-Mazda, as his name is in the original Zend, according to M. Burnouf, meaning the Divine Being,—in Pehlvi contracted into Ormuzd. He is the principle, or element of light.* The other is *Petiare engre Meneosch*, or Ahriman, the principle of darkness. Ormuzd dwells in infinite light, Ahriman in profound darkness. These first created beings were ever in opposition, and waged war against each other. The infinite being, Zerouane Akerene, in order to produce a remedy for the evils which had arisen in this contest, resolved to call

* From the illustrations which M. Burnouf has lately given of the Magian philosophy and worship, in his learned commentaries on the Yaçna, we learn, that the ideas of the ancient Persians were not so refined and metaphysical as modern writers have represented them. The light, which was the object of adoration, was not, as it has been supposed, "uncreated light, of which the created is but a reflection." "Light, abstractly," says M. Burnouf, "is not the object of worship in the Zoroastrian books, but the light of the Sun, Moon,

into existence the visible world by the agency of Ormuzd. It was predestined to last for a definite space of time, and to go through a series of changes; its whole duration was to be twelve thousand years. In the first age of three thousand years, Ormuzd was to be sole ruler; in the second, Ahriman was to make attempts, which were to be, at first, unsuccessful; in the third their power was to be nearly equal; and in the fourth, Ahriman was to be predominant till the end.

Ormuzd, prescient of his future wars against the powers of Darkness, began, in order to strengthen his party, by creating the Ferouers, or guardian Spirits, or Genii of all earthly beings. Thus the visible and material universe was preceded by the invisible world of the Ferouers, which were living archetypes of all corporeal beings.

In creating the visible world, which is, properly, an embodying, or rendering cognisable to sense, the pre-existing spiritual creation, Ormuzd made, first, the arch of heaven, and the earth on which it rests. On the earth he placed the

and Stars." These are the "lumina sine principio ex se creata," so termed in the Vendidad Sadé. The Persian religion, he observes, is a relic of the ancient worship of the heavenly bodies, which Zoroaster modified and embellished without suppressing it.

M. Burnouf compares with this worship of material light by the Persians, the famous Gáyatrî of the Brahmans, an invocation which appears in several of the Vedas, and is, doubtless, a relic of the most ancient worship of the Hindoos. It has been translated by M. Colebrooke as follows:—

"This new and excellent praise of thee, O splendid, playful Sun, is offered by us to thee. Be gratified by this, my speech; approach this craving mind as a fond man seeks the object of his love. May that Sun who looks into all worlds be our protector."——"Let us meditate on the adorable light of the divine Savitri; may it guide our intellects. Venerable men, guided by the understanding, salute the divine Savitri with oblations and praise." Savitri is represented by the commentator, followed by Mr. Colebrooke, as expressing "the divine creator, constituting the light of the universe." But Savitri is merely the Sun.—See Wilson's Lexicon, and Colebrooke on the Vedas, Asiat. Res. vol. 8. p. 400. octavo ed.; also M. E. Burnouf, "Extrait d'un commentaire et d'une traduction nouvelle du Vendidad Sadé, l'un des livres de Zoroastre, Nouv. Journ. Asiat., No. 3.

It seems that the conception of "uncreated light," still more, that of the creation of light, elementary light, was too refined and metaphysical for the rude minds of men in the first ages, the Shemite nations alone excepted. It is probable that the notion really attached to the term Ferouers, was not that of an immaterial nature, but of a light, attenuated, luminous essence.

lofty mountain of Albordj,* reaching up through all the spheres of heaven, to the supernal region of light; and on its summit he fixed his dwelling. The bridge Tschinevad leads from the summit of Albordj to the solid vault of heaven, Gorodman, the abode of Ferouers and blessed spirits; underneath it is the great gulph of Duzahk, a dark abyss, the abode of Ahriman.

Ormuzd, whose war with Ahriman was to commence with the second cycle of three thousand years, prepared himself for the contest by creating the luminous host of heaven, the Sun, Moon, and Stars, animated beings devoted to his service. The Sun, immortal king of the whole material universe, issues forth from Albordj in the morning, and, having gone round the world in the highest sphere of heaven, returns in the eventide to Albordj again. He made the Moon to traverse a lower sphere; the Planets and the fixed Stars in the lowest sphere of all. Thus the whole space, from the earth to the highest firmament, is divided into three spheres, that of the Sun, Moon, and the Stars.

The whole army of Fixed Stars, soldiers in the ranks for the war against Ahriman, are divided into twelve bands, which are the twelve zodiacal constellations. The stars of the four great quarters of heaven, are further marshalled into great troops, each having its own watcher or commander. Taschter, Jupiter, a prince of the stars, governs the eastern quarter; Satevis, or Saturn, those of the west; Venant, who is Mercury, rules the southern; and Haftorang, or Mars, the northern band. Besides these, Mishgah, or Mithra, the planet Venus, was king of all the stars, and protector of all, principally giving aid in the southern quarter, which was under Venant, the smallest and weakest of all planets. Under all these, the great dog of heaven, Sura, or Sirius, keeps watch at the bridge Tschinevad,

* This mountain Albordj appears most obviously to be the lofty Elburz, in the north of Media, which is one of the great geographical features of that country. Elburz is merely Albordj somewhat differently pronounced or spelled. But those who argue for the Bactrian origin of the Zendish mythology, contend that the primitive Albordj was another mountain of the same name, unknown as it must be observed, in the remote regions beyond Balkh.

where Ahriman is to break in. He is fixed, and not, like the planets, capable of changing his position.

At the end of the first age, Ahriman, having created a horrible army of evil beings, commenced his warfare; but, terrified by the splendour of Ormuzd, and chiefly by the sight of the pure Ferouers of holy men, sunk back into the dark abyss, and lay again supine during another three thousand years. Ormuzd completed his creation, made Sapandomad the protecting spirit of the earth, who is the same as Hethro,—mother of all living. Khordad, the Moon, became king of times, years, months, and days, and protecting spirit of the water which gushes out of the fountain Arduisur, from the side of Albordj. The various processes of nature, in heaven and earth, became the care of other sidereal gods. All terrestial things had their protecting genii in subjection to Ormuzd. They were all subordinate to seven chieftains, who were the seven Amschaspands. These seven are Ormuzd himself, and the six others, who stand round his throne,—Bahman, Ardibehesht, Schariver, Sapandomad, Khordad, and Amerdad. Thus passed the second period of three thousand years.

In the mean time, Ormuzd had formed the primitive Bull, the first-made of the animal creation. Ahriman, at the commencement of the fourth age, began the battle in earnest, at the head of the Devs, or powers of darkness, led by six other Arch-devs,—Akuman, Ander, Savel, Nakaet, Farik, and Zaretsh. Ahriman sprang upon earth in the form of a serpent, and penetrated every created body, even the primeval bull, and the very element of fire, which he polluted into smoke and vapour. He struggled against heaven and overcame a part of the fixed stars; but was met by Ormuzd, and defeated by the aid of the Ferouers of holy men. Though thrown down again to Duzakh, he remained not there; but, with his associates, forced a way through the midst of the earth, where he still prevails, in common with Ormuzd, according to the will of the infinite Being.

The inroad of Ahriman caused great devastation upon earth, and destroyed, among other creatures, the primitive

Bull, from whose right shoulder, as he expired, came forth Kayomorts, the primitive human being; and from his left issued the soul of the Bull Gosherun, who became the protecting genius of animated nature: from his body the vegetable world was developed. Ahriman made noxious, unclean, and fierce antagonists to all the pure animals of Ormuzd; the baneful wolf against the useful dog, and noxious plants of all sorts. He slew Kayomorts, the first human being, who was both man and woman; from his juices grew up a plant, which bore, instead of fruit, Meshia, and Meshiane, the real ancestors of the human family. Both were, in the beginning, innocent, and formed for heaven, and honoured Ormuzd as their creator; but they were seduced by Ahriman, who brought them fruit, which they ate, and lost, by transgression, their happiness. The woman was the first who sacrificed to the Devs. After fifty years they had children, Siahmak and Veshak, and died one hundred years old; for their sins they were doomed to suffer hell-torments till the resurrection.

The human race, mortal and unhappy, through the sin of their first parents, yet, placed in the midst between the world of Ormuzd and that of Ahriman, are free to follow their choice of good and evil. As the creation of Ormuzd, man can, and ought to be, good and holy, and to support his maker in the contest against the powers of darkness; but Ahriman and his Devs tempt him day and night to evil. Man would be too weak to resist seduction had not the divinity further assisted him by an extraordinary revelation of his will, and of the law of light. Man, in obeying the principle of this law, rises above the power of the Devs, and comes under the immediate protection of Ormuzd, and the spirits of light. The sum of this law is, to think, to speak, and to act with purity. All that is pure comes from Ormuzd, all impurity from Ahriman; and purity of body is of equal value with moral purity. Hence the particularities of the ceremonial law, of which purification is the great object.

The souls of men, or their Ferouers, when first created, dwelt in Gorodman, in the vault of heaven, the realm of Ormuzd and of light. By necessity, descending to be

embodied and to go through a state of probation, they have both gates open to them, and the good are rewarded, the evil punished after death. The good, immediately after death, are received by benevolent genii, and led, under the protection of the dog Sura, to the bridge Tschinevad, whither the wicked souls are also dragged by Devs. Here Ormuzd judges them and appoints their doom. Those found good pass over the bridge to the region of bliss, where they are welcomed by the heavenly Amshaspands with shouts of joy. The wicked, thrown into the abyss of Duzahk, are tormented by Devs; thence some are released through the prayers and good works of their relatives and friends; but the great number remain to the resurrection of the dead, at the end of the world.

This catastrophe at the fated time, is brought about by the agency of one of the ministers of Ahriman, who, when Ormuzd created the seven Amshaspands, or planets, made seven Arch-devs to oppose them,—the latter are comets. The Sun, however, overcame the comet Dodidom Muschever, and holds him bound in his path, as do the other planets their respective antagonists, till, at an appointed time, the comet Gurzsher shall break loose from the Moon, who now holds him chained, and rushing upon the earth, shall cause an universal conflagration. But, before that catastrophe, Ormuzd will, by the prophet Sosiosh, bring about a general conversion of mankind to his law; and will cause a general resurrection and re-embodying of the dead.

The conflagration of the earth draws, in its results, all the wicked, Ahriman included, into the abyss of Duzakh, where they are at length purified by fire, and restored to light and happiness. From the expiring flames rises a new heaven, and a new earth, and Ahriman is to remain thence-forward subject to Ormuzd.

Paragraph 4.—Remarks on the Persian Cosmogony, and Inferences derived from it.

The foregoing account is a short epitome of Rhode's analysis of the Persian Mythos. It is not to be found in the Zend books in a systematic form; for, in fact, these books, like other collections of ancient scriptures, contain no system. The different parts have been carefully compared, and the series of the mythic legend collected from various passages. The whole forms a most remarkable and characteristic representation, of which the style and manner of conception give very expressive and, as it appears to me, conclusive evidence, not as to the exact time and place of the composition of the work, but of the region and age in which the author, or authors, must have lived.

No person who attentively considers the characteristic passages of this fiction, can hesitate, as it appears to me, in concluding that it is not a book of high antiquity. Instead of the unadorned and child-like simplicity of primitive times, we find here the complicated mechanism and the systematic style of a period when artificial and elaborate combinations were already in vogue. The distribution of powers and offices among the stars, and the contests of planets and comets, are very unlike the representations which prevailed in early ages in the remote East; they even betray an affinity, which it is impossible to mistake, to the schemes of the late Chaldeans and Arabians: they contain, in fact, the ground-work of the system of decans and horoscopes so famous in the middle ages, and of which it is generally supposed that the first inventors were Babylonians or Assyrians, from whom these fictions descended to the Arabs, and at length to the Gnostic school, and even to the later Mohammedans.

Blended with these astrological figments, we find many representations, so closely resembling those of the Hebrew Scriptures, as to leave no doubt of their real origin, through whatever channel ideas so analogous, or almost identical, can have been derived. The analogy is not of that kind

which may be attributed to a similar derivation of tradition from a common source. It is more precise, and evidently belongs to a period not very remote. If we suppose the Zendavesta to have been written about the time of Darius Hystaspes, to whose reign it is referred by all the Persians, and by many Pehlvi books,—or even, as others think, in the days of the first Cyaxares, termed Darius the Mede,—the event will, in either case, fall about the age of Daniel and Ezekiel, when a knowledge of the Hebrew scriptures, and of their contents, became spread through the East. Hence we may find an explanation of many remarkable passages in this series of representations. But though it is probable that the moral part of the Mythos, as well as the astrological, is of later origin, and borrowed from western nations, there is enough to prove, that the basis of the cosmogony is derived from the East. Of these traits I shall take notice in the following paragraph.

That the religion and mythology of the Medes and Persians were derived, in part, from Assyria and Babylon, appears the more probable when we consider the fact, that they obtained from the same quarter the art of writing. It has been the opinion of M. Burnouf, and others who have pursued the investigation of cuneiform inscriptions, that the letters in which they are written belonged, originally, to the Semitic language, and have been forced into the use of an Indo-European dialect, the words of which they are not properly fitted to express. One only, out of three modes of arranging the characters, has produced words and sentences which can yet be decyphered. The other two are supposed to be appropriate to languages foreign to the Iranian race, probably to the Babylonian and Assyrian. From the fact, that the Persians, who,—as Burnouf conjectures with probability, were, before their intercourse with the Assyrians began, an unlettered people,—obtained from them the use of writing, it is the more probable that their mythology was derived in part from the same quarter.

Paragraph 5.—Further inquiries into the history of the Arian race. Ancient traditions of Migrations, preserved in the Vendidad.

Though there is reason to believe that the Medes and Persians derived from Assyria the use of letters, at least of that kind of writing which was employed in inscribing upon stone, and many parts of their mythological system; yet their language affords unequivocal evidence, that the people themselves are of kindred origin with the natives, at least with the dominant, race of India. They have, besides, a tradition of their migration from remote countries in the East.

This tradition is delivered in one of a series of very remarkable passages in the Vendidad, relating to the ancient history of the Arian race.

The first Fargard, or section, of the Vendidad, enumerates the towns or habitable tracts which were first created by Ormuzd, and successively became the dwelling-places of the Arian race. In the second fargard the migrations of the people of Ormuzd are recorded. They advanced from one region to another, under the conduct of Djemshid; who, as I have said before, is in the Zendavesta, not a triumphant warrior, like the Djemshid of the Shahnameh, but an inspired patriarch, who, like Abraham, or like Moses, leads from one region to another, under the command of Ormuzd, the chosen race. This part of the Zendish books has the aspect of simple and patriarchal antiquity, and probably contains a very ancient piece of history, preserved, perhaps by oral tradition, from times long antecedent to the age of writing among the Persians. The original dwelling-place, was Eerïené Véedjô, the pure Iran. "Ce lieu étoit plus beau que le Monde entière. Rien n'égalait la beauté de ce lieu de delices."* Then came the deadly Ahriman, and made in the river which waters Eerïené, the serpent of winter. "Il y eut dix mois d'hiver, et deux de chaud." This was the

* Vendidad, tom. 26; Zendavesta, by Anquétil du Perron.

work of Ahriman. The next place was Soghdo, abounding with cattle and human inhabitants. M. Burnouf here has corrected the translation of Anquétil. He renders the passage thus:—"Secundum locorumque provinciarumque excellentissimam ordinavi ego qui (sum) Ahura multi-scius (Ormuzd) terram in quâ Çughda jacet."* The third place was Môore or Mouru; the fourth, Baghdi—"connu par ses grands drapeaux;" the fifth place was Nisaim; the sixth, Haroiu; the seventh, Vaeketerem; the eighth, Oruan; the ninth, Vêhrkâna; the tenth Haraqaiti; the eleventh, Haetumat; the twelfth, Rhagan; the thirteenth, Tchekre; the fourteenth, Verene, the quadrangular country, where Feridún, Zohak's conqueror, was born; the fifteenth, Hapta Hindu; the sixteenth, Reughieao, abounding with horsemen without chieftains.

I have enumerated these places, because on their recognition depends the illustration afforded by this passage of the ancient history of the Arian race, and a principal support of the hypothesis, that the Zend was the language of the remote East, and the Zendish literature composed in Bactriana.

This second Fargard of the Vendidad is the history of migrations. Zoroaster inquires of Ormuzd, who first in his name had given laws to the nations. Ormuzd answers, Djemshid; and then follows a passage, supposed to have been an historical poem, or song, a relic of very remote antiquity, consisting of three strophes and anti-strophes. "Djemshid reigned; his commands were quickly obeyed. To him and to his people, I, Ormuzd, gave food, and understanding, and long-life. His hand received from me a golden dagger, whose handle was of gold, and whose blade was of gold. The king Djemshid proceeded through the three hundred regions of the Earth; these countries became replenished with tame and wild animals; with men, dogs, fowls; with red-glaring fires (fire-temples). Before him, in these regions of delight, were neither animals, nor men, nor red-glaring fires. The holy Djemshid, son of

* Burnouf, Comment. sur le Yaçna. Notes et Eclairciss. 55.

Vivengham, caused all things to exist. Djemshid advanced towards the land of light, the South, where the star Rapitan* presides; he struck the ground with his golden dagger. He thus made his progress through the earth and every region, to the three-hundredth, and all were filled with wild and tame animals and men."†

In a following fragment, in the same style, there is an account of the colonisation, after Eerïeńé Véedjô had been abandoned, of the quadrangular region of Ver, on which Djemshid lavished all sorts of beauties and perfections. This region of Ver is allowed, on all hands, to be Persia, to which the ancients, as we learn from Strabo, ascribed a quadrangular figure. Ver, or Persia, is thenceforward the dwelling of the people of Ormuzd, who there acquire power, and build splendid temples and palaces.

We thus find that passages which appear to be among the most ancient parts of the Magian writings, being fragments of old poetical sagas inserted in a text compiled in a subsequent age when literature was cultivated, are, themselves, not anterior to, but probably much later in origin than, the arrival of the Arian poople in Persia. The country of their earlier abode, Eerïené Véedjô, was not then inhabited by them in the age when their sacred books were written. It is only recorded in an ancient traditionary memoir or saga. The argument deduced from the wintry climate ascribed to Eerïené, and the other proofs of its northern site, do not, therefore, afford evidence, that the Zend language and the Zend people, as they are termed by Rhode, existed in a country to the northward of Persia, such as that supposed to be the Çughda of the Vendidad, or Sogdiana, the region created by Ormuzd to be the abode of the Arians. From this northern country they may have originated. But this was only a reminiscence preserved by early tradition. Nor, if it is allowed that Albordj was not Elburz in Media or Demavend, but a mountain of Túr-

* Rapitan.—The Remphan worshipped by apostatizing Hebrews?

† Zendavesta, par Anquétil du Perron, vol. 2 p. 273.

kistan, as M. Burnouf contends, and that the Arg, the sacred river which, according to the Boundehesh, flowed from it, was the Oxus or Jaxartes, would this intimate anything as to the position of the Arian people in the time of Zoroaster. It is evident that Albordj was a fabulous mountain; the description of it coincides, in a variety of points, with that of mount Meru; it is said to go round, perhaps rather to stand in the midst of the world; and at its feet are seven regions, spread out upon the waters, answering to the seven dwipas of the Hindoos. The fiction of a primeval mountain, nearer to heaven than the abodes of men, on which the gods and aërial beings alight, is common to many ancient nations. Each nation localised the tradition, by fixing on some high mountain near their own country, as the Greeks chose Olympus. But it does not follow from this that Olympus, and Kâf, and Kuenlun, and Meru, are all the same mountain: nor does it result from the resemblance between the fabulous Albordj, and the fabulous Meru, that the real Albordj was any other than Elburz in the north of Media, or Demavend.

On the whole, though that opinion is maintained by writers who are entitled to deference, it does not appear that the historical and geographical parts of the Zendavesta contain any decisive evidence that the northern region of Bactria was the seat of Zend literature or the abode of Zoroaster. It seems that a tradition was prevalent among the Persian and Median people at the time when the Magian books were composed, of an ancient migration of the race from a country which may be conjectured to have been near Sogdiana, since Sogdiana seems to be mentioned next to it. From that primitive seat they brought with them their Zend language and many ancient myths, nearly analogous to those which the Hindoos derived perhaps from the same sources. Those features, which are common to these two systems may be regarded as the most ancient. On that basis the Persians engrafted very much that was of a different origin, in a more recent and western style, and analogous to the fictions of the Chaldeans, mixed with some relations which were perhaps indirectly derived from the Hebrew Scriptures.

SECTION. V.—*Of the Modern Inhabitants of Iran.*

We learn from modern travellers in Persia that the people of that country are divided into two distinct classes, the stationary inhabitants of towns and cities, and the wandering dwellers in tents and temporary villages. All equally acknowledge the authority of the Shah, but the nomadic tribes are more independent and often elude, in their mountains, attempts to enforce obedience. The latter are termed Iláts, or Iliyáts, more properly Iliyáhs, a name which is foreign to the Persian language, as is likewise that of Tájik, which designates the settled inhabitants of the country who cultivate the soil or dwell in towns.* The Tájiks are generally of the original Persian race. Of the Iliyáhs some tribes are Persian: others of Turkish, Arabian, or Mongolian origin.

I shall begin by collecting some brief notices of the Tájik, or aboriginal Persian race, and shall afterwards proceed to the nomadic tribes, or Iliyáhs.

Of the Tájiks, or Native Persians.

Although the name of Tájiks is little known to Europe, it has long been in the East the most generally prevalent designation of the native Persian race. Its real origin is unknown. It has been supposed to be derived from the Mongolian language, in which "Tájik" signifies "tillers of the soil." The people in Persia so termed, are, in fact, like the Helots of the Peloponnesus, or the Fellahs of modern Egypt, everywhere a dependent class, in part "glebæ ascripti", or a rustic population, in part the traders, or the lower class of the inhabitants of cities. In the times of Tchinggis and of Timúr, the Mongoles and Turks gave the name of Tájiks to people who spoke the Persian language, and who appear to have been spread through various countries beyond the limits of Iran,

* Sir William Ouseley's Travels in Persia.—Morier, Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. 7.

and to have constituted, in various parts of Túrkistan, the industrious population of towns. It has been supposed by Klaproth, and other Chinese scholars, that the Tájiks of the Mongolians are the Tiao-tschi, a people celebrated in the annals of the Han dynasty, and in the compilation of Ma-tuanlin. The Tiao-tschi are said to have dwelt on the banks of the Si-Hai, or Caspian, and the description of their country in the ancient Chinese books begins with Persia.* But the appellation of Tájik is not unknown to the ancient Persians themselves. Hyde recognised Tajyik as an ancient name of Persia.† It occurs among other designations of tribes in the Boundehesh. Lastly, a very similar name is found in the works of one classical writer. Dionysius, the geographer, mentions the Ταοκοὶ, or Taski, among the tribes who inhabited Persia, as dwellers in the neighbourhood of the Pasargadæ,‡

Πρῶτα Σάβαι, μετὰ τοὺς δὲ Μασάργαδαι, ἄγχι δὲ Ταοκοὶ,
ἄλλοι θ'οἳ ναίουσι διάνδιχα Περσίδα γαῖαν.§

It has been supposed by some, that the Tájiks are a mixture of various races, who were forced by the conquerors of Iran to adopt Islàm; but by Sir John Malcolm and other well-informed writers they are admitted to be the only genuine descendants of the old indigenous population, who, amidst all the conquests and revolutions which the country has undergone, have preserved their ancient language and their original stock. They speak every where an old Persian dialect, which is different from the cultivated Persian of the higher orders, but is much more different from the idioms of the nomadic tribes.

The eastern parts of Iran had been divided, long before the Mohammedan conquest, between mountaineers and the inhabitants of the plains and cities. The mountain tribes were the Affgháns, whom we shall hereafter describe. The

* Klaproth, As. Polyglott, p. 143.

† Hyde, Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum, cap. 25.

‡ Neumann, Asiatische Studieu.—Ritter Erdkunde von Asien.—Bd. vi. s. 716-717.

§ Dionys. Perieg. 1074. Ταοκοὶ, ἔθνους Περσικοῦ ὄνομα. Eustath. Comment. in Dionys.—ad locum.

people of the plains were, according to Elphinstone, Tájiks. The mountaineers held out against the Arabs, who conquered the plains and forced the inhabitants to embrace Islàm. The name of Tájik and Parsewán are now used indiscriminately as designative of the native inhabitants throughout Affghánistan and Túrkistan.*

The Tájiks are likewise the inhabitants of the towns and cities of Affghánistan. To them belong, according to Elphinstone and other travellers, the trading caste, the artisans, shop-keepers, in all the western parts of Kabúl, while in the eastern parts, their place is occupied by the *Hindki*, a tribe related to the Hindoos, nearly as the Tájiks are to the Persians. The Tájiks are not, however, confined to Affghánistan. They are spread through the country of the Usbeks in like manner. Mr. Elphinstone says, that "the fixed inhabitants of Persia are called Taujiks, in contradistinction to their Tartar invaders; and also to those moving tribes who are of Persian origin. They are even found in Chinese Túrkistan, and they possess independent governments in the mountainous countries of Karategeen, Durwauz, Wukkekhe, and Badakshan." Mr. Elphinstone supposed the name of Tájik to be of Pehlvi extraction.

"The Taujiks," says Mr. Elphinstone, "are most numerous in and near towns. They compose the chief population round Kabul, Kandahar, Ghazna, Herat, and Balkh. In the wild and mountainous parts of the country there is scarcely a Taujik to be found. From this remark we must except the separate communities of Taujiks, who possess, by themselves, some inaccessible tracts in the mountainous country near the Hindoo-Khush, as the valley of Kohistan, which are inhabited entirely by Taujiks. There they live by agriculture, but chiefly, as it is reported, on bread made from the fruit of the mulberry tree."†

It appears that the same distinction of inhabitants into two separate classes belonging to different races, prevails

* Account of Cáubúl, by the Honorable Mountstuart Elphinstone, p. 310.

† Elphinstone, ubi supra, 313.

through Bukharia, and a great part of Túrkistan. Klaproth has censured the authors of the Mithridates, as well as Pallas, Georgi and other writers, for describing the Bukhars as a Turkish nation, and he considers himself as having made the discovery, that the people of Bukharia speak a Persian dialect. He says, that among the Chinese vocabularies of foreign languages, communicated by Amiot, from the imperial collection at Pekin compiled about four centuries ago under the dynasty of the Ming, there is one which represents the dialect of the Chuy-chey, who are the Bukhars, both of Great and Little Bukharia, with others belonging to Túrfan, Khamil or Hami, Samarkand, and other places. When Klaproth commenced his journey in 1803, by land, to China, in the suite of the Russian embassy under Count Golownin, he found Bukhars from various countries in Siberia, who all spoke the same Persian dialect; and the result of his inquiries was, that in all the towns of Great Bukharia, within the Chinese empire, as well as in Kashgar,* Yarkiang, Khoten, Aksu, Túrfan, and Khamil, the settled inhabitants have been, for many ages, a Persian people. The Bukhars, by the Turkish tribes, who wander with their flocks in the surrounding country, are termed *Sarty*, which means *Traders*, and this is perhaps connected with the old name of Sartosh, given by the Mongoles in the time of Tchinggis-khan to Little and Great Bukharia. He adds, that the people so termed, call themselves Tájik, which is the old name for the Persians, and is so explained by Meninski,† and that this name was already known by the Chinese as early as the Christian era, at which period Persia, now termed by them, Po-szii,—a corrupt pronunciation of Persia,— was named in the Chinese language Tiao-tschi.‡

* Klaproth was mistaken in including the natives of Kashgar among the Tájik, or people who speak Persian. This appears from a vocabulary of the Kashgari, or Kashkari language, published by the Bombay Geographical Society.

† Meninski explains the name Tájik thus,—"Persia, olim nomen regionis omnis, quæ non inter fines Arabiæ vel magnæ Tartariæ continebatur."

‡ Klaproth, Asia Polyglott, p. 243.

The Tájiks are, in many places, termed Tat. They constitute, according to Klaproth, Meyendorff and other travellers, the lower, or working class of people, in all the towns of Bukharia, Khiva, and other parts of independent Túrkistan. The stature of the Tájiks is low, their features are of the European type, and they have a fine complexion. This is the account given by the traveller Meyendorff, who adds, that the Tájiks, in Túrkistan, are much fairer, or less brown, than the present Persians; they have, however, black hair. Their subjection gives them a servile disposition and mien, and the countenance of a Tájik is always expressive of softness, and a gentle temper. Accordingly, they are generally considered as good-natured, pliant, and useful, though in reality deceitful, villanous, and greedy of gain. Avarice extinguishes in them every good feeling, and the Tájiks are the most cruel masters of their own slaves. But they are industrious, active, and pains-taking in business. They are the merchants, manufacturers, and cultivators of Bukharia, and are never nomades."*

There is no trace in history of so extensive a diffusion of the Persian race. The countries beyond the Oxus, belonged, even in the age of Cyrus, to the enemies of Persia, and even the fabulous legends of the Shahnameh describe the natives of Turan, or the subjects of Afrasiab, as the perpetual and immemorial foes of the people of Djemshid. In this instance philological researches enable us to penetrate further into the history of human races, than ancient annals or poetical sagas. The fact that from the Persian or Arian race, are descended the settled agricultural and town-dwelling inhabitants, not only of the Iranian empire, including Affghánistan, but also of Eastern Bukharia, and Túrkistan, and countries reaching northward of Tibet and to the confines of China, would never have been inferred from any other sources of information;

* Meyendorff, Voy. d'Orenbourg à Boukhara. Paris, 1826. — Ritter, Erdkunde, v. As. B. vi. s. 727.

but it seems to be proved by the evidence of the popular dialect prevalent through all these countries.*

Throughout Iran, the two classes of inhabitants now described, are distinguished by their physical types. Even in the northern parts of Persia, where the boundary of the empire has never been an effectual barrier against the inroads of barbarians, and where, in successive ages, Scythians, Parthians, Mongolians, and Turks, have found for themselves and their posterity a new country in the plains of Khorasan, the difference of aspect in the people of the towns is immediately striking. The traveller who enters the towns and villages of Khorasan, is surprised by the contrast of features and expression which the long visaged, and lank Kisilbashes present, when compared with the broad-faced nomades of Túrkistan.* The Kisilbashes are the native Persians of the towns, so designated by the Turkománs and Usbeks.

Of the Iliyáhs or Ilát.

A most remarkable circumstance in the history of the population of Iran has been, in all periods, the great number of nomadic tribes who, without settled habitations, wander over the country. In this respect Persia may almost bear a comparison with Arabia. But the nomades of Arabia are supposed to be of the same race and language as the settled inhabitants, while, in Persia, many of them, especially in the northern and western parts, are foreign to the old agricultural population; Persia lying exposed to incursions in various quarters, from the mountainous tracts and desert plains by which it is in part surrounded, while Arabia is shut in by a sea border. The tribes in Persia who are classed together with the nomades, though

* In a collection of vocabularies, published by the Bombay Geographical Society, there is one of the Baraki language, spoken by the tribe of Baraki, who inhabit part of the country of Loghan, N.E. of Ghazna. They are, according to Mr. Elphinstone, included under the class of Tájiks or Parséwans. The words of this vocabulary are, in a large proportion, Persian, but it contains a mixture of Sanskrit, Púshtú, and Arabic.

it appears that many of them have now become settled and have taken possession of large districts of country, are termed Ilát, or Iliyát, the Arabic plural of Iliyáh.*

Many of the late travellers in Persia, as Ouseley, Morier, Fraser, and Dupré, have described the Iliyáhs, and have given us much information respecting their manners and general character. As none of these tribes have any written memorials, their history is, for the most part, very uncertain and obscure, and the data which have, as yet, been collected for its elucidation, are very defective. Mr. Morier has given an account of the principal Iliyáh races, of which he enumerates eighteen in different parts of Iran; but he has mentioned only the most numerous and conspicuous tribes, and he has classified them according to their language and origin. This had been previously attempted by M. Jouannin, interpreter to the French embassy in Persia, who has likewise given a more extended catalogue of their names and abodes. The writer last mentioned reckons seventy-three Ils, or Iláts, or "Tribus Militaires," which he divides according to their languages, into these four classes,—first, the Turk-zeban, those of the Turkish language, who are Turks, or Turkománs; secondly, Kurd-zeban, immigrants from Kúrdistan; thirdly, the Arab-zeban, speaking Arabic, and of Arabian origin; fourthly, Lúr-zeban, tribes who speak the idiom of Lúristan, a mountainous province in the south of Persia. To the former belong thirty-nine; to the second, ten; to the third, eight; to the fourth, sixteen tribes. But even this classification seems hardly to take in all the military tribes of Persia. Some, said to be of northern or Turkish origin, now speak the Persian language. Other tribes, as the Balúches, are, perhaps, immemorial inhabitants of Persia. We know, from the accounts left of that country by Xenophon and Herodotus, that the population was divided in ancient times, and that it contained some nomadic, as well as other agricultural tribes; and several of the Iliyáh nations may be descendents of the ancient

* Written also Eel, Il, Eelaut.

shepherds of Iran. I shall not attempt to collect all the names of these hordes, but shall mention the most remarkable races. The following are some of the Iliyáh tribes, supposed to have a Turkish origin, or to have come from Túrkistan :—

1st.—The Kájár are said to be descended from Turkish bands who migrated from Túrkistan, as followers of Ogús Khán, grandson of the great Tchinggis. To this tribe belongs the present reigning family of Persia. They have taken root in Kazwín, and in the territory of Eriván, where they are settled colonists, or Shehr-Nishíns, and count altogether four hundred families, or houses. The whole number is estimated at three thousand eight hundred persons. They have their chief places of residence at Asterabad and Tehran. They occasionally resume their wandering habits.

2nd.—The Afshárs who call themselves original Turkománs, consist of two branches, the Shámlu and Kirklú, of the latter of which was the celebrated Nadir Shah. They count about twenty thousand houses; principally reside in towns, at Abíver, the birth-place of Nadir, or at Kelát, which he peopled and strengthened.

3rd and 4th.—The Aïmák and Hezáreh, are two nomadic races in the eastern parts of Iran, who are often identified or confounded; they are, however, of different Mohammedan sects, the first being Sunnites, the latter, Shiites. Each tribe reckons fifty thousand houses. The Aïmák inhabit extensive tracts in the southern parts of Khorasan, the Hezáreh mountainous districts, in the neighbourhood of Kandahar and Kabúl, and parts of Seïstan. Mr. Morier supposes them to be of Affghán origin, but this is contrary to the opinion of other well-informed writers.

Mr. Elphinstone says, that the Eimauks and Hazaurehs are the mountaineers who inhabit branches of the Paropamisan chain between Kabúl and Herat, having the Usbeks towards the north, and the Durani and Ghilji to the south. The countries occupied by both reach three-hundred miles in length, and two-hundred in breadth. He thinks them allied in origin, though long divided. He says, that

their general language is a Persian dialect, but with a great admixture of Turkish words. They resemble the Mongoles in their physical characters. This he attributes to the vicinity of "Túrki" hordes. Sultan Baber speaks of Turkoman Hazaurehs, and says, that many of them spoke the Mongolian language in his time. However, they are now quite ignorant of it." It is probable that they were originally a mixed people, who followed the great Mongolian inroads into central Asia, and in part Turks, in part Mongoles. It is said that some tribes of Aïmáks strongly resemble the Usbeks in their physical characters.*

The Hezárehs live in villages, and, in general, resemble the Affgháns in their manners. They are fond of music and choral singing, and playing on the guitar. It is in the country of the Hezárehs that the celebrated idols of Bamian are found. Their form of government is despotic, a circumstance by which they are strongly distinguished from the free Affgháns, and as strongly associated with the Turkish race.

Sir A. Burnes, who travelled through the country of the Hezárehs, says, that they are Tartars by descent. They inhabit a cold region, ten-thousand feet above the level of the sea, where the ground is covered with snow six months in the year. Burnes adds, that they are a simple-hearted people, and differ much from the Affgháns. "In their physiognomy they more resemble the Chinese, and have, like them, square faces and small eyes."†

A late traveller mentions the Hezárehs among the inhabitants of mountainous tracts, between Herat and Kandahar. He found them on parts of the Toorbut range. They are partly Sunnites, and in part of the sect of Ali. The Sunnites are in the Toorbut range. The Shiite Hezárehs inhabit the mountains between Herat and Kabúl. He says, "they have the features of Tartars,"—meaning, doubtless, the Mongolian features.‡

* Elphinstone's Kábúl—482.

† Sir Alex. Burnes, Travels into Bokhárá, p. 178.

‡ Lieut. Andrew Conolly, Journey to the North of India. 1838, vol. 1. p. 282.

We have a fuller account of the Hezárehs in Lieut. Wood's narrative of his journey to the sources of the Oxus. "The Hazaurehs and Eémiks," says this intelligent writer, "occupy the whole wall of mountains extending from Kabúl to Herát: the former on the eastern part as far westward as the Ghorband valley." He says, "they are quite a Tartar race, and even more marked with the disagreeable features of that nomadic people than the Usbeks, in the valley of the Oxus. They strongly resemble the Kirghiz, of Pamir. Among individuals of the same family, the mere differences of locality produce a strong effect on the physiognomy. A low-lying plain smoothens and tames down the characteristic features, which in mountain regions are seen in their full strength and sharpness."* He gives a list of the Hezáreh tribes, and concludes "that the whole aggregate of the Hezáreh nation inhabiting the Paropamisan chain is about one hundred and fifty-six thousand souls." The Hezáreh females go unveiled. They are much softer featured than the men, and have a healthy florid complexion. Both sexes endure extreme hardships."

Many other tribes, of Turkish origin, are enumerated among the Iliyáhs of Persia, as the Shekágí, Sháh-seven, Bayát: they are still recognised as of Turkish descent and speak the Turkish language. They are most numerous in Azerbaïján and other northern parts of Persia, but some of them are very extensively spread over a great portion of Iran.

Before I proceed to the indigenous Persian tribes, or to those Iláts who have had their abode immemorially in the country, I must mention three classes of hordes chiefly nomadic, though not all considered as Iliyáhs.

1st.—The Arab-zeban are the remains of various Arabian tribes who, in the early times of the khalifat, migrated from Arabia into Persia, where their descendents live, partly as nomades under movable tents, and in part settled in villages. Some tribes retain their native language; others speak the Persian. Jouannin reckons

* Wood's Journey to the Sources of the Oxus. p. 204.

eight tribes of Arab-zeban; Morier, thirteen. Sir J. Morier says, that they came, originally, from Nejd, and still retain their pure Arabian blood.

Iliyát Kurd-zeban, or Tribes of the Kurdish Language,

are tribes of people speaking the Kurdish language, who are said to have been brought from Kúrdistan, by Shah Ismail, and settled on the eastern frontier of Persia, to check the inroads of the Turkomans. They have increased to fifty thousand houses or families. They retain, with their speech, their old nomadic habits.

Kurd-Bacheb, or Kurdish children, are a tribe sprung from an intermixture of Kurds with Laks, a race to be mentioned in the sequel.

Of the Karaschi.

Another set of wandering people in Persia, are the Karaschi, or Black Race, who are hordes of vagabonds spread over the country in different quarters, and having no principal district as their home or proper abode. In this, and in other respects, they differ from the Iláts, among whom they are, however, now included. In some parts of Persia they are named Kaouly, and thought to have originated from Kabúl. In Azerbaïján they are termed Louly; in Balúchistan, Lourly; and in Khorasan, where they are very numerous, they have the appellation of Karaschar. According to public opinion in Persia, these wandering hordes are descendents from a band of four thousand musicians, of the Louly tribe, who migrated from India into Iran, in the fith century, during the reign of the Sassanide king, Bahramgar, or Varazanes.

Sir William Ouseley collected a vocabulary of the dialect of the Karaschi, in Azarbaïján, which proves that tribe to be a branch of the race of Gipseys, or Cigani, well-known in most parts of Europe. The Indian origin of the gipseys is admitted; and it is probable that the Persian Karaschi are the same people in the state of

transition from that of a low Indian caste to the condition in which they are known in Europe.

Iliyáhs of Persian Origin.

Other tribes are included under the designation of Ilát, who appear to be aboriginal Persians, and cannot be referred to any foreign race, who speak dialects more or less closely associated with the native language of Iran.* The following are the principal of the tribes, according to the most accurate authorities:—

1st.—The Feïlí are the most numerous tribe, consisting, according to Morier, of one hundred thousand houses or khaneh. They inhabit the western side of the mountains of Lúristan, are nomadic, and a part of them live in barbarous independence, protected by the natives of the country.

2nd.—The Bakhtiyári are a tribe of mountaineers inhabiting the neighbourhood of Lúr,—hardy and brave,—about one hundred thousand houses. They suppose themselves not to be of Persian origin, but to have come from Roum, that is from the Turkish empire. Their language, however, has a great affinity with the old Fársí, and resembles that of the Laks, who are a native Persian race. They live in villages, have many peculiar customs, are spread from Kirman to Kázerún, and from Kom to Shúster, along the southern border of the plateau of Iran.

Besides these last, Jouannin enumerates several other tribes of Iliyát Lúr-zeban, as the Kerrous, near Kamse; the Pairahmet, Noui, Memessani, who are spread through Lúristan, Farsistan, and Deshtstan, to the westward of Shiraz. The Memassani are, doubtless, the tribe termed by Morier Memacenni, a wild predatory people in the fastnesses of Fárs, who pretend to be descended from Rustam.

3rd.—The Laks are a very numerous tribe, spread through Persia but inhabiting chiefly the country about Kazwín, and Fars, and Mazanderan; they are native Persians, and partly nomadic, partly settled; they have

a religion of their own, founded upon Islàm, but deny the mission of Mohammed.

4th.—The Balûch are reckoned, by Morier, as a tribe of Persian Iliyáhs. They are the principal inhabitants of the extensive region of Balúchistan, including the extensive table-land of Kelát, in the south-eastern part of the Persian empire. Balúchistan, according to Mr. Elphinstone, is six hundred miles in length, having Sind on the east, Persia on the west, Affgháni stan to the northward, and the Indian Ocean to the south. In this extensive region two races of people are spread. The Balúches obtained additional territories from Nadir as defenders of the country against the Affgháns. They have been described by Pottinger, who says, that they are subdivided into three principal tribes,—the Nharooés, Rìnds, and Mughsees. The first inhabit that part of Balúchistan, which is to the westward of the desert; the two latter are settled in Kútch Gundava, a low fertile plain to the westward of the mountains, and some of them to the northward of Kelát and Seïstan. They are pastoral people, and reside under tents of black-felt. Their language is a peculiar dialect of the Persian.*

5th.—In order to render this enumeration at all complete, we must mention the Brahúi, who are divided into a number of different tribes, and are a still more wandering unsettled race than the Balúches. They are perpetually roaming about from one part of Balúchistan to another in quest of pasturage, but principally feed their flocks on cold lofty mountains. Their language is supposed to be a dialect of the Panjábi. It is probable, therefore, that they are nearly related to the people of the Panjáb, who are Hindoos or Iats. They are very unlike the Balúches in their physical characters.

* Pottinger was able to understand them through his acquaintance with the Persian. Klaproth has given proof to the same fact, by specimens of the Balúchi published in his Asia Polyglotta.

Section VI.—*Of the Physical Characters of the Persian Race.*

Many writers have asserted that the Persians were an ugly ill-favoured race. They have followed Sir John Chardin, who entertained this opinion. He says, "Le sang de Perse est naturellement grossier. Cela se voit aux Guèbres qui sont le reste des anciens Perses. Ils sont laids, mal-faits, pésans, ayant la peau rude et le teint coloré." This is more conspicuous in the provinces near India, as he says, "where the people do not intermarry with Georgian and Circassian females, than in the other parts, where such connections have improved the Persian race." Nothing can be less probable than the supposition, that Circassian women can ever have been brought into Persia in sufficient numbers and proportions to the native people of the country, to produce any impression on the organic character of the race. If the Persians are, in the southern countries, of darker colour and otherwise different from the inhabitants of the northern parts, the fact may be otherwise accounted for. It may be ascribed more probably to the hotter climate and to different physical agencies of various kinds. But the genuine Persian race was, in reality, very different from the description given in the passage above cited. Sir John Chardin, indeed, almost contradicts it in another place. He says, "les Perses idolâtres ne sont pas si bien faits ni si blancs que les Perses Mahommétans, qui sont ceux d'aujourd'hui. Neansmoins les hommes sont robustes, d'assez belle taille et d'assez bon tient. Les femmes sont grossières, d'un tient olivâtre et obscure, ce qui vient comme je crois de leur pauvreté, plutôt qui du naturel, car il y en a qui ont les traits assez beaux."

Sir William Ouseley has observed, that the ancient writers represent the Persian women, as remarkably beautiful. Plutarch informs us, that the women of Persia were celebrated for their beauty and stature,—*κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος*. The expression is repeated, and Xenophon

gives the same account both of the Median and Persian women. Ammianus Marcellinus, who accompanied the Emperor Julian in his expedition into Persia, has delivered the same report,—"In Perside, ubi feminarum pulchritudo excellit."* It would appear, as Sir W. Ouseley observes, "that the Persians were a handsome and at the same time a tall and large-bodied race."†

The national physiognomy of the Medes and Persians is shewn in the most authentic manner in the numerous sculptures on the walls of Istakhar and Hamadan, and in the other ruined cities of the Medo-Persian empire.‡ These figures prove that the Persians were among the most beautiful of human races. They want, indeed, the fine intellectual expression of the Greeks: perhaps we may ascribe this to the imperfection of the art of sculpture; but these figures display a form of features completely of the Indo-European style, with long faces and high foreheads.

Sir Wm. Ouseley contradicts the statement, that the Guebres, descended from the unmixed Persians, are inferior in personal beauty to their Mohammedan countrymen. The Guebres whom he saw were handsome persons, and one in particular, from Yezd, named Jehun, very strongly resembled in form the sculptured figures so numerous in the ruins of Persepolis, and on the coins of the Arsacidæ and the Sassanian kings.§

The Parsees, who are believed, not less than the Guebres, to be genuine descendants of the ancient Persians, are also described by all those who have seen them in Surat and other districts of India, as a remarkably handsome and well-formed people. Their complexion is darker than that of the Persians, as it might be supposed, from the nature of the climate under which they have dwelt for many centuries; but their features are entirely of the

* Compare Quint. Curt., lib. 3 (21, 22), lib. 2 (11, 24).—Plutarch. in Alexandro.—Xenoph. Anab., lib. 3.—Ammian. Marcel., lib. 24.

† Sir. W. Ouseley's Travels in Persia.

‡ A good specimen of this style of countenance is to be seen in the frontispiece of Mr. Morier's Second Travels in Persia.

§ Ouseley's Travels in Persia, vol. 3. p. 356.

European style. This is the uniform report of those who have seen them in Bombay, and it has been confirmed by the testimony of Parsees who have visited England, as well as by their own persons, considered as specimens of their countrymen.

The Balúches, who are a Persian tribe near the confines of India, are, as Pottinger informs us, a tall, active, handsome race of men, not possessing great physical strength, but adapted to indure the changes of climate and season. He adds, "that they have good features and expressive countenances."

The other tribe of people in Balúchistan, the Brahúi, are, according to Pottinger, a people of cold mountains, where they dwell and feed their flocks. Their name is said to signify "mountaineers, or people of the hills," while that of the Nharúi or Balúches means "lowlanders." The Brahúi have no knowledge of their history previous to their conversion to Islàm, and look upon themselves as aborigines of the country which they inhabit. Their real origin is unknown. Pottinger found their language very remote from the Persian and the Balúche, and says that it contains a great many words derived from the ancient Hinduvi.

We are assured by the traveller to whom we are indebted for the information obtained respecting them, that the "Brahooes," as he terms them, "instead of the tall figure, long visage, and raised features, of the Balúches, have short thick bones, with round faces, and flat lineaments." Flat noses and broad faces, are the most striking characters of the Turanian nations. In their complexion they display the influence of a cold climate. Pottinger says, that "many of them have brown hair and beards."

In the northern parts of Persia, and in the countries bordering on it towards the north, it appears that the complexion of the people is much more fair. Reineggs, a well-known writer, who travelled in the countries between Caucasus and Persia, and who was acquainted with the people of this frontier, mentions a slender form and blue eyes as characteristic of the female Persians.

The Iliyáhs are not, at least the north-western tribes, of genuine Persian descent. Many of them may be considered as Turkish races, naturalised in the climate of Persia by an abode of many centuries, for Turks had possession of Khorasan long before they conquered or even invaded Roum, or the Byzantine empire. The following description, by Mr. Fraser, may, probably, be considered as applicable to the Turkish Iliyáhs of Northern Persia :—

The natural complexion of the Eels is fair, "for when a child is seen naked, it is nearly as white as an European infant." "Exposure to the sun and weather turns their skin to a deep mahogany hue, often approaching to black." "The men," he adds, "have well-made, powerful frames, piercing black eyes, noses generally inclined to aquiline, frequently overhanging thick mustachios and black bushy beards. A deep ruddy hue glows through their dark brown skins, and their appearance is altogether strongly characteristic of health, hardihood, and independance." "The young women have quite the gipsy character of countenance, and are often handsome."*

This may be received as a description of the physical character of the Iliyáhs, one of the two classes of inhabitants who constitute the population of modern Persia. The other are the Tájiks.

The Tájiks, or genuine Persians, called by the Turks, Kisilbashes, are well known as a remarkably handsome people, with regular features, long oval faces, black, long, and well marked eyebrows, and large black eyes, which their poets compare to the eyes of the gazelle, a feature which among the Orientals is esteemed the greatest constituent of beauty.

* Narative of a Journey to Khorasan, by James B. Fraser, author of a Tour in the Himala Mountains, p. 171.

Section VII.—*The Kúrds.*

Paragraph 1.—Land of the Kúrds.

The Kúrds are a semibarbarous race, of predatory habits, divided into a number of different tribes, who have for ages inhabited the mountainous region of the Carduchian and Gordyæan chains forming the natural barrier between Mesopotamia and Persia, and the political boundary between the two great Mohammedan empires in the East. The land of the Kúrds is divided into Eastern and Western, or Persian and Turkish Kúrdistan, by the chain of Mount Zagros, which runs in this part nearly north and south, and by a line or ridge of highlands which forms a continuation of that chain, and passes to the northward between the lakes of Ván and Urumíyeh, towards the lofty mountains of Ararat.

A correct idea of the physical geography of Kúrdistan will be formed if we consider it as a region of lofty terrasses, separated by valleys, and forming a series of mountainous elevations, leading up from the low country of Mesopotamia to the high table-land of Iran.*

The most remarkable feature, as it has been observed by a late traveller,† of this tract of hill country, is the parallelism of its ranges, the general direction of which is nearly N.N.W. and S.S.E. Chains of hills, which are prolonged to the south by comparatively low ranges, constituting what has been termed the Persian Apennines, assume the height and character of true Alps, or principal mountain-masses, in the districts of Lúristán and Kirmánsháh; but there, as to the south of Kúrdistan Proper, in the districts of Suleïmáníyeh and Ardelán, and to the northward in the districts of Betlís, Sèrt, and Zákhó, the parallel ranges are not so numerous, nor so extensive as to prevent the tribes of mountaineers from being tributary on one side to Persia,

* Ritter's Erdkunde von Asien.

† Ainsworth's Visit to the Chaldeans.—Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. xi.

and on the other to Turkey. It is between the parallels of 36° and 38° N., or in Kermánj, or Kúrdistan Proper, that these chains appear to attain their greatest extent and elevation. The number of ranges succeeding one another is there great, and it is only within them that two tribes of mountaineers,—the Tiyárí and the Jellú, belonging to an ancient Christian community, have preserved their independence for ages. These Christian villages are inhabited by a people distinct from the Kúrds who are Mohammedans, and acknowledge their subjection on the one side to the Sultán of Constantinople, and on the other to the Persian Shah.*

The Kúrds are distinguished by a peculiar language, which prevails wherever the people are spread. The Kúrdish race and language reach northward to Armenia, eastward to Azerbaïjan and the Persian Irak, southward to Khuzistan and the province of Bagdad, and westward to the Tigris. With the wanderings of the Kúrdish people their idiom has also extended into the plains which border on the mountains of Kúrdistan. Particular Kúrdish tribes and families are found in parts very distant from their proper country, as in Laristan, and near the Persian Gulph; others have been transplanted to Khorasan, and some hordes westward into the pashaliks of Aleppo, Damascus, and Lesser Asia.†

Paragraph 2.—Kúrdish Tribes and Castes.

The Kúrds are divided into two castes or races of different habits and employment. The peasants, or labouring people, though not slaves, are a subordinate caste; they are termed Guran.‡ They are quite distinct from the warrior Kúrds, who are the Assireta, a name which Roediger sup-

* To Persian Kúrdistan belong Senna and Kirmánsháh; to the Ottoman empire, Suleïmániyeh and Shekerezur.

† Ritter, Erdkunde, Th. ix. s. 629.

‡ Roediger and Pott, *Kurdische Stadien. Kunde des Morg.* Th. 3.—Ritter Erdkunde, s. 629.

poses to be of Arabic origin.* The Assireta seldom or never cultivate the land, while the Guran, on the other hand, never become warriors. The former, whom Mr. Rich terms "the Clansmen" of the Kúrds, call themselves Sipah or Soldiers, and the peasants, Rayahs or Koeylús,† meaning villagers or "pagani." The Guran race are easily distinguished by their physiognomy, and by their dialect, from the nobler caste.‡ The warriors conceive the peasants to have been created merely for their use. "Wretched, indeed," says Mr. Rich, "is the condition of these Kúrdish cultivators. It much resembles that of a negro slave in the West Indies; and the worst of all is, that it is impossible to make the Kúrdish masters ashamed of their cruelty to their poor dependants. Every one agrees," he adds, "that the peasant is in a moment to be distinguished, both in countenance and speech from the true tribesman, nor would it be possible for him to pass himself for one of his countrymen of a nobler race."

According to the missionary, Father Maurizio Garzoni, Kúrdistan is divided into five great lordships, which are Betlis, Jezira, Amádíyah, Júlámerik, and Karatscholan.§ This last is now Suleīmáníyeh. The Kúrds of Betlis call themselves Betlisi; those of Júlámerik are the Shambo. Von Hammer has corrected this statement, and informs us that according to the Jehannuma, or political survey of the Ottoman empire, Shambo is merely the designation of the chiefs of this district, and the people are the Hakkári. The Kúrds of Jezira are named Bottan, the Bohtan of Mr. Rich, or properly Búhtan. The Kúrds of Amádíyah are the Bahdínán; those of Karatscholan are the Soran or

* Nazione Guerriera, Tribu Assireta. Garzoni, Grammatica e Vocabulario della lingua Curda.—Ritter 571.

The name of the Assireta was unknown to Mr. Rich, who mentions that of the Guran. He terms the warrior caste, the proper Kúrds.—Narrative 1. p. 81.

† Koeylú expresses in Turkish the meaning of the Persian word Rayah.

‡ Page 89.

§ These, which are old and well-known divisions of Kúrdistan, may be seen marked on any tolerably good map of Turkey in Asia.

Baba; they are the Bebeh, who have obtained the dominion in Suleïmáníyeh.*

We have accounts of the Kúrdish tribes of later date, which are somewhat more particular.

The following is an enumeration of the Kúrdish tribes in southern Kúrdistan, under the government of Suleïmáníyeh:—

1. Clans who are settled and inhabit particular districts.

In the district of Pizhder:—The Sekkir, the Noareddini. Of these two tribes there are about one hundred villages, and they can muster about one thousand musketeers.

In the respective districts bearing their names:—The Shirkis, two hundred families; and the Ghellalis, one hundred and fifty families; these are two pure clans.

The Siwell:—The pure origin of these may be questioned, but they are at all events now a tribe, and will not mix with the peasants.

The other districts are mixed. Some inhabitants are of the peasant, some of the clannish race, and no village has inhabitants of one exclusive kind.

2. Wandering or Encamping clans.

The Jaf:—There are twelve branches of the Jafs. Of the true Jaf there are not more than six hundred families; but under their protection there are fragments of all the tribes of Lúristán and Persian Kúrdistan, which makes the whole strength of the tribe amount to several thousand families. The tribes muster about one thousand infantry and three hundred horse, that is to say, in their own defence. For the services of the Pasha they would not be prevailed on to furnish so many. The whole tribe only pay to government a yearly tribute of thirty purses, sometimes

* Of the four districts of Kúrdistan Proper, Búhtan is under the government of Zákhó and Jezira ibn Omar, the latter of which was only subdued by Reshid Páshá in 1834-5. The tribes of northern Kúrdistan were reduced to obedience by Háfiz Páshá in 1837-8. The Bey of Hakkári is really under the sway of the Páshá of Ván, the fertile shores of whose lake bring industry and civilisation into the heart of Central and Northern Kúrdistan. The Bey of Rowándiz, or Rawánduz, revolted a few years ago. The Bey of Amádíyah, who governs Bahdínán, has been a source of trouble to the Turkish armies.

less. The other tribes pay much more in proportion because they are not so powerful or so well protected.

The Sheikh Ismaili, five hundred families; Kelhore, two hundred families; Mendrini, three hundred families; Kelo Gawani, two hundred and fifty families; Mergink, eighty or ninety families,—this was originally a part of Balbassis; Tileko, one hundred families; Koosa, sixty families; Hamadavent, two hundred families; Sofiavend, forty or fifty families,—these are part of the Lak nation. Ketchili, forty families; Tebigeni, forty families; Yengeneh, four hundred families, scattered in villages; Zend, sixty families,—the tribe of Kerim Khan, king of Persia, whose dynasty was overthrown by the Kajars, the tribe of the present king. When they came first into these parts they were wandering, but now are settled in villages. There are a great many besides established in Zengabad, and many in the Pasha of Bagdad's army;—Kerwin, sixty families; Lor, sixty families,—these are of the Feili tribe. Sedeni, one hundred families; Goorgei, one hundred families. None of these tribes depend on the Jafs, though the Jafs have many families from among them under their protection, which are not reckoned here. The Jafs, being strong and well-protected, are daily acquiring additions to their numbers from persecuted members of other tribes.

None of the above tribes are entire. They are only fragments of tribes, of which part exist also in the territory of Senna, of Kírmánsháh, or of Lúristán.

The four great tribes of northern Kúrdistan are, as we are informed by Mr. Ainsworth, the Bahdínán, Búhtan, Hakkári and Rowándiz.* The Bahdínán comprehends the lesser tribes of the Sindí, or Sindíyah; 2. Sleïvání; 3. Golí; 4. Goyí; 5. Artúshí; 6. Derrán; 7. Kaïdí; 8. Sheïkh An (Yezídis); 9. Navkúr; 10. Bowát; 11. Nájúkúr; 12. Kal'atí; 13. Kal'ah Deïr; 14. Serújí; 15. Shirwán; 16. Baradós; 17. Gerdí; 18. Misúrí; 19. Berráwí; 20. Dóskí; 21. Kerkí; 22. Rekání; 23. Nerwí;

* Mr. Ainsworth, Visit to the Chaldeans. Population of Hakkáríyah.—Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. xi., part 1., p. 95.

24. Barráwí Júr; 25. Góví; 26. Telí; 27. Zitk; 28. Sherm; 29. Zobar.

The Hakkári comprehend, 1. The Tiyárí; 2. The Tóbí; 3. The Jelláwí; 4. Piniyaniski; 5. Al Toshi; 6. Artoshí Báshi; 7. Bázi; 8. Sátí; 9. Oramávi; 10. Júlámergi; 11. Jellú; 12. Dez; 13. Siliyahi; 14. Berráwi.

In the districts belonging to each of the tribes of the Hakkári there are a great many villages inhabited by Nestorian Christians, who are termed Kaldani, or Chaldeans. Dr. Walsh estimated the whole number of Christians at five hundred thousand. According to Mr. Ainsworth, this is greatly exaggerated. This last traveller, to whom we are indebted for the most ample and accurate account of the Chaldean communities in Kúrdistan, computes the whole Christian population at twenty-seven thousand eight hundred and twenty souls.*

Paragraph 3.—Language and Origin of the Kúrds.

The language of the Kúrds is merely oral, and has never yet been reduced to writing; the only written compositions known among them are in Persian or Turkish. The principal document existing, which relates to the history of the Kúrds, is the "Tarikh al Akrad," said to have been composed by Sherefeddin. Mr. Rich obtained a Persian manuscript, giving the series of the chieftains who have ruled at Kirmánsháh since the Bebbeh family, who are now in power and have even obtained the rank of Pasha, gained the ascendancy by victories over the Turks and Persians in the year of the Hejira MCXI. But no chronicle, written or traditional, that is extant among this wild and unlearned people carries back the memory of events beyond a comparatively late period, and for all satisfactory light on the history of the race we must look to other sources of information.

The Greek historians, and particularly Xenophon, make us acquainted with a nation of barbarians inhabiting the

* The Chaldeans, so termed, of Kúrdistan, are a Syro-Arabian people, and will be described in a following chapter on the Syro-Arabian race.

mountains of the present Kúrdistan, under the reign of the Achæmenidæ. The Carduchi, the Κύρτιοι, the Γορδναῖοι, the Kordiæi, the Gordiani, were all apparently the same people, and most probably the ancestors of the present Kúrds.* Their name is derived by Strabo from καρδα, which, as he says, meant "robber" in the ancient Persian language. Under the title of Kudraha, or Gudraha, which has been read in cuneiform letters in the table of nations subject to Darius on the walls of Persepolis,† it is supposed by Lassen that the Kúrds are designated; and this opinion has been adopted by the learned Karl Ritter. Kudraha, or Kúrdistan, comes in this table in its proper geographical situation, between Armenia and Assyria.‡

An inquiry into the relationship of the Kúrdish language affords the only chance of elucidating the origin and affinity of that people. Without this aid we could never discover whether they belonged to the Arian or to the Syro-Arabian race. To Father Garzoni, of the Propaganda, and to Hoernle, a missionary who in later times resided among the Kúrds, we chiefly owe the means which have enabled philologers to pursue this inquiry with success. The missionaries have furnished information on the grammatical forms of the language, as well as vocabularies, and some poetical compositions have been obtained by Von Hammer and Mr. Rich. These materials have been examined by M. M. Roediger and Pott.§ The following is a very brief abstract of the results, as far as they are important to our present purpose.:—

The idiom of the Kúrds, both in respect to its grammatical structure and its constituent vocabulary, is allied to the Persian family of languages. It has, indeed, a near affinity to the modern Persian branch of these dialects, though more corrupted and less cultivated or developed as a written idiom. Its corruption is the result of its having been abandoned entirely to the arbitrary changes which befal

* Strabo, lib. 16. Ritter, B. 6. p. 90.

† Lassen, Keil-schrift, s. 84-86.

‡ Hoernle im Basel-Missions-Magaz. Jahrg, 1837.—Cited by Ritter, p. 627.

§ Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes.—Ritter's Erdkunde, Th. 9. p. 28.6.

idioms used merely for popular and oral communication. To a certain point, though dialectically different from the Parsí, it seems to have approached more nearly to that dialect; but from the time when the Parsí became a written language, they have each followed rapidly a very different career. The Kúrd and the Parsí are related at nearly equal degrees to the Zend, and among themselves they may rather be termed cognate than sister languages.

Both the Parsí and the Kúrdish have derived considerable additions of Arabic words, which were introduced at the era of the Mohammedan conquest; and many Turkish words have been adopted by the northern and western Kúrds; yet neither Arabic nor Turkish words or grammatical forms constitute any part of the real Kúrdish idiom: terms derived from both these sources are foreign in the Kúrdish language, as are, likewise, the numerous words of Syrian origin, adopted from time to time, as it would appear, from the Chaldeans, or Nestorians, who inhabit hamlets in the neighbourhood of the Kúrds.

There are many dialects of the Kúrdish language which differ more or less from each other. The Guran dialect is now spoken in the court at Senna. Rich has given a comparative vocabulary of the proper Kúrdish, that is, the dialect of Suleïmáníyeh, with the Bulbassi, Lor, and Feili dialects. The Missionary Hoernle says, that the northern dialects are so much alike that the people of different provinces understand each other. To the northern tribes, he refers the Mekri, the Hakkári, and the Shakak, and the somewhat more remote dialect of the Yezides. These four branches are separate stems of the Kúrdish language. The Kúrdish tribes to whom they belong inhabit the mountains to the west, south, and north-west of lake Urumíyeh; from thence as far as Senna, and further to Suleïmáníyeh, Media, and Diarbekir; and then back to lake Ván. The idiom which is intermediate between the northern and southern dialects, and is, therefore, the most generally understood, is according to Hoernle, the Shekara dialect. On the southern branch of the Kúrdish language Hoernle obtained less satisfactory information. He refers to this

branch, the Leki, the Kirmánsháh, the Kethuri, the Gurani, and the Lori dialects. The tribes who speak these last dialects are known to us through the accounts of Rich and other later travellers. The language of a Kúrdish peasant at Senna, who recited a national song, was quite unintelligible to the Suleïmáníyeh Kúrds who accompanied Mr. Rich. The English traveller thought the idioms of these people very different. The dialect of the Guran more nearly resembles the Persian; the Clansmen, on the contrary, speak the High-Kúrdish, a purer idiom.

Paragraph 4.—Physical Character and Habits of the Kúrds.

The missionary Hoernle, who lived much amongst the Kúrds, though chiefly in the north-western districts, on and beyond the lake Urumíyeh, describes them as very strong, broad-shouldered, with dark complexions, black hair, large mouths, small eyes with a very wild expression. Sometimes he remarked countenances which bespoke a better character and inspired more confidence.

The structure of their bodies is remarkably regular, and their whole appearance makes no unpleasing impression. Their uncommon exertions and hardships, from their youth upwards, do not prevent them from attaining an advanced age. They often reach one hundred years, in the full possession of their mental and physical powers.

At the feast of the Ramadan, Mr. Rich heard some Kúrdish peasants play on the Bitwar, or Kúrdish flute, made of reeds, their monotonous and melancholy songs, in a pleasing and soft tone.*

* The best song was called Lülijan, or Leilidshan, that is, Leila. Another begins with "Az de nalim," that is, "*I will complain.*" Other Kúrdish national songs begin with "*Men kuzha benaz,*" or "*Mil ki jan,*" or "*Azizi.*" Some of these songs were very long, and consisted of double verses, in the style of the Persian poetry. The Kúrdish shepherd's flute, Sherashal, is made of wood, has a very loud, but by no means an unpleasant, tone, and particularly suited to echoes. They use peculiar tones for calling the sheep, which the flocks perfectly understand, and gather themselves together; and in another place Mr. Rich repeats the assurance, that the Kúrds are passionately fond of

The Kúrds are less talkative and noisy amongst themselves than the Persians; on the other hand, they more often break out into a rough loud cry, particularly when they meet out of doors. Dancing is a passion with them as well as music, and particularly with the females. All the oriental dances, according to Rich, have the same character, and are of the highest antiquity. The Kúrdish Tshopi, or circular dance, is only a variation of the Greek Sirto, or the Romaika, but it is more lively. He saw it performed at a marriage feast, with the wildest and most noisy music of drums and fifes, and amidst numerous spectators. The dancers clasped their hands in rows, swinging their bodies to and fro, and stamping with their feet, and uttering wild cries. The men first stepped out, and the Harlequin followed them. Then the women, adorned with silk dresses and gold buckles, and without any oriental veiling, danced in the circle with much grace and beauty.

Mr. Rich confirms Hoernle's statement, that the people attain an advanced age. Mr. Rich declares that he has nowhere seen so many fine hale old persons of both sexes, as in Kúrdistan; and, notwithstanding the apparent disadvantages of the climate, the Kúrds are, in general, a very strong and healthy people. The children, too, are clear-skinned and ruddy. A Bagdad child has a perfectly unwholesome appearance, with swelled belly, yellow morbid flesh, and moving as if it had the rickets. A Kúrdish child is a hardy, light, active, little creature: they are all remarkably well behaved.

The difference of physiognomy between the clansman and peasant Kúrd is perfectly distinguishable. The latter has a much softer and more regular countenance; the features are sometimes quite Grecian. The tribesman is more what is called a hard-featured man, with a thick prominent forehead, abrupt lines, and eyes sunk in his head, which

music, and have many wild and good national songs, as those before mentioned, in which, generally, there are chorusses. He also heard parts of songs of Ferhad and Shirin, which reminded him of the Venetian songs of the gondoliers, by Tasso. Others resembled very much, in their contents, the traditions in the Shahnameh of Ferdusi.

are usually fixed in a kind of stare. Light grey, and even blue, is a common colour for the eyes. The clansmen, too, may be easily known by their firm step and open and determined manner. At the first glance, you perceive that they are the lords of the country.

Paragraph 5.—Of the Yezides.

An account of the Kúrdish people would be imperfect without some notice of the Yezides, who are scattered through different parts of Kúrdistan, though the Yezides appear now rather to be a religious sect than a particular nation.

The Yezides are not confined to Kúrdistan, or, at least, to the country generally so termed. A considerable body of them inhabit the hills of Sinjar, near the river Chabur, and the plains round Nisibin and Orfu, to the westward of Mosul, where they were not long since visited by Mr. Forbes.*

The principal abode of the Yezides is in Kúrdistan, where they are said to speak the Kúrdish language in a peculiar dialect. They are found in various districts of the Kúrdish lordship of Júlámerik, in Amádíyah, Jezira ibn Omar, and Zákhó. Their pontiff, or the acknowledged superior of the whole sect, is the Sheik-Khan, whose family resides at Baadlí, the capital of the Yezides, which Mr. Rich saw at a distance surrounded by rocky walls, on his way to El Kosch. The Mir Sheik Khan, at that time, was styled Saleh Bey, and it was observed by Mr. Rich, that the Yezides, as well as the Druses, are fond of Mohammedan titles. They reach far to the northward of Kúrdistan, and a band of them was seen by M. Am. Jaubert, on the western side of Lake Ván, on the way to Bayazìd. A colony of them was lately found on the Bosphorus, opposite to Constantinople, where they had assumed the name of "Mam Soyindar." They are also spread in Arabia among the

* Visit to the Sinjar Hills, 1839, with some account of the Yezides, &c., by F. Forbes, Esq., M. A., &c.—Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. ix, page 409.

native tribes. What they were in their origin, whether a particular tribe of people or a religious sect, or both, it is impossible, from the facts already known concerning them, to determine. M. Rich observes, that they had a darker complexion in Kúrdistan than the other Kúrds, a circumstance which seems to indicate a southern origin.* In the hills near Mosul, they speak the Kúrdish language, and are armed with bows and arrows and slings.

The Yezides have been said to worship the Devil. Some have supposed that they offer a deprecatory adoration to the Evil Principle of the old Persian mythology; but the being to whom they pay tokens of respect or fear is the Shaitan of the Arabs. Many absurd and revolting stories have been related of them. By Mr. Ainsworth they have been vindicated from many of these accusations. This intelligent traveller found, on inquiry, good reason to believe that the history of the Melik Taús, or king peacock, as related by Father Maurizio Garzoni, M. Rousseau, Mr. Buckingham, Mr. Forbes, and other modern travellers, is a calumny invented by the Christians of those countries. Mr. Ainsworth says, "I venture this assertion with reserve, for it is curious that a Christian, residing at Kathandiyah, in the neighbourhood of the Yezides, still persisted in the truth of this tradition. The Mohammedan Kúrds (not Yezides), who served as muleteers, remarked to me, that I had myself found it to be a falsehood. The images of David and Solomon have no more existence than the peacock; and I need not add, that the account of their assembling on the

* The most complete account of the Yezides is to be found in Professor Ritter's Erdkunde von Asien, Band vi. 2 Abtheil, s. 748-762. Every thing known respecting them is there collected. The chief sources of information are Father Garzoni's notes, containing the first account of the Yezides, published by Sestini, in his "Viaggi e opusculi diversi," (Ritter, 728); Rousseau's "Description du Pashalik de Bagdad," published by De Sacy, of which a long extract is to be found in "Buckingham's Travels in Mesopotamia," and Von Hammer's account of the Turkish Empire, translated from the Jehannuma. Niebuhr was one of the first travellers who described them The latest and most correct information on many points of their history, is to be found in Mr. Ainsworth's memoir in the Journal of the Geographical Society, and in his Travels and Researches in Asia Minor and Kúrdistan.

eve of the festival held on the tenth day of the moon, in the month of August, of the lights being extinguished, and of their holding promiscuous intercourse till morning, has every appearance of being a base calumny, assailing human nature in general, while aimed against the poor Yezides in particular. I have seldom seen a more respectable, benign, good-looking Mullá, than the one who superintends the temple of Sheikh Adi. I inquired when the great bitumen fires, of which I saw the traces, were lighted: 'On the night of the festival,' was the answer. The lurid blaze of numerous fires of mineral pitch, light up a scene which the imagination of the ignorant and wilful Easterns has filled with horror. My informant, however, whatever might be his doctrines, had the look of one habituated to a peaceful meditation and pious life; and, certainly not of the leader of vicious and licentious orgies." Mr. Ainsworth informs us, that the Yezides, "as a race of men, are mostly tall, thin and well made, their bones large, and features spare, but marked with much earnestness and decision. The brows advance over the eyes, the forehead is high but retreating, the nose prominent, the lips moderate."

Various opinions have been maintained concerning the origin of the Yezides, but nothing certain is known. They are termed by the Mohammedan Kúrds, Shaitanperest, or Devil-worshippers. It has been supposed by some, that they are remains of the old Fire-worshippers, who pay adoration to Ahriman, or the Evil Principle, and their name is derived from Ized Ferfer, or Ferouer, an Evil Spirit of the Parsis, whose emblem is to be recognised in the sculptured idol accompanying the serpent on the gate-ways of their chief temple. This is the opinion of Mr. Ainsworth and of Major Rawlinson, who recognise the name of the Yezides in Jesden, a place in Adiabene mentioned in a letter of Heraclius preserved by Theophanes.* The Mohammedan Kúrds report, that the Yezides derive their origin and name from Yezid, the son of Moawiyah, the destroyer of the race of Ali; or from a saint of that name, who lived about the same period; and Mr. Forbes thinks there is no doubt that they are a corrupt Mohammedan sect.

Major Rawlinson and Dr. Grant supposed them to be of Jewish origin. The argument for this opinion is their observing the rite of circumcision and a festival coinciding with the passover in time and circumstances. It is said to be confirmed by Syrian books in the hands of Mar Shimou, bearing date A.D. 1253, and giving testimony to their Hebrew descent. It must be observed, that both eastern Christians and Mohammedans ascribe a Jewish origin, not only to the Yezides, but to many other nations. The notion of the Hebrew origination of the Affgháns was at one time more widely spread and generally believed, and yet it has long ago been discarded by all well-informed persons. Unless a knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures and the Hebrew language should be discovered among the Yezides, which seems very unlikely to be the case, their supposed Jewish origin must be looked upon as a conjecture. The idiom of the Yezides is said to be a peculiar dialect of the Kúrdish. If this is really the fact, the most probable conclusion will be, considering the wide dispersion of the clans belonging to this tribe and their separation in so many distant parts, that they are a Kúrdish race who have never been converted to Islàm, or whose adoption of the tenets of that creed has been imperfect. They seem to have preserved some ancient customs from the times of Paganism, or to have adopted peculiar rites in subsequent periods, as the Druses, and many other eastern sects have done. A further investigation of the dialects of the Kúrdish tribes, and of the relation which the idiom of the Yezides bears to the language of the proper Kúrds, is the resourse to which we may look for an elucidation of doubts connected with their history.

SECTION X.—*Of the Púshtâneh, Patans, or Affgháns.*

This warlike and semi-barbarous people, who founded the first Mohammedan empire in Hindústan, and were powerful in that country till it was conquered by the Moguls, were termed in India Patans. That name is a corruption of their national designation, which is Púshtâneh. By Eu-

ropeans they are known by the appellation of Affgháns, or Uffghauns, which was adopted from the Persians. Their native country is a mountainous region of great extent in the north-eastern quarter of Persia, consisting of high terrasses and table-land, which stretch along the southern declivity of the lofty Hindu-Khúsh, and the Paropamisan chain, the westward continuation, or offset, of the great Himalaya. Affghánistan is bounded to the eastward, from its northern extremity, by the channel of the Indus, till that river leaves the mountainous region and flows down into the plain of the Balúches. The upland connected with the chain of Solimán, reaching further southward, still belongs to the Affgháns, whose highlands extend as far as the deep valley of Bolan, which separates the Affgháns from Balúchistan. Towards the west, Affghánistan reaches to the great desert of Khórasan, and to the plateau of Kelat, which forms a part of it, though nearly detached. Almost the whole country of the Affgháns is of greater elevation than the surrounding regions.*

Vague and improbable notions have been circulated in Europe as to the origin of the Affgháns. Sir William Jones, and other English writers,† fancied that they are the descendents of the Ten Tribes of the Israelites led into captivity by Sennacherib, whom some persons suppose to have remained in the East when the body of the Jewish nation returned into Palestine. Such a tradition is indeed prevalent among the Affgháns, adopted by them, as similar fabulous stories founded on the Old Testament have been invented among other tribes converted to Islàm, and by not

* Outline of the physical geography of Affghánistan, in the introduction to the "History of Cabúl," by the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who first made known this remarkable country to Europe, and whose work will hereafter hold a place in the same rank with Cæsar's account of the Gauls, or the description of Germany by Tacitus.

† On the descent of the Affgháns from the Jews, by Mr. Vansittart, Asiat. Researches, vol. 2.

‡ See the Nachträge zum ersten Theil des Mithridates, s. 252. Klaproth, Ueber die Sprache und der Ursprung der Aghûan oder Afghanen. Archiv, für Asiatischen Literatur, Geschichte und Sprachkunde, St. Petersb. 1810, und besonders abgedruckt.

a few Christian nations. It must be classed, as Mr. Elphinstone has shown, with the descent of the Romans and Britons from Troy, or that of the Irish from the Milesians and the Brahmans. Some late writers have pretended that the Affgháns are the posterity of the Albanians, expelled by Tchinggis-Khan or one of his successors from their ancient abodes in the Caucasus, and supposed to have settled in the mountainous country near the Indus. This theory was readily adopted by the traveller Reineggs.* The Affgháns have no written history, and they accordingly afford, as it appears, a fair object of speculation and conjecture; but something more than conjecture must be adduced before it can be allowed to be at all probable, that so numerous a people first gained possession of their present extensive country since the commencement of history.

The opposite opinion has been maintained by M. Wilkin, the author of a learned treatise on the history of the Affgháns.† Wilkin has collected many ancient notices which indicate that the Affghán race occupied, in an early period, the same region which they now inhabit. The oldest seat which the traditions of the Durani recognise as the abode of their race, a tradition which Fesishta confirms, was in Gûr or Guristan, in the Paropamisas. From thence it is probable that early expeditions of the same people to the borders of the Indus, made them known to the Macedonians. However this may have been, there is little doubt that the Assecani, mentioned by Arrian, were the Affgháns.‡ They are placed by that writer to the westward of the Indus, and between that stream and the Cophenes, supposed to be the river Kabúl. Pliny terms the same people Aspagonæ, and he describes their country in terms which leave no room for doubt that it was Affghánistan. He says, it bears vines, laurel and box trees, and abounds with all the same

* Reineggs, Reisen im Kaukasus.

† Fr. Wilkin, "Ueber die Verfassung, den Urprung und die Geschichte der Afghanen" Abhanlungen der Kön. Soc. der Wissonsch, in Berlin, 1818-1819. Ritter, Erdk. vi. s. 196.

‡ The chief towns of the Assecani were, according to Arrian, Massaca, which was their metropolis, and Peucela, not far from the Indus. Arrian. Indic. p. 314, Ed. Gronov. item. de Exped. Alexand., p. 221.

fruits which are produced by the climate of Greece.* It has been thought that the Affgháns, or Assekani are even to be recognised by name among the nations tributary to Persia enumerated in the cuneiform inscriptions on the walls of Persepolis. The name of one tribe has been read by Lassen, Usk$^{a}_{=}$ngha, or Usç$^{a}_{=}$nga.†

The relation of the Affgháns to other nations can only be investigated by the aid of Lexiology. One idiom is common to all the tribes of this race. It is termed Púshtú. Collections of Púshtú words were made long ago by the Honorable Mountstuart Elphinstone, by Baumeister, and by Klaproth, with a view to this inquiry, and they were compared with vocabularies of the Persian, Indian, and Caucasian languages.

Klaproth, in his Asia Polyglotta, exhibited a table of more than two hundred Affghán words compared with various Persian and Indian dialects, and he has added some few specimens of grammatical forms. Mr. Elphinstone compared the Púshtú with the Armenian, Georgian, Indian and Persian languages, and concluded, that a great part of the Affghán vocabulary springs from some unknown root, being peculiar to the Púshtú language. Many of these are words of the first necessity, or such as all nations possess. Yet, a portion of this very class are Zend or Pehlvi, including the numerals and some words denoting family relations. Most of the verbs in particular belong to that peculiar stock. This was, at first, Mr. Elphinstone's opinion. He afterwards found that some of the words, supposed to be peculiar, exist in the Kúrdish idiom. The number of these last, namely, of words common to the original constituent vocabulary of the Kúrds and the Affgháns, has been shown by Klaproth to be very considerable. That writer concluded, that the Púshtú is an Indo-European dialect; or, as he says, "a member of that family of lan-

* Plin. H. Nat. Lib. 6, s. 21. Aspagonæ may easily be converted to Affghán, the sibilant consonants being often interchanged into aspirates, as Ritter has observed.

† See Lassen's Alt-Persische Keil-Inschriften, s. 94.—Ritter's Erdkunde, v. s. 206.

guages which is spread from the Ganges to the British islands." It is safe, however, as Ritter has shewn, to go a step further than this conclusion, and to hold it as certain, that the Púshtú language belongs to a particular branch of the Indo-European languages, namely, to the Medo-Persian.* With this it is decidedly connected by its grammatical forms. These forms are completely Persian; but what is remarkable, and of stronger evidence as to the ethnological inference, they bear the most decided affinity to the old Zend rather than to the modern Persian. The Púshtú, for example, retains the final vowels in the inflections of nouns and verbs, which the modern Persian has lost. Thus in Pushtú, for *est* and *non est*, we find *shta* and *nishta*, which in Zend are *aste* and *nashte*, in Persian *est* and *nist*, and the termination of the third person is, in Púshtú, *di*, in Zend, *te*, in Persian, simply *d*.

M. Wilkin, who has been already cited, has proved, by an elaborate comparison of the customs, and all the civil and political institutions of the modern Affgháns, that they bear an analogy, which approaches to identity, to the most remarkable traits of a similar description recorded by Herodotus and Xenophon of the ancient Medes and Persians, before the age of Alexander. The whole civil constitution of Persia, in the time of Cyrus, seems to be accurately copied in that of the modern Affgháns, among whom the Durani, the ruling tribe, hold exactly the same relation to the subject clans, which the Pasargadæ, among whom the Achæmenedæ were a particular family, bore to the remainder of the Persian community. This comparison, of which the results have been thought very striking and conclusive, tends to confirm the opinion, that the Affgháns are a nearly connected branch of the old Arian race.

The climate of Affghánistan is dry, as we are informed by Mr. Elphinstone, and the average temperature greater than than that of England, the extremes of heat and cold being greater. According to Sir Alexander Burnes, it produces the fruits of England and of southern Europe, peaches, plums, apricots, pears, cherries, mulberries, vines, and pomegra-

* Erdkunde von Asien, Band. 6, s. 205-206.

nates, and the groves are stocked with our singing birds, nightingales, blackbirds, thrushes, and doves. The pears and apples of Kabúl are celebrated, and the seasons said to be there delightful. Kabúl itself is more than six hundred feet above the level of the sea. The eastern parts of Affgánistan consist of plains intersected by abrupt chains of hills, the western chiefly of downs and table-lands, in many parts bleak and cold.

In such a country we might expect to find the people very different from the nations of southern Hindústan. We are informed that the Affghán men are of robust make, lean, strong, and muscular, with high noses and prominent cheek bones, and long faces. Their hair and beards are mostly black, sometimes brown, but rarely red.* We shall find that some clans are characteristically red-haired. Mr. Fraser describes the Patan, or Affghán soldiers whom he saw, as having red hair and blue eyes.† Mr. Elphinstone says, that the eastern Affgháns have generally dark complexions approaching to that of the "Hindoostanees," while those of the west are of higher colour, with an appearance of health; but among them, he says, as among the eastern Affgháns, men as dark as the Indians, and others as fair as Europeans, are to be met with in the same neighbourhood; the fair being the most common in the west, and the dark in the east. This difference he attributes to climate. In describing a tribe of Affgháns near Deri, the same writer says, "The number of children was considerable; they were mostly fair and handsome. The girls had aquiline noses, fine faces, and Jewish features. The men were generally dark, though some were quite fair. One young man had exactly the colour, features, and appearance of an Irish hay-maker." He probably means a sanguine complexion.

The preceeding description applies to the Affghán nation in general. They are divided into a great number of tribes, which, although they speak one language and constitute one race, differ considerably from each other. Their several abodes are pointed out, and their respective characters are

* Elphinstone's Account of Kabúl.

† Fraser's Travels in the Himmálaya, cited above.

described by Mr. Elphinstone. The following is a brief abstract of his account.

1. *Tribes of North-eastern Affgháns, or Berdúráni.*

The tribes of the north-eastern part of Affghánistan, between the range of Hindu-Khúsh, the Indus, the Salt range, and the range of Solimán, are comprehended under the name of Berdúráni. They consist of the tribes of Eusofzyi, Otmán Khail, Turkolání, Khyberí, tribes of the plain of Peshawar, of Bandush, and Khattak.

The Berdúráni differ from other Affgháns in having more Indian refinement, through intercourse with India, in the wars of Ghazna and Kabúl. The Berdúráni possess the hills and valleys and forests under the Solimán mountains and those of Hindu-Khúsh. The high summits are occupied by the Kafirs, or Siah Pósh. The climate is various: in part cold like that of Alpine mountains; hot in the plains of Peshawar.

A very principal branch of the Berdúráni, are the Eusofzyi, an agricultural tribe who wandered into their present abode, as it is reported, about three centuries ago. Their original dwelling was near Persia, on the borders of the great Salt Desert. The territory which they now occupy is equal in extent to all England.

The Eusofzyi display the Affghán character most completely developed. "Living among the conquered people of other Affghán tribes, like the Spartans among the Helots, and enjoying entire independence, every Eusofzyi is filled with his own dignity and importance. Their pride appears in the seclusion of their women, in the gravity of their manners, and in the terms in which they speak of themselves and their tribe, not allowing even the Dooranees to be their equals. Their independence and frequent quarrels render them suspicious and repulsive."

The Eusofzyi are generally stout men, but their form and complexion vary. "In those whose appearance is most characteristic of the tribe," says Mr. Elphinstone, "one is struck with their fair complexions, grey eyes, and

red beards, by the military affectation of their carriage, and by their haughty and insolent demeanour."*

The Khyberi are another Affghán tribe, who live in the country to the south-westward of the plain of Peshawar. On the south-east they extend along the range from 34° nearly to the Indus. Their country is much diversified. The climate has extremes of heat and cold. "In Guran it is cool, but the lower valleys, from the stagnation of the air between mountains, and the low bare hills are in the summer intolerably hot."

The Khyberi, enumerated among the Berdúráni tribes, are lean muscular men, with long gaunt faces, high noses, prominent cheek bones, and black complexions. They are in appearance more uncouth than any other Affgháns.

There are many other smaller tribes to the westward and southward of the Berdúráni country, in the outskirts, who are reckoned in part as belonging to Damaun. They are enumerated by Mr. Elphinstone.

2.—*South-eastern Tribes of Damán.*

Damán is comprehended between the Salt range and the Solimán mountains. It is divided into three parts, Muckelwand, or the plain of the Indus, the country of the Marwats, and Damán proper.

The Muckelwand is inhabited by Balúches and Játs, who are not Affgháns. They are people of dark complexion and lean and meagre form.

The Marwats are agriculturists. They inhabit sandy and arid plains, divided by ranges of hills. They are tall, fine men. Their country reaches from near the feet of the Solimán mountains to the hills bordering on the plain of the Indus.

Damán proper, extends along the feet of the Solimán hills, southward of the Marwats. It is inhabited by various tribes included under the general appellation of "Lohaunees."

Mr. Elphinstone describes these tribes as differing from

* Elphinstone's Kabúl, page 348.

the Berdúráni in several respects, both in character and appearance, being large bony men, often fair, and wearing long braces and bands. They have less resemblance to the Indians than other eastern Affgháns. The "Bauboors" are a civilised and opulent tribe of Lohaunees. The "Stooreaunees," mostly pastoral people, are another kindred tribe.

Besides the foregoing, some wandering tribes take up their abodes, during the winter, in Damán.

3.—*Mountain Tribes inhabiting the Range of the Solimán Mountains.*

"The Zamurrees and Sheeraunees inhabit the mountainous region above the tribes already described, around the lofty heights of Tukhti Solimaun," in villages scattered about its skirts.

The Sheeraunees are generally of middle stature, not thin, but stout, hardy, and active. They have bold features, grey eyes, high cheek-bones, and a wild and manly appearance.

The Vizeerees inhabit a country of pine-forests to the northward of the former tribe. They are said to be tall and muscular, of fair complexions and high features.

4.—*Western Affgháns,—Dúráni.*

The eastern Affghán tribes already described inhabit, for the most part, plains and valleys intersected by abrupt chains of hills. The tribes of western Affghánistan live chiefly on steppes and downs, often bleak and bare.

The "Dooraunees" are the principal and dominant tribe. Their country is four hundred miles in length, and from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and forty in breadth. It is bounded by the Paropamisan mountains to the north, inhabited by Aïmáks and Hezárehs, races distinct from the Affghán. Its extent is probably greater than that of England. The Dooraunees are divided into many petty tribes, who are ranged under the heads of the Zeerak and Punjpaws. The population of their country is estimated at

eight hundred thousand souls. Kandahar and Herat, two great cities, the latter of which contains one hundred thousand inhabitants, are in their territory. Kandahar is inhabited by Affgháns, who elsewhere seldom live in towns.

The Dooraunees are stout men with good complexions and fine beards; they display great variety of features Some have round, plump faces. Most have raised features and high cheek-bones.

To the southward of the Dooraunees are the tribes termed by Elphinstone, Tereens, and those named Caukers.

5.—*Of the Ghilji.*

The country of the Ghilji is to the eastward of the Dúraní, comprehending the higher course of the Tarnak, and reaching north-westward to the Paropamisan mountains, and eastward to the mountains of Solimán, and towards Jellalabad to the frontier of the Berdúráni.

The Ghilji country includes the city of Kabúl and the poor remains of the once splendid capital of Mahmúd, the first Mohammedan invader of India and founder of the Ghaznevide dynasty. The Ghilji were long the most famous warriors of the whole Affghán race. The climate of their country is in general colder than that of England in the winter, and in summer not much hotter.

They are confessedly the second tribe in Affghánistan, and though more turbulent and less civilised than the Dúrani, are a brave and hospitable people. "In their persons they are probably the largest, handsomest, and fairest of the Affgháns."

To the southward are the Caukers. The Naussers are a people without fixed habitation or lands of their own.

I have been more particular in abstracting this account of the Affgháns, and especially of their physical characters, as they furnish one example of a race of people spread through countries of different climate and elevation of surface and temperature, who, like other nations similarly situated, differ widely in physical characters. The Affgháns, as we have seen, display all the gradations of colour, from the black

complexion of the Hindú to the xanthous colour of other Indo-European nations. It is plain, from what is known of their history, that this variety cannot be accounted for on the principle so often resorted to hypothetically for its explanation: I mean the supposition of mixture in race. It is a phenomenon exactly parallel to that which we shall presently observe in the history of the Hindoos settled in the high places of the Himálayan border, near the sources of the sacred streams, who, though descended from the natives of Hindústan, have fair complexions and blue eyes. It seems from Mr. Elphinstone's statement, which is a simple testimony of observed facts without the least theoretical bias, that the tribes who live on the table-land in the West of Affghánistan are fair, have European countenances, and xanthous complexions, while people of the same race near the Indus are black or nearly so, there being a preponderant number of dark complexions in the East, and of fair in the West. The mountaineers are, however, fair in all parts, while the Kafirs, or Siah-Pósh, who live among the high mountains above the Affgháns, are, as we shall observe hereafter, completely xanthous.

CHAPTER XI.

HISTORY OF INDIA. ORIGIN AND PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF ITS INHABITANTS.

SECTION I.—*Geographical Survey of India.—Subdivisions of countries, with reference to their great physical boundaries.—Corresponding distribution of Races.*

THE vast mountainous barrier of the Himálaya, which separates India from Tibet and Central Asia and resembles, though of much greater extent, the Alpine border of Italy, seems to have been comprehended, together with Hindústan and the Dekhan, by the ancient Indian geographers, in the fabulous region of Jambudwipa. Jambudwipa, literally the island or peninsula of the jambu-tree or rose-apple, is one of the seven great sections into which the earth, according to the Brahmans, is divided by the ocean on whose surface its separate parts lie spread out like the expanded petals of a water-lily.* In the centre of the seven great divisions, compared to the cup or seed-vessel of a lotus, of which the leaves form the seven dwipas or peninsulas, rises the sacred mountain of Meru, like a pillar of gold and gems. On its summit sits Brahma, adored by Rishis and Gandharbhas, while the Regents of the four quarters of the universe hold their stations on its four faces. India itself received from its inhabitants the vain epithets of Medhyáma, or the "Middle Region," and Punyabhúmi, or the "Land of Virtues." Jambudwipa,

* Sir William Jones, Essay on the Hindús.

including Mount Meru, which was apparently the highest summit of the Himálaya, of greater extent than Hindústan, may be termed almost with strict propriety an island, since it is separated from the continent of Asia by two great rivers which, to the northward of the Himálaya, spring almost from a common point, and flowing round all its northern side, fall into the opposite seas of Persia and Bengal. Taking their rise in the valley of Tibet, near the sacred lake of Manasa-sarovara, these rivers flow in opposite directions under the northern feet of the Himálaya, and passing round each extremity of that great chain, turn southward and enter the ocean at the eastern and western extremities of Hindústan. The Attok, or the Sindh, rising not far from the source of the Zangbu or Brahmaputra, passes in a north-westerly direction nearly parallel to the Himálaya by Leh in Ladakh, and flowing to the northward of Kashmír, turns southward; then penetrating the great Alpine barrier of India, nearly at right angles, through vast ravines, it assumes the name of Indus, and descends into the plain of Kach, to continue its course into the Indo-Persian Sea. The other great river, the Zangbu*, or Sanpo, runs towards the south-east and then turns southward into the valley of Assam, where it is known as the Brahmaputra, and unites itself with the Ganges, to fall into the Bay of Bengal. The whole region thus insulated from the mainland of Asia, consists of three parts: first, the mountainous northern border formed by the Snowy Chain, and including the long terrasses of inferior highlands which, intersected by the numerous valleys of Kashmír, Nepál, and Bhutan, lie along its southern feet and separate it from the low countries of central India; and, secondly, Eastern, Central, and Western Hindústan, watered by the Jumna and Ganges, the Indus, and their contributary streams. The third division is the Dekhan, or the Peninsula. The Dekhan, so called from the Sanskrit—दक्षिण—*Dakshin*, meaning the South, is bounded on two sides by the sea, and on its northern side by the chain of the Vindhya

* It is termed Zangbu by the authorities preferred by Humboldt and Ritter.

mountains, which separate it from proper or Central Hindústan, and may be considered as forming the basis of a triangle. The Eastern and Western Ghauts, running parallel to its two sides, form a high border which limits and supports the table-land of the Peninsula, the seat of the ancient kingdom of Karnátaka. Those chains converge near Coimbatore, leaving the low plains of the Carnatic between their southern extremity and the sea of Ceylon. If we begin from this point, the two chains may be traced advancing towards the north on each margin of the Dekhan, where they cut off the low coast of Malabar on the western, and that of Coromandel on the eastern side. The Western Ghauts have by far the greatest elevation, and the plateau of the Dekhan slopes from them towards the east, in which direction it sends off the great rivers of the peninsula, the Mahanadi, the Krishna, and the Kavery, which penetrate the eastern chain, and fall into the sea of Bengal. The Western Ghauts above Malabar rise to a great height, and are clothed with vast forests and the exuberant abundance of a tropical vegetation. Further northward the Western Ghauts, more broken, are pierced by the channels of the rivers Tapti and Nerbudda, which descend from the high central countries in the north of the peninsula, and fall into the Gulph of Cambay above Bombay. To the northward of the Nerbudda, and parallel to its course, the Vindhya mountain-chain extends from east to west nearly at right angles with the direction of the Western Ghauts. Here the Ghauts are generally considered to have their northern termination, but, according to Major Tod, a part of this same system of mountains becomes a still more important landmark in the geography of northern India. From the neighbourhood of Champaner, in a direction nearly perpendicular to that of the Vindhya mountains, the chain of the Aravali runs northward and forms a great geographical boundary which separates into two very different regions the central part of Hindústan. The most correct idea of this chain is formed, in the opinion of Major Tod, by representing the Aravali as a northern prolongation of the Western Ghauts, which crossing the western extremity of the Vindhya mountain-

chain rises again towards the north, having the same geological formation, and continues its course in the same direction under a new name. Viewed from the citadel at the summit of Komalmen, the chain of Aravali may be seen stretching northward towards Ajimír, where it loses its flattened form and, severed into lofty crests, sends numerous branches to the westward, and at length terminates in low hills near Delhi. This chain of Aravali turns towards Rajast'han and separates the Patar, or table-land of Mewar, from the lower region to the westward. The western low-land may be considered as commencing from the plains of Guzerat and Sindh, on the borders of the Indian Ocean, and as continued northward to the sandy wilderness of Shekawati, which separates the province of Delhi from Lahore. This low plain is separated by the Aravali chain, as by a wall, from the high Upland, which in parts has an elevation of two thousand five hundred feet above the level of the sea, and is the highest level between the Nerbudda and the Himálaya. In its centre are the splendid ruins of Chetore, the ancient capital of the most powerful and warlike dynasties in Rajputana. This table-land of northern India slopes gently from its western boundary, the Aravali, and from its southern margin formed by the Vindhya mountains, towards the north-east and the basin of the Ganges. It is traversed by the rivers which rise from the mountains forming its southern and western borders. The Chambal, the Kali Sindh, the Parbati, and the Sindh, take their course from the declivity of the Vindhya chain, and passing through Rajast'han towards the north-east, fall into the Jumna. The waters which rise to the westward of the Aravali flow towards the Gulph of Cambay and the Indian Ocean. This chain may therefore be regarded as the boundary between the Sindhian provinces or those of western Hindústan, and the fertile and populous countries which send their waters to the Ganges. On one side are the deserts of Shekawati, and further the province of Lahore, consisting of the northern and hilly districts of Kohistan and the Panjáb, and the low plains of Sindhe. On the other, is Mewar, or high Rajputana, and Oude, or

Ayodhya, the ancient kingdom of Rama; and further eastward Anugangam, the region of the Ganges.*

Hindústan, or Central India, exclusive of the Dekhan, is thus divided into two great portions, that of the Indus and the Ganges. To the northward lies the third great region, the Himálaya.

Paragraph 2.—General Observations on the Races of People who inhabit the Regions described in the preceding pages.

The whole extent of India, rather of Jambudwipa or the vast island bounded by the ocean and the two great rivers of Tibet, consists, as we have seen, of three principal regions, the high mountainous country of the Himálaya towards the north, Hindústan or Aryavarta, in the midst, and the Dekhan or the peninsula, to the south. Its population is formed by a great number of different races. Of these I must here briefly survey the distribution, in order to afford my readers a distinct view of a complicated subject, of which the details would appear to be obscure and confused without some previous outline.

The population of India and its borders consists partly of nations more or less civilised, and, in part, of barbarous aborigines, who occupy the mountainous and less accessible tracts. Of the latter there are very numerous tribes, who differ from each other in languages and physical characters, and, on this ground, appear to be referable to different original stems. In the north-eastern part of the Himálayan countries, on the borders of the Brahmaputra and beyond that river, there are numerous tribes of wild mountaineers resembling the most barbarous races of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, with whom they appear to be much more nearly connected than with the inhabitants of Hindústan. They are rude idolaters, retaining the simple and gross superstitions found everywhere among the most uncultivated tribes of men. In the southern parts of Hindústan

* This outline is partly taken from Colonel Tod's description. History of Rajast'han, vol. 1.

and in the Dekhan there are tribes not less savage than the northern races, but differing from them, and among themselves, in physical characters.

Among the civilised nations the principal race are the Hindoos, properly so termed, the name being used not in a political or religious but in an ethnological sense. They are the people who speak dialects essentially allied to the Sanskrit, and through it to the great Indo-European family of languages. Their proper country is Hindústan, namely, the region included between the Indus on the western side, and the delta of the Ganges or the Brahmaputra on the east. To the northward and southward its boundaries are the Himálayan countries and the Vindhya mountains. But beyond the limits of Hindústan the Indian race, meaning the Hindoos, have extended their colonies towards the north and south, and they form a part of the population of the Himálayan border as well as of many countries in the Dekhan.

From the Hindoos was perhaps derived that portion of mental culture which is found in other civilised races of the Indian world. The religion of Buddha was conveyed from India in ancient times to the mountainous countries of Tibet and Bhutan and other tracts in the northern or Himálayan border. The religion of the Brahmans, with their arts and literature, were introduced at a still earlier period among the nations of the Dekhan, who are known to be the offsets of a stock entirely distinct from that of the genuine Hindoos, and to speak languages which, though mixed with different proportions of Sanskrit words, are of peculiar structure and have an originally distinct vocabulary. By many it is now supposed, that these southern nations had attained some degree of civil culture, and had even a peculiar literature, before the earliest colonies of Hindoos, or even the first missionaries of the Brahmanya religion were introduced among them.*

In the following survey I shall begin with the Hindoos,

* Memoirs by Mr. James Prinsep, in the different numbers of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, on the literature of the Tamuls, and particularly on the alphabet described by Iambulus.

since the history of that race goes the furthest back and it is by means of it that we gain an insight into the ancient state of India. I shall endeavour to trace a brief outline of their history. I shall then proceed to the civilised nations of the Dekhan and afterwards to survey the tribes of aboriginal mountaineers. In a future part of this chapter I shall examine the history of the nations belonging to the Indian race, who are spread through the Himálayan border of Hindústan.

Section II.—*Outline of the History of the Hindoos.*

Paragraph 1.—Sources of Information.

In the great mass of ancient literature preserved by the Hindoos a principal part is formed by poetical narratives which are considered by the Brahmans as a sort of sacred history. These are chiefly the two great epic or heroical poems, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, and the Puranas, termed by Mr. Colebrooke, one of the most learned critics of Indian literature, the theogonies of the Hindoos. In these works are related the fabulous adventures of gods and heroes or incarnate gods, and the history of long lines of princes who claimed a descent from the Sun and Moon, and some of whose reigns lasted several thousand years. The two epic poems are among the most ancient of Sanskrit compositions; their relation to the history of the Hindoos has been happily illustrated by the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, by an allusion to the early poems of Greece. The Ramayana celebrates, with many fabulous inventions, the victories which Rama, champion of religion and civilisation, gained over monsters and barbarous men; it is compared to the Grecian legends of the adventures of Hercules; while the Mahabharata, like the Iliad, in assembling the princes of many states in a common national enterprise, throws a ray of light over the co-existing dynasties of the time, and displays some synchronisms in lines of princes, which would otherwise be without relation to each other. But all Indian chronology is matter of doubtful computa-

tion, and even of conjecture, down to the period when the history of the Hindoos comes into contact with that of Europe. As in the history of Egypt, Babylon, Media, Persia, so in that of India, the earliest periods on which a clear and steady light is diffused, are those in which a synchronism can be certainly established with the authentic chronology of the Greeks. Among the contemporary dynasties of Indian kings, in the several series descended from the heroes of the Mahabharata, one of the most powerful was that of Magadha. Its princes reigned over a considerable part of the Gangetic country, including Bengal and the Behar. One among the sovereigns of this country, namely, Chandragupta, has been identified by a variety of coincidences, with the Sandracottus, or Sandracoptus, well-known to us through the Greeks as a contemporary of the first Seleucus; and thus a date in Indian history is ascertained, from which we may compute backwards as well as forwards with some degree of confidence.* Events of importance to the internal history of India connect themselves with the period shortly after following. Among them, is the introduction of Buddhism and its spread over a great part of India, in the reign of Asoka, the third prince in succession from Chandragupta. This date in their history being determined, the records of the Buddhists, before and after that event, become available for the purposes of history and chronology.† Another fortunate circumstance is that a great portion of the inscriptions discovered in various parts of India, on monuments of different kinds, and decyphered and read by the late Mr. Prinsep are found to relate to the times of this same Asoka. The contents of these inscriptions are important in an histo-

* The identification of Chandragupta with Sandracottus was a fortunate conjecture of Sir W. Jones, which, since the time of that great man, has been established to the conviction of all. See Professor Wilson's Hindú Theatre, vol. 3. p. 3. Elphinstone's History of India, vol. 1. p. 262. It may be observed, that Sandracottus is called by Diodorus Xandramas, and by some Indian writers Chandramas.

† It must be observed, that the followers of Buddha have separate annals, written in India, but preserved in Ceylon and Tibet, relating to the principal events that happened to their sect; and in these Asoka holds a conspicuous place.

rical point of view, and illustrate the history of India, and of Indian religions, in the age to which they belong*

* The following table, which is a brief abstract of those given by Sir W. Jones, will afford some idea of this method of computation .—

Suryavansas, or Princes of the Solar Line.	*Somavansas, or Princes of the Lunar Line.*	*Sovereigns of Magadha.*
1. Ikshwaku.	1. Budha	
54 Successors of Ikshwaku.		
56. Rama.		
Wars of the Ramayana.		
Cusha.	The 44th from Budha was Pandu.	
25 Successors of Cusha.		
26. Takshaka, contemporary with Pandu.	Pandu, father of the Pandavas.	
27. Vishadbala, killed in the Great War.	Yudhisht'hira	Sahadeva, one of the Heroes of the Mahabharata.

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Vrihadrana.	Parikshit, successor of Yudhisht'hira. (Parikshit, in the Astonomical System, is made coëval with the beginning of the Kali Yug).	The twentieth prince from Sahadeva, was Pradyota.
30 Reigns, to the extinction of the Suryavansas.	30 Reigns to the extinction of the Somavansas.	The fifteenth from Pradyota was Nanda, the last king of the Xátriya dynasty of Magadha, succeeded by the Maurya dynasty, the first of whom was Chandragupta.*
		Varisara.
		Asoka-verdhana, called also Asoka† and Dhammasoka and Piyudasi.
		In all, Ten Maurya kings; Ten Sunga kings; Four Canwa kings; Twenty-one Andhra kings, to the end of the kingdom of Magadha.

* Proved to be the Sandracottus of Arrian; the Sandracoptus of Athenæus; the Xandramas of Diodorus, contemporary with Seleucus.

† Asoka, contemporary with Antiochus, called, in Indian inscriptions, *Antiako Yoza.*

Paragraph 2.—Attempts made to determine the early dates of Indian History.—War of the Mahabharata.

Modern writers have attempted to ascertain, or at least to approximate to the early dates of Indian history, by methods very similar to those by which the technical chronologers of Greece endeavoured to compute the period of the Trojan war and of other events remote from their times. The earliest periods in Grecian history that are known from nearly contemporary evidence, were the reigns of the Pisistratidæ. From thence, Eratosthenes and Apollodorus calculated backwards, by means of lists of kings, and chiefly those of Sparta, and by reckoning one century for every three reigns, endeavoured to determine the epoch of the fall of Troy, and other events connected with it. In a similar manner, modern writers who have devoted their attention to Indian history, compute upwards, by means of several series of kings, and particularly by that of the sovereigns of Magadha, from the ascertained date of Chandragupta to the era of the Mahabharata, when the princes of various states in India are brought together in a common enterprise. This war, which was as celebrated and as important in Indian history as the siege of Troy in that of Greece, was fought in the Gangetic countries, between the lines of Pandu and Kuru, two branches of the Lunar race of Indian sovereigns. The princes of six kingdoms on the Ganges are mentioned as engaged in the conflict, namely, those of Hastinapura, Mattra, Panchala, Benares, Magadha, and Bengal, as well as Krishna, who reigned in Guzerat. The method of calculating time by the number of reigns, on a more accurate computation than that of Eratosthenes, brings back the era of this war to the fourteenth century before the Christian era, about two centuries before the ordinary date of the fall of Troy. Both Indian and Greek chronologers attempt to derive assistance and correction from astronomical records connected with the events of their respective histories, and here, as the Indians are apparently inferior to the Greeks in regard to the

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authenticity of their records of dynasties, so they have greatly the advantage in the extent, and, as it seems, in the accuracy and value of their astronomical remains. Sir Isaac Newton endeavoured to throw light on the Grecian chronology by noticing the positions of the colures in the sphere of Chiron and the Argonauts; and a similar attempt has been made, perhaps with better auspices, to ascertain the age of the Mahabharata from the astronomical works of Parasara, who is said to have been contemporary with the Great War, and to have left documents from which the position of the heavenly bodies in his time can be determined. The age of Parasara is of the greatest importance in Indian history, as it connects itself not only with the date of the Mahabharata, but likewise with the compilation of the Vedas. It is therefore a subject of inquiry worthy of the pains which have been bestowed upon it.

It appears, indeed, when we first advert to the subject, extremely improbable that scientific treatises should have been preserved in India from a period so remote as the fourteenth century before the Christian era. The best informed and the most judicious among those who have devoted themselves to the study of Indian literature appear, however, unanimous in the opinion that the date assigned to these observations by Mr. Davis, the first successful investigator of Indian astronomy, is correct.* It seems that all the astronomical writers of the Hindoos, including some who are reputed to be of very ancient date, as Varamihira and Brahmegupta, refer to the more ancient works of Parasara. Corrections were made from time to time by late observers, but all agree in the statement, that Parasara's observations, which represented the state of the heavens at the period when he lived, are the basis on which they proceed. Parasara's work, in the opinion of Mr. Davis, preserves a true account of the position of the solstitial colures in his time, and it was by calculating backwards from this period that the Hindoos constructed that hypothe-

* See Mr. Davis's Treatise on the astronomy of the Hindoos, in the second volume of the Asiatic Researches, and several papers by Sir W. Jones, and by Mr. Colebrooke on the same subject, in other volumes of that series.

tical system which was long represented to the world as a series of real observations handed down from periods of vast antiquity. From the positions of the colures as they stood in the time of Parasara, it was calculated at first by Mr. Davis that this astronomer lived about one thousand one hundred and eighty years before Christ. But the same writer having reconsidered the subject with greater attention, came finally to the conclusion, that the recorded observations, which fix the positions of the colures, must have been made one thousand three hundred and ninety one years before the Christian era; and this calculation has been confirmed, as it has been observed by Major Wilford, by other evidence derived from the works of Parasara.*

It is important to observe, that this calculation of the age of Parasara, and of the real initial period of astronomical observations handed down from the Hindú astronomers, coincides with the conclusions obtained by Mr. Colebrooke, one of the most judicious as well as the most learned of Anglo-Indian scholars, respecting the age of the Vedas, that is of the compilation of these works; for many of the hymns and prayers which they contain are supposed to be of much greater antiquity.† Mr. Colebrooke has observed, that the Jyótish, or calendar of months and seasons, adjusted to the different religious ceremonies ordained in the Vedas, contains adequate means for determining the period at which this adjustment was laid down, and in which it would appear that the Vedas were compiled. He discovered that the places of the solstitial points and equinoxes, at the time when this calendar was formed, are clearly pointed out in several passages. "The Veda," he says, referring particularly to the Yajurveda, "cannot be much older than the observations of the colures recorded by Parasara,‡ which must have been made nearly one thousand three hundred and ninety one years before the Christian era."§ He then describes precisely the position of the colures, and con-

* Asiatic Researches, vol. 5. p. 228. octavo.

† Colebrooke's Essays, vol. 1. p. 200-202.

‡ See Asiatic Researches, vol. 2. p. 268, and 393.

§ Asiatic Researches, vol. 5. p. 288.

tinues, "It therefore seems a probable inference, that such was the position of the equinox when the calendar of months and seasons was adjusted as described in the Vedas;" and hence he infers that the different hymns,. and other fragments of which the Vedas consisted, were not arranged in their present form, in other words, that the Vedas were not compiled till the fourteenth century before the Christian era.*

We have now an opportunity of comparing three different results, derived from separate data, in relation to a very important period of Indian history, namely that of the era of the Mahabharata or Great War, obtained by comparing the lists of kings and Indian dynasties and the dates assigned to Parasara and to the compilation of the Vedas. It must be observed, that all these events belong nearly to the same period. Parasara the astronomer was the father of Vyasa, by whom the Vedas were compiled, and who is always mentioned as the author of those books. Moreover, Vyasa was contempory with Krishna, and the heroes of the Mahabharata. Everything therefore that can be obtained in evidence from these different sources coincides in the conclusion, that this event in Indian history is to be dated fourteen centuries before the Christian era. The accuracy of this inference is further confirmed by a calculation derived from the Raja Taringini, said to be the most authentic chronological work, or that which most nearly approaches to such a character, that is extant in all the remains of Indian antiquity. From the data afforded by this work Professor Wilson has placed the reign of he first Gonerda, the king of Kashmír, said to have been contemporary with Krishna, about one thousand four hundred years before Christ.

Parasara was the grandson of Vanisht'ha, an astronomer and a legislator, who was preceptor of Rama, king of Ayodhya, or Oude, the hero of the first great epic of the Hindoos. We thus obtain a clue as to the date of the event of

* Colebrooke on the Vedas.—Asiat. Res. v. 8. p, 493 et seq; item. vol. 7. p. 284 et seq.

which that poem gives a poetical and embellished narrative. This event was a most important one in the history of India. It was the first invasion of the Dekhan by the sovereigns of Northern Hindústan.*

Paragraph 3.—Of the commencement of the dynasties.—Earliest period of Indian antiquity.

The age of the Mahabharata being considered as an historical epoch, and dated in the fourteenth century before Christ, attempts have been made to calculate further upwards, and to form an estimate of the antiquity of the older Indian monarchies. The writers who have pursued this inquiry, Sir W. Jones, Major Wilford, and in late times, Colonel Tod and Professor Wilson, have endeavoured to compute the events of Indian chronology in ages long anterior to the time of the Mahabharata, by means of the series of princes of the Solar and Lunar lines, who are said to have reigned over different parts of India from the earliest periods. Colonel Tod, one of the latest and most accurate writers who has engaged in this investigation, was of opinion, that fifty-five reigns might be reckoned upwards with satisfactory evidence from the age of Krishna and Yudhisht'hira, which was that of the Mahabharata, to Búdha, the founder of the Lunar race. This, on the average of twenty years to each reign, gives a period of one thousand one hundred years. Colonel Tod adds to the above period of one thousand one hundred years an equal number

* The only difficulty attendant on this computation is the fact, that the events before mentioned are reckoned by the Hindoos to have happened at the commencement of the Kali Yug, or fourth astronomical age, or about the end of the Dwapar Yug which preceded it. The prevalent chropology of the Brahmans carries back the commencement of the Kali age to three thousand one hundred and twenty one years before Christ. This is one result of the hypothetical system adopted by the Brahmans, according to which they associate the events of history with certain astronomical eras, and by carrying them back accordingly to periods of remote antiquity, throw every thing into confusion, and represent persons who were contemporaries, or who lived in succeeding ages, as separated by centuries, and even by thousands of years. On this subject, and on the system of Indian astronomical cycles, the reader will find some explanatory remarks in a note at the end of the present section.

for the interval between Krishna and Vikramaditya, who lived at the conclusion of the chronological period named after Yudhisht'hira, and put an end to it by introducing another era bearing his own name. The era of Vikramaditya is known to have commenced fifty six years before Christ, and the calculation therefore carries back the reigns of the Solar and Lunar dynasties to $1100 \times 2 + 56 = 2256$ before Christ. At that period, it is supposed by Colonel Tod that the first colonies of Hindoos arrived in India from the countries of Central Asia, where the Indian race originated. To different princes of these dynasties he attributes, as to historical personages, the foundation of all the states of Northern Hindústan. The dynasties of Ayodhya or Oude, Surashtra and Mewar in the West are the principal branches of the Solar line of Ikshwaku, and the royal houses of Indraprest'ha or Delhi and of Magadha, in Central and Eastern India, are the chief branches of the Lunar line, or of the family of Sóma or of Indú. Of the Solar family, or the Surya-vansas, the most celebrated was Rama, the hero of the ancient poem, the Ramayana. Of the Indu-vansas, or Soma-vansas, children of the Moon, were the Pandavas of the Mahabharata, descendants of Pandu, the eldest of whom was Yudisht'hira; they reigned at Indraprest'ha, or Delhi, which was the seat of the empire until the time of Vikramaditya, who transferred his government to Oujein. The second branch of the Soma-vansas are the kings of Magadha, in whose succession appear, after a long interval, the celebrated names of Chandragupta* and Asoka. The chief authorities for this last succession and that of Rama, are the Agni and Bhagvat-puranas. The line of the Pandavas rests on the Raj-Taringini and the Rajaolie.†

Though so much research and ingenuity has been displayed in investigating this earlier part of Indian chronology, and though the attempt seems hopeful when we consider the copiousness of the materials, there are many circumstances which must prevent our fully relying on the

* Chandragupta was the founder of a new dynasty, the Mauryas, who succeeded the Lunar line.

† Tod, ubi supra, p. 46.

accuracy of the results. It has been well observed by Mr. Elphinstone, who has lately reviewed this subject with a more critical judgement, that the lists given in the Puranas of the two parallel lines of kings of the Lunar and Solar races said to have reigned in Ayodhya or Oude, by means of which Sir W. Jones attempted to fix the dates of the earlier Indian chronology,* are so contradictory as to be unworthy of implicit confidence. The heads of the two lines are contemporaries, being brother and sister, yet the Lunar race has forty eight names in the same period in which the Solar has ninety five; and Krishna, whom the Puranas make long posterior to Rama, is fiftieth in the Lunar race; while Rama is sixty-third in the Solar line. The absurd narratives by which these lists are accompanied increases their incredibility, and no part of them affords a secure basis for chronology down to the time of Krishna and the War of the Mahabharata. From that era we have numerous lists of kings in different parts of India which bear the appearance of probability, and are confirmed by extraneous testimony, and the line of Magadha presents a connected series of kings from that celebrated war down to the fifth century after the Christian era. Previous to this date, as in the Grecian history preceding the war of Troy, every thing is mixed with fables and anachronisms. The oldest name in Indian history or historical poetry which is connected with any important event is that of Rama, and his story in the poem of the Ramayana is full of incidents which could not have happened until long after his time. His conquest of Ceylon, Lanka Dwipa, is one of these, and the sole foundation that can be imagined for this story

* Sir W. Jones on these data computed the commencement of the lists, and of the kingdom of Ayodhya, where Rama afterwards reigned, at three thousand five hundred years before Christ. Professor Wilson dates the commencement of the history of Kashmír in two thousand six hundred and sixty six before Christ. But this depends on the accuracy of a collective number of one thousand two hundred and sixty six years, which are stated in the Raj-Taringini to have elapsed before the age of Gonerda (before Christ one thousand four hundred years), and between that prince and Kasyapa, who divided the valley of Kashmír by cutting through the mountains with his scymetar.—Asiat. Researches, vol. 15. p. 92.

is, as Mr. Elphinstone remarks, an invasion of the Dekhan. For even in the time when Menu's Institutes were written there were no settlements of Hindú conquerors beyond the limits of Aryavarta or to the southward of the Nerbudda river. For many ages before the Hindoos penetrated into the Dekhan they were powerful in Northern Hindústan. The Puranian histories place the commencement of the Lunar and Solar dynasties in Ayodhya. The Institutes of Menu contain a passage which assigns a still more northern site as the original position of the Hindú race. According to this the scene of the adventures of the first Indian princes, and the residence of the most famous sages, was the land of Brahmavarta, between the rivers Seraswati and Drishadwati* From thence it is probable that the Indian race extended gradually, with increase of population, over Oude and to Magadha and the eastern districts on the Ganges.

Paragraph 4.—Of the history of India during the ages which succeeded the conquests of the Macedonians.—Indo-Scythian dynasty.—Era of Vikramaditya.—Empire of the Prasii or of Magadha.

Having thus briefly traced upwards to the earliest periods the thread of Indian history from the point in which it synchronises and comes in contact with the historical accounts left by the Greeks, we must now turn our view in an opposite direction. The relations of the Greeks with India have been discovered to have been more lasting and influential than it had been supposed. But before we avail ourselves of this resource in prosecuting the inquiry into Indian history, it will be well to trace the earliest notices of India that are to be found in the works of Greek writers.

All the knowledge which the Greeks possessed concerning India before the time of Alexander seems to have been derived from the Persians. Strabo has observed, that Homer has nowhere alluded to the Indians. The

* Menu, Book 2. v. 17, 18.—Wilson, preface to the Vishnu Purana.—Elphinstone, Hist. of India, vol. 1, p. 388.

Tragic poets and Herodotus are the earliest writers who mention them by name. According to the latter, "the people of India were more numerous than the Thracians. They lived near to the rising sun." We are told that under the name of Indians many nations were included, using different languages and following different modes of life. Some were herdsmen; other tribes inhabited marshes and lived upon raw fish; some procured gold from vast deserts sand, where it was defended by legions of ants. The Padæi killed their aged relatives. Herodotus also mentions the art of collecting gold from the waters of rivers, and that of making cloth from the fruit of a plant resembling wool. Some Indians, according to him, scrupled to kill any living creature, and fed upon a grain of which the description is that of rice. It seems probable that these were disciples of Buddha; and if so, this is a very early notice of that sect. Indian troops with elephants from India were in the army of the great king. The expedition of Scylax of Caryanda down the Hydaspes and the Indus was probably, as Dr. Robertson long ago conjectured, the occasion which extended thus far the knowledge of the ancients, and made them acquainted with the kingdom of Caspatyrus,* of which Kashmír was a part, and in the name of which we recognise that of Kasyapa, who, according to the legends of the Hindoos, was the founder of Kashmír. The extent of the Persian conquests in India is unknown. It has been supposed by Robertson and others that they reached not beyond the Indus; but an inscription in Guzerat which has lately been decyphered by Mr. Prinsep mentions a public officer in that province, who appears to have lived in times anterior to Chandragupta, and whose Persian name and title afford reason for suspecting that Surashtra, or Surat, had been the seat of a Persian satrapy.† The march of

* The Καστατύρος of Herodotus is doubtless the Κασπάπυρος πόλις of Stephanus, and this, as Professor Wilson has remarked, can be only Kasyapapur, in Kashmír of the Hindoos.—See Asiatic Res. 15, p. 107.

† The name of *Swami Chashtan*, as M. Prinsep observes, is Persian and not Indian, and his title, which is *Kshatrapa*, or Satrap, was unknown to the genuine Indians.—See Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 76, p. 345.

Alexander and the voyage of Nearchus had more important results. The Macedonian conqueror never reached the Sutlej: the altar erected, at the limit of his progress, was on the Beyas, the Hyphasis, or the united channel of the Beyas and the Sutlej; but his successors carried on wars and made treaties with some of the Indian sovereigns, and from one of the embassies sent to the court of Sandracottus or Chandragupta, king of the Prasii, we derive much information respecting the country, with a description of the people and of the subdivisions of Indian society much more accurate than could have been expected.

It is well known that the Greek colony, founded by Alexander in Bactria, subsisted for some ages, and recent discoveries have proved that its fate became interwoven with very important events in the history of India. The ancients have left us imperfect accounts of the events which befel this colony, consisting almost solely of some brief notices in the works of Strabo and Justin. It seems that the Greeks of Bactria became independent of the Seleucidæ about the time when the Parthians established their power in Persia.* Theodotus was the first independent king of Bactria, in the year two hundred and fifty before Christ. He is represented by Justin as reigning over one thousand cities. His successors extended their sway over the neighbouring countries. In the course of a few generations the Greek colony, owing to the natural resources of the country, had become so populous and so powerful, that its sovereigns were enabled, as we are assured by Strabo on the authority of Apollodorus of Artemita, to reduce under their sceptre not only Ariana but many parts of India. They are said to have conquered more numerous tribes than Alexander himself had overcome. The Bactrian king Menander passed the Hypanis and advanced eastward as far as the Isamus†, which some suppose to be the Jumna. The Greeks must then have conquered all the western

* Ritter, Erdkunde, 5.—Plinii, Hist. Nat., lib. 6, c. 17.

† For Hypanis and Isamus Lassen proposes to substitute *Hyphasis* and Jomanes, the Beyas and the Jumna.—See Lassen's Griechische der Indo-Skyth. Kon., p. 231.

part of Hindústan. "These conquests," says Strabo, "were obtained partly by Menander, and in part by Demetrius, son of the Bactrian king Euthydemus. They not only subdued Pattalene," the Delta of the Indus below Tatta, "but the coast termed Tessarioston, and the kingdom of Segestes." They extended their power as far as the Syri and the Phauni. They had the cities of Bactria situated on a river of the same name, which flows into the Oxus, and many others, among which was Eucratidia, named after its sovereign. The Greeks divided this extensive country into satrapies, two of which were conquered from them by the Parthians. They also possessed Sogdiana between the Oxus which divides the Bactrians from the Sogdians, and the river Jaxartes which separates the Sogdians from the Nomades." The Jaxartes had been the northern boundary of the Persian empire, and on it were several cities built by Cyrus and other Persian kings.*

All the information which the ancients have left respecting the Bactrian Greeks has been carefully collected by Professor Lassen, who has made the history of this kingdom and the dynasty which succeeded to it the subject of a learned and elaborate treatise. According to the researches of Lassen the conquests of the Greek kings of Bactria extended over Ariana, that is the country of the Paropamisadæ, Arachosia, and Gedrosia, which includes Kabúl and a great part of Balúchistan; secondly, over countries lying to the northward of Sogdiana, where under the name of Serica or the land of the Seres we are to understand, certainly not China, but the Issedon Serica of Ptolemy, either Kashgar or Yarkiang; thirdly, in the direction of India, countries reaching beyond the Hyphasis, the last river seen by Alexander, towards the Jumna and down the Indus, the Delta of Pattalene and the sea-coast of Surastra or Guzerat.†

It is more important to the subject of these researches to notice the circumstances connected with the fall of this

* Strabo, lib. 11. p. 517.

† Lassen, Geschichte der Griechischen and Indo-skythischen Könige, in Baktrien, Kabúl, und Indien.—Bonn, 1838.—See also the later and more elaborate "Ariana Antiqua" of Professor Wilson.

Greek empire in the East. Its destruction was occasioned by an incursion of northern tribes, who not only overwhelmed the European colony but made a powerful impression on India. This is the first of those incursions of the barbarous tribes of Central Asia on the extensive regions of Hindústan which history records. The event is briefly mentioned by Justin and by Strabo. The latter thus expresses himself: —"The most celebrated of the Nomades," of Central Asia, "are those who conquered Bactriana from the Greeks. They are the Asii, the Pasiani, the Tochari, and Sacarauli, who issued from the country beyond the Jaxartes, the territory of the Sogdiani and the Sacæ."* Of the four nations mentioned by Strabo, one, namely, the Pasiani, are quite unknown; the Sacarauli are conjectured to have been a division of the Sacæ; the Asii were probably a subdivision of the Tochari.† We thus reduce the number of principal tribes to two, namely, the Sacæ and the Tochari. We shall recognise the former of these names in other accounts. The latter are apparently the people mentioned by Justin under the name of Thogarii, as taking part in these same wars carried on against the Parthian kings.‡

That there was a kingdom founded by a barbarous people from the central parts of Asia termed Sacæ, Scythians, Indo-Scythians, and Turushkas or Turks, which succeeded the Greek dynasty of Bactrian kings, and held sway over the north-western parts of India, till they were subdued and the power of the native princes restored by Vikramaditya fifty six years before the Christian era, an event so remarkable that it formed in after ages the epoch whence the lapse of time was computed, is a fact of importance in Indian history, It is supported by evidence from a variety of quarters of which I must condense a brief sum-

* Strabo, p. 511. The names of these tribes are thus enumerated:—
Ἄσιοι, καὶ Πασιανοὶ, καὶ Τόχαροι καὶ Σακάραυλοι, ὁρμηθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς περαίας τοῦ Ἰαξάρτου, τῆς κατὰ Σάκας καὶ Σογδιανοὺς, ἣν κατεῖχον Σάκαι—.

† Additæ res Scythicæ, Reges Thocharorum Asiani, interitusque Sarducharum. Trog. Pomp. proleg. 42.

‡ The Thogarii are by Justin distinguished from the Scythæ. "Scythæ depopulatâ Parthiâ in patriam revertuntur, sed Artabanus bello Thogarüs illato" &c.—Justin, 42. 2. Lassen, p. 247.

mary; but as some of my readers may be tired of the details of proof which it is necessary to survey, I shall put them into the form of a note, at the end of this section, which they may either go through or omit.

Eastern India.—Kingdom of Magad'ha.

Práchya, in Sanskrit, means the East. According to Wilford, Práchya or Práchi included all the countries from Allahabad to the easternmost limits of India, but Professor Wilson says that Práchya reached eastward from the Saraswatí. In this sense it is even more extensive than Anugangam, under which name the Gangetic provinces of India are comprehended. There were several sovereignties in Anu-gangam; but of these Magad'ha was the most powerful. "The kings of Magad'ha," says Wilford, "were Lords Paramount and Emperors of India for above two thousand years and their country was the seat of learning, civilisation, and trade. By Magad'ha proper South Bahar is understood; but in a more extensive sense the name comprehends all the Gangetic provinces." Magad'ha is celebrated for having given birth to Buddha, and for having been the cradle of one of the most extensively spread religions in the world.* The people of Magad'ha were the Prasii, the people of Prachya, over whom Sandracottus reigned at the Palibothra of the Greeks; and there reigned Asoka, the great patron of the Buddhists. Asoka's influence is shewn to have been extensive by the columns bearing edicts in his name, which are widely spread over northern Hindústan, and his ascendency is the only ground, according to a late writer, for the opinion, that the kings of Magad'ha were emperors of India. The Prasii in the time of Megasthenes were, according to Strabo, the most powerful of the Indian nations. The sway of their sovereign extended to the western parts of Hindústan, where Asoka governed under a viceroy, who was his father, the province of Malwa, or of Ujjaini The princes of Magad'ha were

* Asiat. Res., vol. 9, pp. 32-82, 8vo. ed.

Xatriyas till the rise of the Maurya dynasty in the person of Chandragupta: they were succeeded by three Sudra families, the last of which were the Andra, who reigned in the year four hundred and thirty six after Christ; a period of obscurity succeeded, after which Magad'ha is found subject to the kings of Canouj.

Bengal was a separate kingdom. From the time of the Mahabharata to the Mohammedan conquest four dynasties, according to the documents translated in the Ayín Akberi, ruled over Bengal. Though under the empire of the sovereign of Magad'ha, Bengal probably formed a separate kingdom, and its people a separate branch of the Hindú race, since the language of Bengal or of Gaur' is reckoned as one of the five great branches of the northern Indian speech.

Paragraph 5.—Of the History of the Hindoos from the age of Vikramaditya to the Invasion of the Moslims.

The history of India during the middle ages has been illustrated by numerous inscriptions collected in different parts of Hindústan, and partly by written archives preserved in the families of native princes. The Rajpút chieftains in the west of India, who were never conquered by the Mohammedans, are well known to have preserved records, from which principally Colonel Tod was enabled to compose his celebrated history of Rajast'han.

Hindústan, according to Colonel Tod, had been divided for some centuries before its invasion by Mahmoud between four great kingdoms:—first, Delhi, under the Tuars and Chôhans; second, Canouj, under the Rahtores; third, Mewar under the Ghelotes; fourth, Anhulwarra, under the Chauras and Solankhis. To one or the other of these states the petty princes of India paid homage and feudal service. The boundary between Delhi and Canouj was the Kali-nadi, or Black-Stream, the Calindi of Greek geographers. Delhi claimed supremacy over all the countries to the westward of this boundary as far as the Indus, embracing the lands watered by its tributaries from the feet of the Himálaya to the Aravali chain. The Chohan king enumerated one hun-

dred and eight great vassals. Canouj extended northward to the Snowy Mountains, eastward to Kasí, or Benares: it bordered on Búndelkhand and Mewar. Mewar, the central region, had the Aravali to the northward, and Anhulwarra to the west. The latter reached to the Indus, and had the desert towards the north.*

1. Ayodhya, or Oude.

Of all these kingdoms that of Oude or Ayodhya seems to have been the most ancient. It was there, according to the puranas, that the Surya-vansas and Chandra-vansas, or Children of the Sun and of the Moon first reigned. From these races thirty-six royal tribes descended, and from them came the various dynasties who ruled over the kingdoms of Hindústan. From fifty to seventy generations of the Solar race are said to have preceded Rama, the hero of the first classical poem of the Hindoos. Rama led an army to invade the Dekhan, then inhabited by people of different manners, language, and religion from those of Hindústan, and said in the Ramayan to have been the abode of giants and monsters. That he invaded Lanka or Ceylon is scarcely credible. The poets who celebrate Rama perhaps transferred, as Mr. Elphinstone observes, to their hero, exploits which were only possible in their own time. Rama was succeeded by sixty princes of his race, but Ayodhya is lost sight of, and the seat of this dynasty is supposed to have been transferred to Canouj.†

2.—Canouj.

The Canyacubyas, subjects of this ancient kingdom, were one of the great divisions of the Hindú race. Their idiom is mentioned among the five principal dialects of the north. It is supposed by Mr. Colebrooke to be the language which

* Tod's Hist. of Rajast'han, vol. 2, p. 9.

† Ayodhya, as Mr. Elphinstone remarks, is not mentioned in the Mahabharata, nor is Canyacubya or Canouj: Panchala takes its place.—Menu., c. 2.—Elphinstone's India, vol. 1, p. 391.

forms the ground-work of the modern Hindústani, and which is known by the appellation of Hindí, or Hindeví.

3.—Mewar.

Mewar was long the principal state in Rajast'han. It was Medhya-war, or the Central Region. Before the rise of the Mohammedan kingdoms of Malwa and Guzerat, Rajast'han may be said to have included all the countries between the Indus on the West and the lesser Sindh, which falls into the Jumna at the border of Búndelkhand towards the East, and it extended from the feet of the Vindhya Mountains on the south to the Sandy Desert, or the Sutlej, towards the north. The geographical features of this great country, which comprised nearly the western half of Hindústan, have been admirably described by Colonel Tod.

The situation of the country rendered Rajast'han the military bulwark of India against the invading nations from the West. It was such from immemorial times, and was never thoroughly subdued though often overcome by the greater numbers and especially by the more united powers of its assailants. To the Persian Darius the provinces on the Indus yielded annually six hundred golden ingots, a tribute far exceeding that of Babylon and Assyria. It was derived, in Major Rennall's opinion, from Rajpútana. The princes of this country resisted the invasion of Alexander, and they afterwards maintained their independence for ages against the Mogul emperors of Hindústan. The princes of Mewar are the first of the fifty-six royal houses of Rajast'han. The founder of this dynasty was Keneksen or Kanyakasena, who is supposed to have migrated from the north of India to Surashtra in the year two hundred and one of the Samvat era, a chronological period of Rajast'han. That date corresponds with A.D. 145. In the fourth century the celebrated Balabhipome was founded. In the eighth century Chettore, long the capital of Mewar, was subject to the king of Oujein, a successor of the famous Chandragupta, the Sandracottus of Arrian.

The states into which Rajast'han is now divided are seven,

Mewar or Oudipour, Marwar or Jodpour, Bikanér and Kishengurh, Kotah and Boundí, comprised under the common designation of Harrouti, Amber or Jeypour, and the Desert of Sindh along the banks of the Indus.

Paragraph 6.—On the History of Buddhism and the Buddhistical Chronology of the Hindoos.

We have observed that an important light has been thrown on the ancient history of India by the identification of a prince in the series of the Indian sovereigns of Magad'ha with the Sandracottus, who reigned in the time of the first Seleucus, and who was visited at his court of Palibothra, supposed to be Patalipútra, by Megasthenes. A fact equally valuable for the illustration of Indian history is the occurrence, in the next place but one of the same series, of a name widely celebrated and important in the history of the East, I mean that of Asoka.

Asoka extended his power through great part of India, a proof of which occurs, as we shall observe, in many inscriptions found in various places in Hindústan. He likewise holds a distinguished place in the records of the Buddhists, whose religion he adopted and promulgated. In order to appreciate the value of these coincidences in relation to the history of India, we must advert to the results of an examination of the Buddhistical annals.

Mr. Hodgson, the British resident in Nepál, procured some time since in that country and in Tibet a large collection of the sacred books of the Buddhists, namely, sixty volumes in Sanskrit, which he supposed to be original compositions, and two hundred and fifty volumes of Tibetan versions from H'lassa and Diparchi. These works were illustrated by Mr. Hodgson himself in several learned memoirs.* A critical account of their contents was drawn

* Mr. Hodgson and the Honourable Mr. Turnour have differed as to the original language of the Buddhistical scriptures. The former was of opinion, that the Sanskrit copies found by him in Nepál are the originals which were written, as he thinks, in the metropolis of Buddhism, in Magad'ha, Kesala, and Rajagriha, in Sanskrit, and thence transferred directly to the proximate hills

up by Professor Wilson, and some of the most important parts of the Tibetan compilations have been analysed by Alexander Csoma Körösi, celebrated for his knowledge of the Tibetan language and literature. The most important part of this collection consists of the Kah-gyur, a great work, or rather a compilation of works on the Buddhistical history and religion which, according to Csoma, were composed at three different epochs;—first, immediately after the death of Sakya or Buddha, the founder of Buddhism; secondly, in the time of a celebrated king of India named Kalasoko, who reigned one hundred and ten years after the death of Sakya; and thirdly, in the time of Kaniska, a king of the north of India who lived about four hundred years after Sakya's death.*

It seems that the original work, from which the Tibetan version used by Csoma Körösi was made, was written in the Pali language. It is termed the Pitakattaya. This work, together with an ancient commentary, has been recently examined by the Honourable Mr. Turnour.

It is clear, in the opinion of Mr. Turnour, that the works which he has examined, particularly the Atthakathá, contain a *contemporary* record of the most important events in the history of Buddhism in India from the year five hundred and forty three to three hundred and seven before Christ, together with some notices of anterior occurrences. What is of no small historical importance, the real dates of

of Nepál, where they are now perhaps only to be found. He considers the Ceylonese works as of very inferior authority. On this subject the learned editor of the Asiatic Journal, Mr. Prinsep, has cited the opinion of Csoma, the translator of the Kah-gyur from the Tibetan, which, as the editor says, simple and authentic as it is, ought to put the subject to rest. According to Csoma, it is specified in the register of the Kah-gyur, that certain books in that compilation, mentioned by name, were written in Sanskrit after the death of Sakya, but that all the remainder were in the Sindhí language. It is generally allowed, says Mr. Prinsep, that the Zend and Pali are derivatives of nearly the same grade from the Sanskrit stock, and the dialects of Sindh, as well as the bhashas or popular dialects of upper and western India, present striking analogies to the Pali. Grounds for the existence of this western dialect in the heart of Magad'ha, may be found in the origin of the ruling dynasty of that province which proceeded from the north-west.

* Prinsep, Asiatic Journal, No. 71, p. 971.

Sakya's life and death, which perhaps may be safely regarded as the origin of Buddhism, are determined by this record. That great reformer of the Indian system of morals and religion, who may be termed the inventor of the least corrupt of all forms of Paganism, is said to have died in the full moon of the month Wésakko, two thousand four hundred and eighty years ago, that is, in the year before Christ five hundred and forty three.* In that year the first convocation of his disciples was held at Rajagoha, the capital of the monarch of Magad'ha, Ajátasatto, then in the eighth year of his reign. The second convocation was held a century afterwards, four hundred and forty three years before Christ, at Wesali, the modern Allahabad, then the capital of the Magad'ha monarchy, in the tenth year of king Kalasoko. The third convocation was held three hundred and nine years before Christ, one hundred and thirty four years after the second, at Pataliputra, the Palibothra of the Greeks, and the modern Patna, which was the capital of the Indian empire, in the seventh year of the reign of Asoka or Dhammasoko. At the first of these three convocations the orthodox version of the Pitakattaya was defined and authenticated, and commentaries formed, which received the designation of Atthakathá. The former was confirmed and corrected, and the latter augmented at the second convocation by the addition of contemporary records. In the year before Christ three hundred and six, Mahindo, the son of the emperor Dhammasoko visited Ceylon, and established Buddhism in that island. The particulars of this event are to be found in the Mahawanso. The compilation was brought to its present state by Buddha-Goso,

* The age of the Siamese Buddha, or rather the Siamese calculation of the age of Buddha, coincides with this date of the Atthakathá. It is before Christ five hundred and forty two, as we are assured by Captain James Low.—See Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, &c., vol. 3, p. 57. Mr. Prinsep observes, that the epoch of Sakya is determined by the concurrent testimony of the Ceylonese, Siamese, Peguan, Burmese, and Chinese eras, founded on the birth or death of the Buddhist legislator, and though differing more or less, placing him between five hundred and forty four years, and six hundred and thirty eight years before Christ.—Prinsep's Notes to Sir A. Burnes's collection of Coins, vol. 2, p. 469.

of Magad'ha, who visited Ceylon in the reign of Mahanamo, between A.D. 410 and 432.*

A strong confirmation of the accounts above cited from the extracts of Mr. Turnour, as relating to the history of Buddhism and the Indian monarchs, is to be found in the admirable series of discoveries made by Mr. Prinsep in various parts of Hindústan, in the numerous inscriptions at Delhi, Allahabad, Patna, and Bettiah, engraved on rocks and in caves, on pillars and other monuments, which he has decyphered. The language in which most and nearly all these inscriptions are found to have been written is "not Sanskrit, but the vernacular modification of it, which has been so fortunately preserved for us in the Pali scriptures of Ceylon and Ava." In a later communication, published in January, 1838, Mr. Prinsep says, that the pillar monuments on this (namely the eastern) side of India, are of the third and fourth century before the Christian era; they are of Buddhist formation, and the language is not Sanskrit, but a link between that grammatical idiom and the Pali of the Buddhist scriptures. The alphabet appears to be the very prototype of all the Devanágari and Dakshini alphabets, and nothing in the pure Sanskrit tongue has yet been discovered in this character." "Of the cave inscriptions on this side of India we have already published one from Gaya of the self-same alphabet and language." "An equally important one from Katak now published, proves that the caves in the Kandgiri hills were appropriated, if not excavated, in the time of Aira, a Buddhist sovereign of Kalinga. Specimens from caves in the west of India appear to be in Pali, but in a character which has undergone the modification of a century or two. The key to all these discoveries was found in the *danams* examined by Mr. Prinsep. The conclusion drawn by that writer is that "we may pronounce with certainty, that these caves were constructed or embellished a century or two prior to

* Examination of the Pali Buddhistical annals, by Hon. Geo. Turnour, Esq. of the Ceylon Civil Service.—Journal of Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, No. 67, July, 1837.—Continuation in NN. 70, 72, 80, 81, 83.

the Christian era, when Buddhism flourished in the height of its glory from Kashmír to Ceylon."*

An important historical result of these researches depends in great part upon an identification made by various passages in the Buddhistical records, and which, in the judgement of Mr. Prinsep, is satisfactorily established, of Asoka, the great patron of Buddhism at Pataliputra, with Raja Piyudási, whose name occurs in many of the Indian inscriptions. According to Mr. Turnour eleven chapters of the Mahawanso relate exclusively to the history of this prince, who is repeatedly termed Piyudási in these records. He reigned, according to the Buddhistical annals, at the era of the great convocation of the disciples of Sakya which was held at Pataliputra, and to which, as we have seen, the date of three hundred and nine years before Christ is assigned. Inscriptions have been decyphered by Mr. Prinsep containing various memorials relating to Piyudási, and two edicts especially in which his name occurs in connexion with that of Antiochus, thus confirming the computed date and establishing the synchronism of Asoka with the early princes of the house of the Seleucidæ, and verifying the conclusion of Mr. Turnour, that Asoka or Piyudási, whose conversion to Buddhism was a celebrated event in the history of Indian religions, was the third in succession on the throne of Palibothra from Chandragupta or Sandracottus. This discovery establishes an important synchronism in the accounts of India delivered by the Greeks and the historical annals of the Buddhist, the Puranic or poetical history of the Hindoos, and the engraven records discovered on monuments scattered through Hindústan.†

We learn then from authentic sources, though no historical records of these times properly so termed exist among the orthodox Hindoos, that an Indian dynasty seated in the

* Asiatic Journal, No. 72, p. 1047.

† We have, further, a proof in the inscriptions, that the kingdom of these rajas extended over the greater part of India. A very curious inscription, engraved on a rock at Girinagara, in Guzerat, has been proved to be, like that of the pillars, a series of edicts promulgated by Asoka. They are identical in meaning with inscriptions found at Katak, though different in character and language. I shall here cite the words of Mr. J. Prinsep, secretary of the

Gangetic countries ruled over the greater part of Hindústan and the Dekhan three centuries before the Christian era. In the centre of this empire the system of the Brahmans had held predominant sway in the time of Megasthenes, but it was supplanted soon afterwards by the spreading influence of Buddhism, under the auspices of the sovereigns of Palibothra. Buddhism had been promulgated and had been extending itself from the sixth century before Christ, which was the age of Sakya.

Asiatic Society and editor of the Journal. After adverting to the great interest excited by the identification of Sandracottus with Chandragupta in the days of Sir W. Jones, and more recently to the curiosity awakened on Mr. Turnour's throwing open the hitherto sealed page of the Buddhist historians to the developement of Indian monuments and Puranic records, he goes on to remark that the discovery he was so fortunate as to make in the last year (1837) of the alphabet of the Delhi pillar inscription, led to results of hardly less consideration in the learned world. "Dr. Mill," he adds, "regarded these inscriptions as all but certainly demonstrated relics of the classical period of Indian literature. This slight remainder of doubt has since been removed by the identification of Piyudási with Asoka, which we also owe to Mr. Turnour's successful researches; and dating from the epoch thus happily achieved, we have since succeeded in tracing the name of the grandson of the same king, Dasaratha, at Gaya, in the same old character, and the names of Nanda and Ailas, and perhaps Vijaya in the Kalinga caves, while on Bactrian coins we have been rewarded by finding the purely Greek names of Agathocles and Pantaleon faithfully rendered in the same ancient alphabet of the Hindús." The second tablet, at Girinagara, contains an edict for the establishment of a system of medical administration throughout the dominions of the supreme sovereign of India. Transferred into Roman characters it is given interlined with the corresponding inscription at Dhauli, in Katak, so as to display parallel texts from opposite sides of India. The contents are important in an historical point of view, and likewise as displaying the spirit of Buddhism. Its commencement is as follows:—"Every where within the conquered provinces of Raja Piyudási, beloved of the gods [Devanam-piyasa—Piyadasino] as well as in the parts occupied by the faithful, such as Chola, Pida, and even as far as Tambapanni [or Ceylon], and moreover within the dominions of Antiochus the Greek [Antiyako Yona]—every where the heaven-beloved Raja Piyudási's double system of medical aid is established,—medical aid for men and for animals, together with medicaments of all sorts for men and for animals."—"And in the public ways, wells are to be dug and trees planted for the accommodation of men and of animals."

Tambapanni is Ceylon. The name is spelt exactly in the same manner in the Pali text of the Mahawanso, just published by Mr. Turnour. The Greek name Taprobane, as Dr. Mill has observed, seems rather derived from Tamrapáni, which is also the true Singhalese name for the same island.—Prinsep, in As. Jour., No. 74.

The books of the Buddhists throw no light on times anterior to their great leader. In subsequent times they have the authenticity of contemporary records. Earlier events are reported by them on the faith of Sakya's reminiscence.* Like Pythagoras, who was nearly his contemporary, that sage professed to remember the repeated visits which he had paid to earth in every succeeding kappo or kalpa. This reminiscence, which was the reward of higher sanctity, is termed *Pubbéniwasanánan*. Its dictates among the Buddhists take the place of all pure history and of revelation. It contains a most curious and refined metaphysical doctrine respecting the origin of the existing universe at the beginning of the present kalpa, in perfect purity, when all created beings were etherial or immaterial in their essence and free from all moral taint; from that state they fell by concupiscence, and confined in earthly bodies were doomed to perpetual deterioration, and to ever-shortening life, until the annihilation of all things shall arrive, after which the world shall be regenerated in its pristine state. The existence of six predecessors of Sakya, who have successively borne the office and character of Buddha since the commencement of the present kalpa, rests for its authority on the credit of Sakya's reminiscence.† If it had any foundation in fact, it

* Such was the testimony on which rests the existence of the six Buddhas who preceded Sakya in the Buddhist chronology, all being, in the belief of the votaries of that sect, incarnations of the same being. It has been remarked by Mr. Hodgson, that while the writings of the Buddhists make ample mention of Sakya's birth, sayings and doings, and ascribe to him at least the committal to writing of the whole Buddhistical scripture, they are nearly silent as to the origin and actions of the six Buddhas who went before him.—Hodgson on the languages &c. of the Buddhists of Nepál. That the *historical existence* of these six predecessors rests merely on the faith of the Pubbéniwasanánan or "revelation by reminiscence of past existences," obtained by Sakya as a reward of his purity and abstraction, we learn from the Honourable W. Turnour's Examination of the Buddhistical Annals.—See Jour. of Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, No. 80.

† I cannot conclude these remarks, bearing as they do on the history of Buddhism, without once adverting to the opinion maintained by some learned writers, that Buddhism existed before the time of Sakya, and that there really were other Buddhas before that sage, or impostor, or enthusiast. Sakya identified himself by his pretended reminiscence with several persons renowned before his time, as with Kasyapa, said to be the first leader of a Hindú colony into Kashmír. Just so Pythagoras identified himself with Euphorbus. There

can only be considered as a most vague and uncertain tradition, and the era of the Buddhistic sect and the commencement of Indian history as deduced from real or contemporary annals, must be dated from the birth of Sakya-Muni.

is no historical proof that any of the personages, with whom Sakya Buddha chose to connect his name, were promulgators of a particular creed or moral system. As for the pretension of the sect to a higher antiquity than that of their really known leader, they are too vague and contradictory for serious attention, and are among the many claims of the same description which appear to have had their origin in sectarian or national vanity. The notion, that there was a Tartar Buddha long antecedent to the Indian Buddha is contradicted by history. The Mongolian historian, Sanang-Setzen, derives all the improvement of his countrymen, and indeed the origin of all things, from India, nor can any notion be traced among the Buddhists in any part of the world of any other origin to their sect than the Indian one.

To those of my readers who have not directed their attention to the history of Buddhism, and who feel curiosity on the subject, I beg to recommend an excellent paper on the history of that doctrine and sect, by Professor Neumann, of Munich, entitled "Coup d'œil historique sur les Peuples, &c. de l'Orient," in the fourteenth number of the Nouveau Journal Asiatique. Among other interesting matters contained in that memoir is an attempt to estimate the number of people devoted to the religion of Buddha in various countries in the East. This is doubtless founded on very imperfect data, but it may have evidence sufficient to show that Buddhism is the most prevalent of all existing religions, and a most important subject of consideration. Professor Neumann computes the whole number of Buddhists in China, Tibet, the Indo-Chinese countries, and in Tartary, to amount collectively to two hundred and sixty-nine millions of souls.

The following are said to be the ten precepts of the Moral Law of Buddhism :—

To kill no living creature.
Not to steal.
To commit no immodest action.
To tell no lie or falsehood.
To drink no spirituous liquor.
To feed only on vegetables.
To anoint neither head nor body.
To be present at no song or spectacle.
Not to sleep on a high or wide bed.
To eat but once a-day, and that before noon.

Note 1 *to Section* II.—On the Astronomical Chronology of the Brahmans.

The Kali-Yug, or Black Age of the Hindoos, may be considered as corresponding with the Iron Age of the Greeks. Like other Japetic nations, the Hindoos feigned four periods of successive deterioration, which they named the Satya, the Treta, the Dwapar and Kali Yugs. This was purely mythological, but the astronomers connected, in a comparatively later period, the mythology and history of early times with the revolutions of astronomical cycles. The greatest period to which their wild fancy extended was the assumed duration of the life of Brahma the creator. This was the whole duration of the universe. At its commencement all existence began; at its termination all things are to cease. They gave Brahma a long life, namely, a hundred years. But each of these years was a divine year, and the days which it comprehended were divine days. Each day of Brahma is the era of a new developement of universal nature. A day of Brahma is a kalpa.* The commencement of a kalpa was that point of time counted backwards when, according to the computation of the planetary motions as the Hindú astronomers had determined them, the planets must have been in conjunction in the beginning of Mesha or Aries. At that period it was that the creation took place. But this conjunction, as it concerned the planets merely, would have required but a moderate term of years compared to the enormous antiquity to which the Hindoos carry back their reckoning of time; for, having discovered a slow motion of the nodes and apsides, and taking this into their computation, they found that it would require a length of time corresponding with 1,955,894,890 years already expired from the time when the planets were situated as above described. In addition to this, 2,364,115,110

* See Mr. Davis. According to Major Wilford, there are five great kalpas, which include five hundred years of Brahma, at the end of which all things are annihilated or absorbed into the essence of the supreme Being. Every kalpa except the first is preceded by an universal deluge or cataclysm. At the end of each manwantara there is a less entire destruction and renovation. —See Asiatic Res., vol. 5, p. 248.

years more will be required before the planets return to the same situation again, and the primitive catastasis of the heavens shall be restored. Such is the grand anomalistic period termed a kalpa, and fancifully designated by the Hindoos as a day of Brahma. The kalpa was subdivided into manwantaras and greater and lesser yugs. The Maha Yug or Greater Age, is the anomalistic period of the Sun and Moon; at the end of which the latter, with her apogee and ascending node, is found, together with the Sun, in the first of Aries, the planets also deviating from that point only as much as is their latitude and the difference between their mean and true anomaly.*

The Maha Yug was further divided into the Satya, Treta, Dwapar and Kali Yugs, a subdivision which does not appear to have answered any practical purpose connected with astronomy, but merely to have been an adoption, into the chronological system, of ideas corresponding with those on which the Greeks formed their Golden, Silver, Brazen, and Iron Ages. But these four periods comprise the duration of the world that now is, beginning, like all other traditions, with a time when the gods conversed with men and visited the world in human forms. The antiquity of the world is extended to suit the astronomical eras. In the three earlier of these periods there are many relations which evidently are but different accounts of the events recorded in the book of Genesis, and in the chronological antiquities of many nations. The Brahmans chose as it seems to connect the great events of Indian history with the commencement of the Kali Yug. At that period they placed the war of the Mahabharata, the age of Krishna, Yudhisht'hira, and other heroes. When then they began to compute the dates of events by astronomical cycles, it was not to be wondered at, that they carried back too far the era of the Kali Yug, and with it the events which they had connected with it. The Kali Yug began three thousand one hundred and twenty one years before Christ;† whereas, as we have shown, the

* Mr. Davis on the Astronomical Computations of the Hindoos, Asiatic Res., vol. 2, p. 229.

† Asiatic Researches, vol. 5, p. 288.

events connected with it happened about fourteen centuries only before the Christian era.

Note 2 *to Section* II.—History of the Indo-Scythian or Turkish Dynasty which succeeded the Greek Dynasty in Bactria and in Western India.

A hundred years have elapsed since Bayer with laborious diligence collected all that the ancients have left in relation to the colony of Greeks in Bactria,* and it is only within the last few years that the sum of information seemed ever likely to be increased. Köhler, in St. Petersburg, and Tychsen, at Göttingen,† first drew the attention of the learned on the Continent to the historical importance of coins found in the eastern countries of Asia, and the subject was brought before the public in England by Colonel Tod and others. The celebrated academician, M. Raoul Rochette, was the first who shewed the probability of success in illustrating from this source the obscure history of the Greek kings of Bactria and their Indo-Scythian successors. A prodigious number of coins have been discovered in different places within the supposed dominion of these kings. The greatest quantity has been found in the ruins of Baghram, in Kohistan, supposed to be the site of the Caucasian Alexandria. Many have been discovered in the neighbouring districts, and in various places in the Panjáb, one collection containing not less than seven thousand specimens. They have exercised the diligent scrutiny of many oriental scholars, as Grotefend and Ottfried Müller, Professor Wilson and Mr. James Prinsep, and lastly,‡ of Professor Lassen, whose "Geschichte der Griechischen und Indo-Skythischen Könige" contains the principal information that has yet been acquired on the subject. It seems that these coins consist of several series, differing in style and in the characters of their respective

* Historia Regni Græcorum Bactriani, Auct. Th. S. Bayero.—Petrop., 1738, 4to.

† Comment. recent. Goetting., v. vi.

‡ Except the admirable work of Professor Wilson just published, entitled "Ariana Antiqua."

legends. One set are plainly Grecian, and have Greek legends, and they contain the names of the known Greek kings of Bactria as well as others unrecorded in history, as Antimachus, Hermæus, Agathocles, and Pantaleon. The coins of the two last-named princes have, besides Greek legends, others which have been identified with the characters and inscriptions on the sides of caves and on monumental pillars in various parts of India, which Mr. Prinsep has decyphered. These are properly considered as ancient Indian letters. A great number have legends in a barbaric character of a particular kind, which M. Lassen terms Kabúlian. It is the same that is seen on tombs and other monuments spread through Kabúl, and near the ancient city of Bamiyan. It is read from right to left unlike the alphabets of India, and has been supposed to be Pehlvi or of Semitic origin.

The most interesting fact connected with the Bactrian coins is, that the series dedicated to Grecian kings are succeeded by another which bear barbaric names and the symbols of a barbaric superstition.* That these last are subsequent in time to the former class has been proved or shewn to be highly probable by a variety of circumstances, and the same considerations have convinced all those who have devoted their attention to the subject, that the latter series belong to a dynasty of kings reigning over those Scythian or Indo-Scythian tribes who conquered the Greeks of Bactria.

That there was a kingdom of Sacæ or Scythians on the borders of the Indus between the fall of the Bactrian state and the Christian era we learn from a concurrence of testimonies, Greek and Roman, Indian and Chinese. I shall briefly advert to the evidence coming under each of these several heads.

* One coin, remarkable for the mixture of Greek and Barbaric characters, described by Colonel Tod (Tr. of Roy. Soc. of Litt.), contains a figure apparently of one of the Indo-Scythian kings, in a barbaric dress, spreading incense upon an altar. On the reverse is the Indian Siva with his bull Nandi. It has a legend in Greek and another in supposed Pehlvi characters. The former is Εδωβριγις βασιλευς βασιλεων.

1.—Greek Accounts.— Dionysius the geographer mentions Scythians on the Indus:

Ἰνδὸν πὰρ ποταμὸν νότιοι Σκύθαι ἐνναίουσιν.*

Eustathius remarks, that these were the people always called Indo-Scythæ.†

The author of the Periplus of the Erythræan, and Ptolemy, give a further account. According to Ptolemy the Indo-Scythæ possessed towards the south-east, Syrastrene, probably Surashtra including the peninsula of Guzerat and Pattalene or the Delta. He mentions a number of places on both sides of the Indus which belonged to them. On the western side was Artoartai, supposed, by Lassen, to have been near Peshawár in Kábúl. We learn from Ptolemy, that the Panjáb was within their empire, for their country reached to the Vindhya Mountains, and Matura is expressly assigned to the Kaspiræi.‡ It seems from this, that the countries from Kabúl to the mouth of the Indus were under a dynasty supposed to be of Scythian origin.

2. In the Indian records there are traces of a Tartar dynasty ruling in the north-western parts of Hindústan, as nearly as the dates can be ascertained, about this period. The Puranas make mention of a dynasty of Yavanas or Greeks in the upper provinces and of a succeeding line of kings, termed Turushkas or Turks, whose reign had a much longer duration. Turushka is, according to Professor Wilson, the Sanskrit name for Turan or Túrkistan, and the Turushkas a Turkish or Tartar nation. In the Rájá Taringini or history of Ḳashmír already referred to, three Tartar dynasties are mentioned as established in Kashmír who gave their names to three cities in that valley: they occur in the list of sovereigns a few reigns later than Asoka, and thus their date seems fixed in coincidence with that of

* Dionysii Orbis descriptio, v. 1088.

† Professor Lassen observes, that if the date usually assigned to the poem of Dionysius is correct, this would be the earliest notice of the Indo-Scythians, but the age of the writer is uncertain.

‡ Μέχρι Οὐινδίου ὄρους and Μόδουρα ἡ τῶν Θεῶν.—See Ptolemy, Tab. 7, s. 1.—Lassen, ubi sup., p. 269. Professor Lassen has published a work of great research expressly on the history of the Pentapotamia Indica or the Panjáb.

the Turushka conquerors.* It must be noticed that they are said to have supported the worship of the Buddha. It is further stated that one of these sovereigns in the Rájá Taringini is termed Kanishka. Now Kanerki, easily mutable into Kaneshki and Kanishka, is a name appearing on many of the Bactrian coins. Moreover the name of Kanishka occurs in the annals of the Buddhists among the sovereigns who patronised and protected Buddhism in the north of India. We may conclude that the Turushkas or Turks of the Puranas and of the Rájá Taringini, are precisely the Indo-Scythian dynasty who succeeded to the Greeks of Bactriana, and whose names and titles are displayed with the emblems of barbaric worship and with Greek legends on the numerous coins discovered in Kabúl.

The history of this Tartar dynasty becomes the more important as the event of its final subversion seems to connect itself with one of the most celebrated epochs in the annals of India. I mean the era of Vikramaditya, from which time has ever since been computed in Hindústan.

Vikramaditya is said to have been a sovereign of Malwa, and to have kept his court at Ujjayani or Oujein: he extended his power into the neighbouring countries and restored the empire of India to that splendour which it had lost through a long series of calamities. In the year which corresponds to the fifty sixth before the Christian era he is said to have overcome the Sacas, a barbarous dynasty who

* Wilson's Analysis of the Rájá Taringini in Asiatic Res., vol. xv.

Major Tod has cited a passage from the Puranas which specifies the number both of the Greek kings of Bactria and of their Indo-Scythian successors:— "For eight generations the Yavan; for twenty the Turushka; for eighteen the Goneád; for eleven the Mauras." The Turushka of the Hindoos are supposed to be the Scythians of the Oxus, or the Tochari of Strabo. According to the learned Tibetan scholar, Csoma Körösi, the doctrinal books of the Buddhas were composed, a part soon after the death of Sakya, part in the time of Asoka, who resided at Pataliputra in the year of Buddha one hundred and ten, and part in the year four hundred of the same era under Kanishka, a king in the north of India. If we take five hundred and fifty two years before Christ for the date of Sakya's death, this will bring the reign of Kanishka to one hundred and fifty two years before Christ. M. de Csoma indeed makes Buddha more ancient, following the Tibetan chronology, but the above is allowed to be the true date.—See Turnour's Examination of the Pali Buddhistical Annals, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 67, 1837.

had held under their sway many countries in the north-western parts of Hindústan, and to have put an end to their dominion. These Sacas may be concluded to have been the same Indo-Scythian race, called also Sacæ, who conquered Bactriana and overwhelmed the Macedonians. The period of their extermination has been a celebrated epoch, termed the Saca or Sambat, or the era of Vikramaditya, from which events were dated and the lapse of time in after ages computed.* This distinction was indeed soon shared with it by the equally celebrated era of Salivahana which succeeds to that of Vikramaditya after an interval of only one hundred and thirty five years. Salivahana was a prince of the Dekhan, who by some accounts is said to have overcome and slain Vikramaditya and his era or Saca is said to be dated from this revolution; yet it begins not till seventy eight years after Christ.

3. Chinese writers have preserved accounts of movements among the nations of Central Asia, which are supposed to fall in with and illustrate these passages of history. They record the descent of nomadic bands upon the countries on the Oxus, who succeeded in establishing a powerful empire in western India, and as the date of these events synchronises with that of the extinction of the Greek empire in Bactria, it becomes very probable that the emigrants from Great Tartary mentioned in the Chinese annals, were the agents in this catastrophe. The nomadic Yuetshi are first discovered on the upper Hoang-ho; driven thence by the Hiong-nu, they proceeded, a part southward to Tibet, the greater part to the mountains beyond the Jaxartes: this event happened towards the end of the second century before the Christian era. Advancing towards their future country on the river Ili, they drove before them the older inhabitants named by Chinese writers Szü, Sai, and Se. The latter, supposed to be the Sacæ of European historians, were driven across the Jaxartes, and

* The era or 'Saca of Vikramaditya is commonly termed the Sambat: it is also designated the Saca-bhupa-cala and Sacendracala, which the old scholiast interprets "the time when the barbaric kings called 'Saca were discomfited by Vikramaditya."—Colebrooke's Essays, vol. 2, p. 475.

the Yuetshi following them, divided with them the countries to the southward of that river. A Chinese general accompanied the Yuetshi in that expedition, and the date is said to be fully established. It is just preceeding the one hundred and twenty sixth year before Christ, and exactly coincides with the era when the Parthian king Phrahates is said to have been killed in battle against the Scythians.*

These concurring testimonies, Greek, Indian, and Chinese, joined to the confirmatory evidence afforded by coins and inscriptions, leave little room for doubt that certain tribes of Scythians, most probably of the Turkish race, for reasons which will appear when we come to the history of that people, conquered the Greek dominions in Bactria some time before the Christian era, and founded a powerful kingdom in the countries bordering on the Indus. This conclusion however is but a slender foundation for the hypothetical system which has been founded on it by Klaproth, who in his predilection for the Yuetschi of the Chinese annals, makes no difficulty in introducing a slight alteration in their name in order to bring it somewhat nearer to those of the Getæ, Goths, Massagetæ, Jutes, Jauts, and Jats, with whom he was determined to identify them. Professor Lassen has observed that the substitution of Yueti for Yuetschi is quite unauthorised, and that the Archimandrite Hyacynth, the Russian translator of various Chinese works, who knew nothing of this brilliant discovery, or, as Lassen terms it, of this monomania of M. Klaproth, always writes the name Yuedschi as did De Guignes. I have in a former division of this work shewn how chimerical is the notion that the Goths were descended from the nations of Eastern Tartary, from whom Klaproth derives their origin. The supposition, that the Jats or Juts upon the Indus are the descendants of the Yuetschi, does not appear altogether so preposterous; but it is supported by no proof, except the very trifling one of a slight resemblance in names. The

* The most important of these notices were given long ago by De Guignes, in a memoir "Sur quelques évènemens qui concernent l'histoire des Rois Grecs de la Bactriane et particulièrement la destruction de leur royaume par les Scythes." M. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles Lett. Tom. 25.

physical characters of the Jats are extremely different from those attributed to the Yuetschi and the kindred tribes by the writers cited by Klaproth and Abel Remusat; but a change of abode from the high region of Tartary to the hot plains of the Indus, and a residence in the latter for two thousand years, might be supposed a probable cause of such an alteration.*

Section III.—*Of the different Languages and Nations of India.*

Paragraph 1.—General Observations.—Languages of Hindústan.

The only method of obtaining a correct idea of the subdivisions of people in India, and the relations of different tribes to each other, is by collecting information respecting their languages and dialects. The first notable attempt that was made with this design was the celebrated Essay of Mr. Colebrooke on the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages, well-known to all those persons who have paid but a slight attention to Indian history. Although some of the opinions expressed in this Essay have been contradicted by the results of later researches, a short notice of its contents, with which some of my readers may be unacquainted, will be the best introduction to the subject.

The Hindú grammarians and critics, says Mr. Colebrooke, distinguish three languages, or rather three stages of the language spoken in India; these are, first, the Sanskrit; secondly, the Prakrit; thirdly, the Magad'hi. The meaning of these terms is thus explained by Mr. Colebrooke:—

I. "The Sanskrit language is a highly polished and cultivated tongue, which was gradually refined until it became fixed in the classical writings of many elegant poets, most

* According to Klaproth and Abel Remusat these natives of Central Asia are reported to have been of sanguine complexion, with blue eyes. The Jats, as we shall see in a following section, are a small, ill-formed race of blacks.

of whom are supposed to have flourished in the century preceding the Christian era." "It evidently derives its origin from a primeval tongue, which was gradually refined in various climates, and became Sanskrit in India, *Pahlavi* in Persia, and *Greek* on the shores of the Mediterranean." "It has nearly shared the fate of all ancient tongues, and is now become almost a dead language; but there seems no good reason for doubting that it was once *universally spoken* in India. Its name, and the reputed difficulty of its grammar, have led many persons to imagine that it has been refined by the concerted efforts of a few priests, who set themselves about inventing a new language; not like all other tongues, by the gradually improved practice of good writers and polite speakers." This notion Mr. Colebrooke shews to have arisen from mistaking the system by which the Sanskrit grammar is taught for the refinement of the language itself.—"When Sanskrit was the language of Indian courts it was cultivated by all persons who devoted themselves to the liberal arts; in short, by the three first tribes, and by many classes included in the fourth."

II. "The second class of Indian languages, comprehends the written dialects which are now used in the intercourse of civil life, and which are cultivated by lettered men." "There is reason to believe that ten polished dialects formerly prevailed in as many different civilised nations, who occupied all the fertile provinces of Hindústan and the Dekhan: evident traces of them still exist." They are thus enumerated :—

1. "The Sáreswata was a nation which occupied the banks of the river Sáraswati." Their original language may have once prevailed through the southern and western parts of Hindústan proper, and is probably the idiom to which the name of Prakrit is generally appropriated.

2. The Canyacubjas possessed a great empire, the metropolis of which was the ancient city of Canyacubja or Canouj. "Their language, as it appears, was the Hindí or the Hindeví, which forms the ground-work of the modern Hindústani." This last is a compound of Hindí with Persian. On examination, the affinity of Hindí with the San-

skrit is peculiarly striking. "*That Sanskrit is the root from which Hindí has sprung, not Hindí the dialect whence Sanskrit has been refined, may be clearly proved.*" Nine-tenths of the Hindí may be traced back to the parent Sanskrit, but there yet remains a question as to the origin of the remaining portion.

3. "The Gaura, or Bengálí, is the language of the country of which the ancient Gaur' was once the capital. It is spoken in the province of Bengal and in the eastern parts in the greatest purity, containing but few words which are not evidently of Sanskrit origin."

4. Mait'hila, or Tirutiya, spoken in the sircar of Tirhút, and as far to the northward as the Nepál mountains, has a great affinity with the Bengáli.

5. Uríya, the language of Odradesa, or Orissa.

These five Hindú nations occupy the northern and eastern parts of India; they are denominated the five Gaurs. The remaining five are termed the five Dravirs, and inhabit the southern and western parts of the Peninsula.

6. Dravira is the southern part of the Peninsula, where the language, by Europeans termed Tamul and Malabar is spoken. This dialect, the Tamalah, contains a considerable portion of pure Sanskrit, with another more corrupted and a greater number of words of doubtful origin.

7. Maharashtra or Mahratta, is the language of a nation of late greatly enlarged, but which was formerly confined to a mountainous tract to the southward of the Nermada or Nerbudda. Like other Indian dialects it contains much pure as well as corrupt Sanskrit, with a mixture of words from an unknown source.

8. Karnata or Carnara is the ancient language of Kárnátaka. It bears the same affinity to the Sanskrit, as most other dialects of the Peninsula.

9. Tailanga or Tilanga, the language spoken in Telingána, an ancient kingdom on the eastern coast of the Peninsula; this dialect contains more of Sanskrit than many others.

10. Gurjara is the dialect of Guzerat.

These are the principal languages of India, according to the most correct of the Sanskrit grammarians.

Mr Colebrooke has shewn that this classification is imperfect, and that it requires to be modified before it can be regarded as a correct list even of the principal languages of India; and also that some of the languages mentioned as belonging to one class ought to be referred to the other. The dialect of Kashmír should be added to the number of northern idioms, which are all modifications of the Hindí.

It was conjectured by Sir William Jones, that the Hindeví or Hindí, the popular language of Hindústan, was the primeval idiom of Upper India; and that the Sanskrit was introduced by a conquered nation from some foreign country and engrafted on the vernacular speech. But Mr. Colebrooke, whose knowledge of the language and literature of India was much more extensive and profound, declares that "no person who is acquainted with both can hesitate in affirming, that Hindí is a derivative from Sanskrit; for besides the great number of Sanskrit words recognised in the Hindí, the rest of the vocabulary may, with very few exceptions, be easily traced to a Sanskrit origin." *Nine-tenths of the Hindí vocabulary* can thus be accounted for.

We may observe, by-the-way, that there is perhaps no Indo-European language of which the vocabulary can be referred to the common original in a greater proportion than this. German and English, Latin and Greek, Welsh and Irish, have all some peculiar words, and yet this does not prevent our considering them as respectively allied to each other as kindred dialects.

The opinion of the late Mr. James Prinsep seems to have coincided with that of Mr. Colebrooke so far as the language of Hindústan is concerned.

The following are his remarks on the relation of the Hindí to the Sanskrit:—

"It is generally allowed that the Pali and the Zend (the languages of the Buddhistical and Magian sacred books), are derivations, of nearly the same grade, from the Sanskrit stock, and the dialect of the Sinde, as well as the bhasha of Upper and Western India, present more striking analogies to the Pali than any of the dialects of Bengal, Behar or Ceylon." He adds, "we are by no means of opinion that

the Hindí, Sindhí, or Pali, had an independent origin prior to the Sanskrit. The more the first of these, which is the most modern and the furthest removed from the classical language, is examined and analysed, the more evidently is its modification and corruption from the ancient stock found to follow systematic rules and to evince rather provincial dialectism than the mere engraftment of foreign words upon a pre-existent language. The aboriginal Indian speech must be rather sought in the mountainous borders of Hindústan and in the Dekhan."

It must be observed that Mr. Prinsep differs from Mr. Colebrooke in limiting the claim of a pure Sanskrit original to the languages of Hindústan or Northern India, and excludes the idioms of the Dekhan or the five Dravirs. These were considered by Mr. Colebrooke as Prakrits like the others, but by Mr. Prinsep as of barbaric or Unsanskrit origin.

Paragraph 2.—History of the Dekhan and of the Languages of its Inhabitants.

For many ages we have reason to believe that the Hindoos, or the people of Northern India who were subject to the Brahmans and worshipped the Hindú gods and spoke the Sanskrit language and its dialects, were entirely separate from the natives of the Dekhan or of the Indian Peninsula.

In several regions of the Dekhan the earliest traditions refer to the colonisation of its provinces by Hindoos or by Brahmans. They represent the country as previously a forest filled with wild beasts and monsters, or if with human inhabitants, peopled only by barbarous tribes. By Menu, as Professor Wilson observes, the Draviras are classed with the M'lechas or impure nations, and in the Mahabharata the inhabitants of the South are scarcely represented as Hindoos. The Ramayan, which is supposed by the same distinguished scholar to be the oldest composition, next to the Vedas, in the Sanskrit language, is principally a fanciful representa-

tion of conquests achieved over barbaric hordes.* The aim of Rama's exploits in the southern region, where no mention occurs of the inhabitants of towns or even of forests and caves except hermits, apes, bears, vultures, demons and

* The Coromandel provinces on the east of the Peninsula from the Godavery to Cape Comorin, are described in all the traditionary accounts as one vast tract of forest, to which the name Dandaka or Dandaka-ranya was applied. It was in these thickets that Rama and Sita resided during their exile, where he commenced his war against the Rakshakas, or savages and fiends, who divided with hermits and sages the possession of the wilderness. After the subjugation of the savage inhabitants of Dandaka-ranya and the conquest of Lanka, the northern Hindoos, it is said, performing pilgrimages to the scenes of Rama's exploits settled in the unoccupied country with their families, and cleared and cultivated tracts where they laid the foundation of future principalities. An adventurer of the Velálar or agricultural tribe, named Pándya, was thus the founder of the Pandyan kingdom.—(Wilson, Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pandya, p. 200). The kingdom of Pandion, well known to the Romans, was doubtless the domain of the Pandya sovereigns.

Notwithstanding the representation given by the Brahmans, who describe the inhabitants of the Dekhan as barbarous before the conquest, there are some reasons, as we have already observed, for supposing that letters were not unknown in the southern parts of the Peninsula.

This was the opinion of two writers, who, more than all others, were competent to form a correct judgement on the question, namely, Mr. Ellis of Madras, and Mr. James Prinsep, the discoverer of the ancient Indian alphabet. Mr. Ellis observes, that the "Tamil character, though perfectly competent to the expression of the language to which it belongs, is incapable of representing with precision the sounds and combination of sounds of the Sanskrit. To remedy this defect," he says, "the Brahmans, on their establishment in Southern India, had but two methods at their option,—to introduce the Nagari, if it then existed, or to invent a new character. They preferred the latter. They analysed the Tamil characters and supplied the symbols wanting by recombining the lines and curves of these characters. The alphabet thus constructed they called Grant'ham. Mr. Ellis assures us that the Aryam character which obtains in Canara and Malabar, as well as the Singalese and Burmah alphabets, are derived from the Grant'ham or modified Tamil of the Brahmans, while the characters of Java and Sumatra, all nearly connected, are referrible immediately to the Tamil."—(Ellis's Dissertation on the Malayálma Language.) It was remarked by Dr. Vincent, that nine features were mentioned by Iambulus, the voyager cited by Diodorus, as characteristic of the people of Taprobane, which remark, though discredited by Klaproth, has been shown to be correct. It remained to inquire whether his account of the mode of writing corresponded with facts. This has been proved by Mr. Prinsep.—See Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 66, page 476.

Iambulus lived before Diodorus: perhaps a century before the Christian era. He is said to have resided seven years in Taprobane.—See Diod. Sic. Bibl., lib. 3.—Vincent on the Periplus of the Erythræan.

magicians, was to deliver holy penitents from the fear of Ravana and his giants, who possessed not only Lanka or Ceylon, but nearly all parts of the Peninsula. At the head of these penitents was Agastya, celebrated as the apostle of Brahmanism, whose efforts were seconded by Rama and his warriors. After the native princes who in arms opposed the new doctrine had been subdued, numerous colonies of Brahmans arrived in the south. The native population was reduced, as it appears, into a servile state; but the distribution of castes and the hierarchical system of the Brahmans were never brought to that perfection in the Dekhan which they had attained in Hindústan. The most convincing proof that this revolution really happened, is to be found in the languages of the south-eastern parts of the Peninsula, which, though embellished or corrupted by a mixture of Sanskrit words, yet remain essentially distinct and afford clear evidence of a different origin.

The era of this colonisation by Hindoos is unknown, but whenever it took place it was doubtless connected with the introduction of the religion and language of the Brahmans. In Dravira they preceded the reigns of the Pandyan kings who were coëval with the Christian era, since the first sovereigns of that dynasty have Sanskrit names. In the western parts the Shalukyas were worshippers of Siva; their date falls short of the same conquest, and this might be inferred from the Sanskrit language of the inscriptions which contain their history. The Dekhan had already been reduced under the sovereigns of India before Buddhism was spread through it by order of Asoka, in some of whose decrees the kingdom of Chola is mentioned by name. This brings us to the third century before the Christian era. How long before this period the Hindú colonisation of the Dekhan began can only be a theme of conjecture. It is certain, however, that the age of Rama's wars in that country preceded by some centuries the birth of Sakya Buddha.

But to return to the investigation of languages:—it has been observed, that the most celebrated Indian grammarians who have written in Sanskrit regarded the Tamul

and all the other dialects of the Dekhan, as Prakrits or as dialects entirely formed on the basis of the Sanskrit, and derived from that language with more or less of popular corruption. It has been supposed that Dravira-desa, the country of the Tamul speech, as well as other districts where the Telŭgŭ and Kannádi prevail, were ancient kingdoms of which Sanskrit was the original language, and whence it has deviated through different culture into all the present varieties of dialect now existing among the civilised nations of the Peninsula.

This was the opinion, as we have seen, which Mr. Colebrooke appears to have adopted from Sanskrit authors, and the same notion has been expressed even more fully by other writers as the result of their own observation and inquiry. Dr. Carey, who is known to have possessed a very extensive acquaintance with the languages of India, maintained that "*not only* the Hindústani, Bengalí, Orissa, Mahratta, Gurjara, but likewise all, or nearly all, the dialects of the South,—the Telinga, Karnata, Tamil, Malayálam, and Singalese, are merely corrupt derivatives from the Sanskrit."* The same opinion seems to have been at one time universal among Indian scholars, but it has given way to more accurate research, and particularly to the investigation of the subject by Mr. Ellis of Madras.† The writer last mentioned has fully proved that the idioms of the Dekhan form a distinct family of languages, which borrow much from the Sanskrit in literary compositions, but have in reality no essential connexion with that ancient idiom. "The constituent members," says Mr. Ellis, "of the family of languages which may be appropriately called the dialects of Southern India, are the high and low Tamil, the Telugu, grammatical and vulgar, the Carnataca or Cannadi, ancient and modern, the Malayálma or Malayálam and the Tulava, the native speech of that part of the country to which in our maps the name of Canara is now confined." Besides these are a few local dialects of the same derivation, such as the Codugu, a variety of the Tulava, spoken

* Preface to a Grammar of the Teloogoo Language by Dr. Carey.

† A Grammar of the Teloogoo Language &c., by A. D. Campbell; second edition, 4to., Madras, 1820. Note to the Introduction, by F. W. Ellis.

in the district called by us Coorg; the Singalese, Maharastra and the Oddiya, which, though not of the same stock, borrow many words and idioms from these tongues."

"The Telugu is formed from its own roots, which have no connexion with the Sanskrit or any other language, except the idioms of the Dekhan. To the roots of the Tamil and Cannadi those of the Telugu are not merely similar, but they are *the same*, the difference between these languages being merely in formative affixes."

It seems that the difference between these languages and the Sanskrit is essential: it commences from the primitive elements of speech. The alphabet of the Tamil is totally different from the Nagari; it rejects all aspirates, and has many sounds which cannot be expressed by any of the Sanskrit letters. "Nor is it true that the idioms of the Dekhan are poor and defective without the addition of Sanskrit words." "When all direct and indirect derivatives from the Sanskrit and other languages are rejected, what remains is the pure native language of the land: this constitutes the great body of the Telugu tongue, and is capable of expressing every mental and bodily operation, every possible relation and existing thing; for with the exception of some religious and technical terms, no word of Sanskrit derivation is necessary to the Telugu. This pure native language of the land, allowing for dialectic difference and varieties of termination, comprehends with the Telugu the Tamil, Cannadi, and the other dialects of Southern India."* It must be observed that the Telŭgŭ or the Telinga is the idiom of the ancient kingdom of Kalinga or Andhra, on the eastern coast of the Peninsula; the Malayál'ma is the language of the western or Malabar coast; and the Kannádi that of the province of Karnātāka, in the interior or table-land of the Dekhan.†

* Ellis's Introduction, page 18.

† The reader will observe a great variation in the orthography of Indian names. I have thought it requisite when citing authorities to preserve the orthography of the writers whom I have quoted. Thus the language of Orissa is termed Odiya, Uriya, &c., the *d* and *r*, which are interchanged, being preferred by different writers; Kannádí is also Canara and Karnataka; Tamul, Tamil, Tamalah, are various ways of expressing the same name; and Telŭgŭ is Telinga, also Kalinga.

Paragraph 3.—Of relations between the Idioms of the Dekhan and those of Proper Hindústan.—Foreign origin of the Indian Race.

Late writers have thought that they perceived traces of a further affinity between the dialects of the Indian Peninsula and the popular idiom of Hindústan; and it seems now to be a prevalent opinion, that not only in those portions of these several languages which are derived from the Sanskrit, is there between them an intimate relation, but that in the other component parts of each, there is much that springs from a common original in the Telŭgŭ, Kannádi, and Tamil, and in the popular dialect of Northern India. It is probable that an accurate comparison of the Hindí with the Peninsular languages will hereafter throw much light upon this subject.

Dr. Stevenson, in a learned Essay on the Maráthí or Mahratta language, has made some remarks which are sufficient to prove that a certain degree of relation exists between the Unsanskrit portion of the Hindí and the dialects of the Dekhan. "In the Maráthí language," he says, "the analysis of twelve pages taken separately throughout Molesworth's dictionary gives about fifty thousand words, of which about ten thousand may be reckoned primitives and the rest derived from these. Of the primitives about one-half are Sanskrit, either entirely or almost in a state of purity. And of the remaining five thousand, two more are still Sanskrit, though considerably corrupted; one thousand are Persian and Arabic; and two thousand, or one-fifth of the the whole, are unconnected with any of those languages, but belong to what I conceive to have been the language of the aborigines of India. Many of the words of this class agree with the Telugu, Kannadí, and Tamil, and are also to be traced in the Hindí and Gujaráthí, where there is not the slightest connexion with the Sanskrit."

The same writer has given an analysis of fifteen Maráthí roots with some of their derivatives, and he has certainly shewn that several of them, though wanting in Sanskrit,

are common to the Telŭgŭ and Kannádi dialects of the Dekhan and to the Hindí and Gujaráthí of Northern India. These are but a very small number of words, but evidence much stronger is afforded by analogy between these idioms in grammatical forms. Of this the following instances are given :—

The vernacular dialects of India conjugate verbs chiefly by means of auxiliaries. "The Hindí and Gujaráthí have, properly speaking, no present tense except that of the verb to be, which, joined to a present participle, serves for the present indicative of all the verbs in the language. This Mr. Campbell asserts to be the case also with the Telugu, though by the laws of euphony the fact is somewhat disguised. Such a present indicative is also in frequent use in Maráthí, though there is also another. Of all these languages it may, however, be asserted, that about one-half of the tenses are made up of participles joined to auxiliary verbs. It is quite the contrary with the Sanskrit, which, like the Greek and Latin, proceeds on the system of having different terminations generally for the different tenses.* There must, therefore, in India, have been some element, like the Gothic and other Germanic tongues in Europe, to produce this modification of languages, the greater part of whose vocables are Sanskrit; but where will either history or tradition allow us to look for any such modifying cause, except in an aboriginal language, following a different course in this respect from the Sanskrit? In the Maráthí, and in the spoken languages generally, the second person present imperative is the root of the verb, as in English."

It is observed moreover that "nouns in the modern languages of India, instead of the seven or eight cases of the Sanskrit, have never more than three or four at the utmost;

* I may observe that a difference of construction noted in the text, though striking, is yet not sufficient to prove that two languages do not belong to one great family. The Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, differ indeed in many verbal constructions from the Germanic tribe of languages, but they all belong to one great family. The Welsh has principally the method of constructing the present tense here described as belonging to the Hindí and Gujaráthí, yet is a sister language with the Irish, differently constructed and though more remotely with the Sanskrit.

the place of the others being supplied by postpositions, separable particles affixed to the nouns, serving the same purpose as prepositions in the modern languages of Europe. This is the case at least in the Hindí, Gujaráthí, Marathí, Telugu, Kannadí, and Tamil."

One of the postpositive particles used to supply the place of cases is nearly the same in several of these languages. "The sign of the dative in Hindí is *ko*, in Kannadí *kka*, in Telugu *ku*, in Tamil *kku*. What connexion has this termination with the Sanskrit sign of the dative? And yet it is substantially one in four different languages, leading us almost without interruption from Cape Comorin to the Himálaya Mountains."

The indications of resemblance adduced by Dr. Stevenson are perhaps sufficient to prove the existence of a common element in the northern and southern languages of India. How far this spreads in the Hindí and its correlatives has not yet been fully displayed. We have seen that Mr. Colebrooke estimated the Unsanskrit portion of this language at one tenth. If this estimate be correct, and only a fraction of that tenth is to be considered, all that has flowed from other sources being abstracted, as belonging to the common element above described, its extent is by no means great in the northern languages. It cannot be compared to the influence of the Germanic idioms on those of modern Europe. It may rather be thought analogous in extent to the small degree of influence (though greater than it is generally supposed to be), which the Welsh has exercised in the formation of the English language, and which may be attributed to a small number of Britons who may be thought to have remained, and to have become blended with Anglo-Saxons in the population of England. It appears most probable that this common element, or the Unsanskrit portion of the Indian languages, is the relic of a primitive stock of inhabitants who may have possessed the whole country previous to the entrance of the Arian race into the region beyond the Indus. But the relative numbers of the Arians and Aborigines must have been very different in Hindústan and the Dekhan. The latter country

was conquered and colonised by Hindoos, who, during many successive ages, continued to pass into the Peninsula from Northern India; yet the vernacular languages remain, though blended with varying portions of the Sanskrit.

Of the theory which represents the Sanskrit language as originally foreign to the Hindoo race and introduced among them by conquerors from the West, the first though not the most probable modification has been adopted by learned but uncritical men, who conjectured that the sacred language of India was originally derived from Greek introduced by the colony founded by Alexander the Great in Bactria, the sovereigns of which conquered a part of Hindústan. The affinity which the Sanskrit bears to other languages of the East is a sufficient refutation of this opinion, which could not be maintained in the present state of our knowledge.

It is not apparent however that the difficulties attendant on this hypothesis are materially lessened by carrying back the supposed introduction of a foreign speech to an earlier date, and if the Brahmans were a body of military conquerors, who subdued the people of India and reduced them to vassalage, it is hardly to be believed that they could have succeeded to so great a degree in changing the language of the aborigines. The followers of Clovis and of Charlemagne soon adopted the provincial language of the Latinised Gauls, and the Northmen who followed Rurik had lost their Scandinadian speech, and even had Sclavonian names in the third generation after their conquest of Russia. It has only happened when extensive colonisations have taken place, and have been continued during a long course of years, as by the Romans, who continued for three centuries to plant colonies in Gaul and Spain, that the idiom of a conquered population has been changed. In order that such a revolution may be possible, or at least at all accordant with experience of human events, it is requisite, as M. Abel-Remusat has well observed,* that the colonists, or the people who speak the new language, may bear some proportion in numbers to those who are destined to lose their vernacular

* Récherches sur les Langues Tartares.

idiom. If the Sanskrit had been merely the speech of a sacerdotal caste, who introduced themselves into India as they did into the Dekhan and the island of Java, and as the Buddhists made their way through Tibet and Mongolia and China and Ceylon, it is probable that this language would every where have continued to be, like the Palí and the Kawi, a high court or priestly idiom. But it seems to be the uniform persuasion of learned men in the present time that Sanskrit, or some slight modification of it, was once the national language of Hindústan. The supposition which we seem driven by the facts of the case to adopt is, that the classical language of India was introduced from countries beyond the Indus, not by a body of priests or by a conquering army, but by a great colony of people. It must be concluded, that at least both the higher tribes of the Indian community came, in all probability together, from the countries to the westward of the Indus, and shared between them the possession of power in Hindústan. It is very improbable that if the Brahmans, as Colonel Tod supposes, were originally warriors who conquered the Xatriyas or Rajpoots, of Western India, they would ever have resigned the sword to their sturdy enemies and have become priests, or would have yielded their sceptre and royal state to the princes of a subdued race. But if both these higher tribes were foreign colonists, there seems no good reason for doubting that they were accompanied by the third tribe, the Vaisyas or agricultural and commercial class. These are three privileged classes, together termed the twice-born, every individual going through a ceremony which is considered as a second birth, and the institutes of Menu provide for their enjoyment of distinct rights. There is nothing that prevents our adopting the supposition that they entered India in one body, and conquered and reduced to servitude and to a life of labour the Sudras, or at least the Parriahs.

Another serious objection to the hypothesis to which we have adverted is, that it derives no support from testimony, but is rather contradictory to the tenor of Indian history.

An event so remarkable in the history of the Indian race as a military conquest effected by one caste over the great

body of the nation, or rather over foreign nations whom they subsequently forced to adopt their language and religion, could not fail to have made a strong impression and to have left some traces in the historical traditions of the Hindoos. In the Dekhan indeed ancient legends preserve the memory of various conquests effected in particular districts by Parasu-Rama and other celebrated leaders, who are said to have introduced the religion and culture of the Brahmans.* But in Hindústan the sacred and the military orders make no appeal to the right of conquest.† The poems, the sastras and the cosmogonies, of the Hindoos, always represent the four great tribes as coëval in origin, as children of one fabulous progenitor, one tribe springing from his head, one from his arms, a third from his thighs, and a fourth from his feet. If the inferior classes had been known to be of a different race, the policy of the priesthood would doubtless have represented them as originating from a foreign and profane stock. Among the Buddhists a separate tradition or myth has been handed down respecting the origin of mankind; and this explicitly declares that Brahmans, Xatriyas, and all the other castes, are of one race. In the extracts from the Atthakatha, published by Mr. Turnour, we find a legend importing, that mankind, after their corruption by guilt, found it needful to have a punisher of crimes. They chose from the common stock the most beautiful for their sovereign. The choice fell upon a Khattiyo, that is a Xatriya, who became accordingly ancestor of the warrior tribe and himself a rajah. It is added, "Thus it was, descendant of Wasittho, that in this race of Khattiyo the illustrious name descended as his

* We are informed by Major Wilks, that there was a prevalent tradition in the Mysore purporting that the Parriahs of Karnataka were once an independent people, and that one of the Banawasi kings, who reigned one thousand four hundred and fifty years before Christ, conquered the Parriah king Húbasika, and reduced his people to their present low condition.—(See Wilks's History of the Mysore, vol. 1.) A different representation however was to be collected from the tradition of Malabar as delivered in the Keral Udpati, or Emerging of Kerala.—See Asiatic Res., vol. v.

† This remark has already been made and illustrated by the ingenious Herder.—Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit, B. 2, S. 25.

original appellation : they are the descendants of the same and not of different races of mankind." This is a strong testimony that no difference of race was known, as a matter of fact, among the ancient people of Hindústan.*

Paragraph 4.—Conclusion.

Perhaps, after all that can be said on the subject of the present inquiry, we have scarcely data sufficiently explicit and harmonious in their evidence to afford a satisfactory solution. On a review of the whole subject the following appear to be the most probable inferences, or if not inferences, suppositions :—

The Sanskrit language, or an idiom of which the Sanskrit was but a slight modification and refinement, such as an oral speech may obtain when reduced to writing or used in conversation by the most cultivated portion of a community, was at one period the national language of a great part of Northern and Central Hindústan. If the complete and elaborate Sanskrit was not the prevailing speech, at least of the better part of the community, it may be supposed to have borne nearly the same relation to the popular idiom which the pure Attic or refined Latinity bore to the ordinary dialect of the Athenian or of the Roman people.

The Sanskrit language in its pure state was, if we may in any instance rely on the evidence which a close analogy in speech affords with respect to the origin and affinity of nations, the idiom of a people of genuine Indo-European race, and of a tribe not remotely allied by kindred to those races who spoke the Greek and Latin and the Lithuanian and German languages.

The pure Sanskrit, as every one knows, is no longer the national idiom in any part of India. It has given place in Hindústan to a variety of dialects which resemble and bear to it a relation not unlike that which the Spanish, Italian, and Provençal, and even French, bear to Latin.

History records no great revolution (such as a conquest

* Honourable Mr. Turnour on the Palí Buddhistical Annals.—Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 80, August, 1838, p. 697.

by some foreign race, or the immigration and permanent settlement of a foreign tribe in India), since the age, not long preceding the Christian era, when Sanskrit is supposed to have been the national idiom, or since the age when inscriptions prove the general prevalence of an idiom nearly resembling the Sanskrit and the Pali, to the effect of which we can with probability attribute the corruption of the Sanskrit or that modification which the language of India has undergone. The Indo-Scythian conquest is not supposed to have extended over all Hindústan. Neither is the Unsanskrit portion of the Hindí apparently derived from a language which a Scythian nation would have introduced. Such at least we may presume to be the fact from what is at present known, though this subject is one which demands further inquiry.

If it should be fully established that the Unsanskrit portion of the modern language of Hindústan is derived from the native idiom of the barbarous aborigines of India, it cannot be supposed that this portion of the national speech was introduced into the country at a later period than the Sanskrit language itself. They must have been at one time coeval and co-existent in the same country. We shall be obliged then to suppose that the Sanskrit was the idiom of the higher classes, and the barbarous tongue that of the lower orders of the people at the same time, just as Norman-French in England was spoken by the higher class while Anglo-Saxon prevailed among the lower people, though in all probability the foreign tongue was spoken in India by a much larger proportion of the people than in England, since it has produced a much greater effect on the language which has resulted from a mixture of the two primitive elements, or enters more largely into its composition. In India the three higher or the twice-born classes may be supposed with probability to have belonged to the Sanskrit-speaking race.

There is one great difference in the social history of the Hindoos and the English people which must have exercised some influence on the revolutions or modifications which races and languages have undergone. In England the tribes

were intermixed and became one people. In India, as we know the change of language to have taken place since the era of the division of tribes and castes, no intermixture is to be imagined between Brahmans and Xatriyas on the one side, and Sudras or perhaps Parriahs on the other. If family connections were sometimes formed between them, the offspring was cut off from the community as impure, and rejected into the class of outcasts.

Various revolutions are recorded, or hinted at, in the imperfect histories of Indian states, which are likely to have weakened the predominant power of the Brahmans and Xatriyas. Such are the accessions to royal dignity of Sudra or M'lecha dynasties.* The circumstances accompanying these revolutions probably lowered the influence of the higher classes in the Indian system of castes. The occasional predominance of the plebeian dynasties may have rendered the idioms of the lower classes so far prevalent as to have occasioned a corruption of the Sanskrit by intermixture, in a manner not unlike that in which foreign conquests have effected similar changes.

The importance of these remarks with respect to the physical history of the Indian race is obvious. The Brahman and Xatriya races have undergone no physical change through intermarriage with the black aborigines. That degree of blackness which they have is the effect of some other cause, probably of climate. They are still, as it is well known, generally of lighter colour than the lower classes; but this and other points connected with their physical history will be taken into consideration in a future section.

* An instance is that of the Mauryas, a Sudra dynasty in Magad'ha.

Section IV.— *Results of Ethnological Inquiries into the History of India.—Limitation of Dialects and Races.*

The denominations of Indian dialects are so numerous that it will be worth while to recapitulate them and to specify their particular meanings, and to trace by their limits the extent of the different tribes.

Paragraph 1.—Ancient Languages of Hindústan.

1. The Pali is the sacred language used by the worshippers of Buddha, in which their sacred writings have been preserved. It is written in alphabets consisting of round characters, very different in form from the square Devanagari characters used in Sanskrit books, but having nearly the same powers as the Nagari or Sanskrit letters and arranged in the same order. Modifications of the Pali alphabet are used by the priests of Buddha in Tibet as well as in the Indo-Chinese countries of Siam, Burmah, &c., and in Ceylon,—in short wherever the Buddhistical books are preserved.

The Pali language is merely a dialectic variety of the Sanskrit. It is an ancient tongue like the Sanskrit, no longer extant any where as an oral speech. By Mr. Prinsep, who was an excellent judge, it was thought to bear nearly the same relation of proximity to the Sanskrit as the Zend. It is supposed to have been the language of the provinces of India where Buddha was born and his first disciples lived. This was Behar, a part of the ancient kingdom of Magad'ha, which adopted his religion, and where Buddhistical literature was cultivated about three centuries before the Christian era.

2. The language of the inscriptions decyphered by Mr. Prinsep in different parts of India, which appear to have been written during the reign of Asoka, is, according to Mr. Prinsep, an idiom very similar to the Pali, but thought to make some approximation to the Sindhian dialect.

Paragraph 2.—Modern Idioms of Hindústan.

1. The modern Hindústaní is the language of the Mogul empire. It is a modification, formed chiefly by an adoption of Persian words, of the Hindí or Hindeví.

2. The Hindí or Hindeví is the popular language of Upper India. It is called also the Brij-bhákhá. It is known to contain a great proportion of Sanskrit words, but to have a grammatical construction very different from that of the Sanskrit, having lost a great part of its inflections, as the Italian has lost those of the Latin.

Most of the northern dialects of India are modifications, more or less remote, of the Hindí.

In the western parts of India two particular languages prevail, the Panjábí and the Sindhí. Of these I find the following accounts :—

1. The Panjabi is a dialect of the Hindustaní ; it is the modern dialect of the towns in the Panjáb: the villagers speak the Iáthkí a low vernacular dialect. On the frontier of the Sikhs the Panjábí is said to be mixed with words of other dialects. It is however fundamentally the language of the Sikhs, who, through hatred of the Moslims, have laboured to change their speech. Towards Shawalpur the Panjábí partakes of the Sindhí.

The Panjábí appears to be no new importation into the Land of the Five Rivers, brought, as from some of the above remarks might be supposed, by settlers in the towns. It is observed, on the evidence afforded by Bactrian coins, that we may thence infer the existence of a dialect mainly derived from the Sanskrit, in Bactriana,—"*at least in the Panjáb*,"—in the time of Eucratides, the Greek king of that country. At the present day this dialect is diluted with words derived from the Arabic and Persian, introduced together with Islàm.*

2. The Sindhi Language is spoken through the whole

* Additions to Bactrian Numismatics, by J. Prinsep, Esq., Bengal Asiatic Journal, 79, p. 638.

province of Sindh, and it is said to be understood as far northward as the territories of Bahawal-Khan, the Derajat and Multan; it prevails westward in Kuch-Gandava, Shal, Mastang, and Pishín.

According to Mr. Wathen, who has written a grammar of the Sindhí, this language is merely a dialect of the Brij-bhákhá, or pure Hindí of Upper India, from which it differs in being more regular in the inflections of its words. In one particular, the possession of the auxiliary verb *thiyan*, to be, which is wanting in the Hindí, it approaches the Hindústaní, or more modern form.*

3. THE MARATHI OR THE LANGUAGE OF THE MAHRATTAS.—The Gurjara, or the idiom of Guzerat, is one of the northern Indian languages, and may be considered as a sister dialect of the Hindí; but the Maráthí, or idiom of the Mahrattas, which borders on it towards the South, makes a notable approximation to the dialects of the Dekhan, particularly to the Telŭgŭ.†

The nation termed Maharashtras, or briefly and corruptly Mahrattas, was formerly confined, according to Mr. Colebrooke, to a mountainous tract to the southward of the river Nermada, and extending to the province of Kókân. Their language is more widely spread, but is not vernacular far beyond its original limits.‡ Mr. Hamilton says, "the best modern accounts lead us to suppose that the original country of the Mahrattas included Khandesh, Baglana, and a part of Berar, extending towards the north-west as far as Guzerat and the Nermada river, where are the Grassias and Bhíls." The original Mahratta country is of great natural strength, interspersed with mountains, defiles, and natural fortresses.

The Mahrattas are Hindoos, but not of the military caste, however warlike or rather predatory have been their habits

* Wathen's Grammar of the Sindhí, Asiatic Journal, Bengal, No. 65, and Captain James M'Murdo on the country of Sindh, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, vol I.

† Observations on the Maráthí Languages, by the Rev. Dr. Stevenson, Asiatic Journal, vol. vii.

‡ Asiatic Researches, vol vii.

in later times. This is proved, according to Hamilton, by the names of their principal tribes, such as Koonbee, Dungar, and Goalah, or the farmer, shepherd, and cowherd,—all rural occupations and those of Sudras. The exterior of the Rajpoot and Mahratta marks a different origin. The former are remarkable for grace and dignity of person, the latter are of diminutive size, in general badly made and of mean and rapacious aspect and disposition. The Mahratta Brahmans also differ in customs from their neighbours, with whom they never associate or intermarry. The Brahmans however in the Mahratta countries are strongly distinguished from the other inhabitants; they are fair, have prominent features and comely persons. They are Vaishnavas and abstain from animal food. The inferior castes of Mahrattas are of dark, yellow, or tawny complexion, with broad flat faces, small features, and short square persons, seldom if ever stout. They are said to be deceitful, treacherous, rapacious, and cruel, or to have all the vices without any of the virtues of the semi-barbarous state. The extension of their power under Sívají, and the other marauding chieftains who succeeded to the Mahratta empire, seems to have been the result of circumstances. The armies of the Mahratta chieftains were a motley assemblage of various plundering tribes, and of bandits collected from all quarters.*

We are assured by Dr. Stevenson, author of a "Memoir on the Maráthí Language," which has already been cited, that the country in which it is spoken, "in more or less purity, extends along Malabar coast from Goa northward to Damaun, where it yields to the Gujaráthí. The language extends eastward to about Hyderabad, where it yields to the Telugu. In the interior it meets the Kannadí language at Solapur, and extends northward to about Nagpur. The population speaking Maráthí is estimated at about eight or ten millions."

4. Of the Uriyas, or Hindu Inhabitants of Odra-

* See accounts of the Mahrattas in Wilks's History of the Mysore.—W. Hamilton's Description of India, vol. 2, p. 183.—Coleman's Indian Mythology.

DESA OR ORISSA.—Orissa is an extensive province in the north-eastern corner of the Dekhan, lying between Bengal and Telingana. The corresponding Puranic division of Utkala Desa reached northward to Tamlook and Miduapore, taking a portion of Rârha Des in Bengal; southward to the Rasikoila Nadi, the river which flows into the sea at Ganjam. To the eastward it is bounded by the sea; to the west by Sónpur and other parts of Gondwana. Or-desa or Oresa, the original seat of the Or or Odra tribe, was less extensive, being bounded by the Rasikoila to the south, and by the Kans Bans in 21° north latitude towards the north; but the Uriya nation, under their princes of the Ganga-Vansa line, carried their name and language beyond the present Orissa on every side.

The Puranas are lavish in their praises of Utkal K'hand, "the famous country," as Orissa is termed. It is declared to be a favourite abode of the Devatas, and to boast a population more than half Brahmans. "Its happy inhabitants," according to the Kapila Sanhita, "live secure of reception into the world of spirits, and those who even visit it and bathe in its sacred rivers obtain remission of their sins though they may weigh like mountains. Who shall describe its sacred streams, its temples, its khetos, its fragrant flowers and fruits of exquisite flavour, a land in which Devatas delight to dwell!" The annalists of Orissa are fond of relating, that when the general of Akbar marched into it in 1580 he was struck with amazement at the sight of its sacred river Mahanadi, its vast crowds of Brahmans, its lofty temples of stone. Notwithstanding these praises the soil is generally poor and unfruitful, and its inhabitants in the lowest moral grade among the races of Hindústan.

The inhabitants of Orissa are of the four great tribes of Hindoos divided as elsewhere into different castes, which are here in number thirty-six. Of these, eight classes or families claim to be Xatriyas, but are supposed by the learned to be Sudras. The proper Or or Orchasa are husbandmen of the last-mentioned tribe. The wild tribes or Pulindas in the forests behind Orissa, namely, the Khonds, Súrs, and

Koles, will be described in a following section. Besides all these there are mixed tribes called Paiks, who are the native militia of the province. The Utkala Brahmans are one of the ten original divisions of the sacred class.

The Uriyas as a nation are justly described by Abul-Fazìl, as very effeminate and deficient in manly spirit; their figures are slight and delicate; they are ignorant and stupid. Orissa might be termed the Bœotia of India. They are not ferocious, but cunning, intriguing, and dissolute.

The language of the Or or Odra natives is a tolerably pure bhasha or dialect of the Sanskrit resembling closely the Bengali, but far remote from any affinity with the Telinga. Most of the titles of which the natives are so fond are pure Sanskrit. More than three-fourths of the nouns and verbs may be derived from Sanskrit roots, and its simple inflections are founded on the rules of the Vyakaran. The basis of the alphabet is the pure Hindí or Nagari character. To the westward the Gond and Uriya languages pass into each other: the rajah of Sonepur informed Mr. Stirling that one half of his people spoke Gond and the other half Uriya. On the south we find traces of the Telinga about Ganjam. The people there call themselves Oodìahs and Wodìahs instead of Uriyas.*

Paragraph 3.—Languages and Nations of the Southern Family.

1. KARNATAS.—All the high table-land in the south of India above the Ghauts is designated by Indian geographers as Karnata, the country of a particular race who spoke the Karnataka language, one of the original dialects of the Dekhan, underived from the Sanskrit. The names of Karnata and Karnataka, corrupted into Canara and Carnatic, have been transferred from the real Karnata to a province conquered by the sovereigns of that country situated below the Ghauts. The Canara and the Carnatic of modern times are

* Stirling's Description of Orissa.—Asiatic Researches.

beyond the limits of the ancient kingdom of Karnata. In remote periods Karnataka was a powerful empire and comprehended a great part of the Dekhan. In the eighth century of the Christian era it was governed by the Bellala Rayas. Balagami, in Mysore, was its capital, and the heretical sect of Jainas, so termed by the Brahmans, was its predominant religious party. The Karnataka language and alphabet are used by the natives of all the countries from Coimbatore northward as far as Beider, and from the line of the Eastern to that of the Western Ghauts. The whole of this table-land, which may be considered as inhabited by one race, comprehends the modern provinces of Mysore, Sera, Upper Bednore, Soonda, Goa, Adoni, Rachoor, Kurnoul, the Doab of the Krishna and Toombudra, and a considerable part of the modern provinces of Bejapoor and Beider, as far as the source of the Krishna. The Haiga Brahmans in Canara, that is in the country on the western coast below the Ghauts, between Tulava and Kankana or Concan, consider the Karnataka as their proper tongue. The junction of these languages, the Telinga, the Mahratta and the Karnataka, is found near the city of Beider, in the Dekhan. Inscriptions found in this country, whether in the Karnataka language or in Sanskrit, are written in the Karnataka character, which is nearly the same as the Andhra or old Telinga.*

2. OF THE TELINGA NATION.—The Telinga language is the Andhra of Sanskrit authors, and the word Telinga is at once the name of a language and a nation. The language was frequently termed Kalinga; it is now often named Telŭgŭ. The Telinga language, as well as the race of people who speak it, extends to the eastward of the Mahratta from near Ganjam, its northern limit on the eastern coast of the Peninsula, to within a few miles of Pulicat, which is its southern point. A strip of wild country intervenes between the Telinga and Mahratta regions in the interior, where the barbarous language of the Gonds prevails. The whole region thus marked out was divided

* Hamilton's Geographical Description of India.

into the Andhra and the Kalinga countries to the northward and southward of the Godavery; and the whole comprehended the Five Northern Sircars, a great portion of the Nizam's dominions, all Cuddapah and Bellary, and the northern part of the Lower Carnatic. At the period of the Mohammedan conquest the greater part of this region was known by the general designation of Telingana, and Warangol was the capital of the whole. After the dissolution of the empire of the Dekhan, Telingana became an independent state under the designation of Golconda.

3. Of the Tamil Race and Language.— Draviradesa, as we have seen, comprehends the region through which the Dravira or Tamil language and its dialects are spoken, that is a great part of the maritime country of the southern part of the Peninsula.* The Tamil, the Malayálam, and the Tulava, are proximate dialects of a language which is often called by Europeans Malabar. Tamil or Tamul, or Tamla, is said to be the appellation of the Sudras of the eastern side of Southern India. The proper Tamil is spoken from the southern limits of Telingana to Cape Comorin, on the coast; and in the interior the Tamil country reaches from the shores of Coromandel to the great range of hills, including the greater part of the Barramahal, Salem and Coimbatore, where it is bounded to the west by the province of Malabar. The Tamil Brahmans are designated as Dravida Brahmans.

The ancient Dravira was long divided by three rival dynasties famous in the early history of the Dekhan, namely, Pandya, Chola, and Chera. The Pandya ruled over Madura and the southern parts; Chera in the west united Kanjiam and Salem to the territory of Kerala, on the coast of Malabar. Chola governed Tanjore and Combroconum and the north of Dravira. This includes the region of the Malayálma language as well as that of the proper Tamil. The coast of Malabar is denominated in the Hindú geographical systems Kerala. But Kerala

* The Malabar or Malayálma and the Tulava languages are properly dialects of the Tamil. The Karnata the Telinga and the Tamil are to be considered as sister languages.

comprehends not only Malabar, which is properly, or in the ethnographical sense, that part of the western coast of the Dekhan through which the Malabar or Malayálam language prevails, extending as far northward from Cape Comorin as Neeliseram but also the succeeding tract further northward called Tulava, throughout which the Tulava language prevails.* The Tulava language is that erroneously termed Canara by the British. The ancient region of Kerala extended from Gaukarna round Cape Comorin to the river Tambraparne in Tinneveli. The present English province of Malabar is but a part of Kerala, extending one hundred miles along the coast, but it includes some districts not comprehended in Kerala. The country consists chiefly of forests, lying along the skirts of the Western Ghauts; it is excessively hot, contains an exuberant vegetation, the atmosphere being filled with exhalations. The inhabitants live scattered in separate dwellings in the woods; there are but few villages along the coast.

* The country of the Malayálam is, according to an ancient Sanskrit history of the country, styled the Kerál'òtpati, that is, the Emerging of Kerala, divided into four provinces. The most northern commencing at Gokarnam and extending southward nearly to Mangalore, is the Tulu-rájyam or kingdom of Tulu: thence nearly to Nìléswaram, is Cupa-rájyam: thence to Cannetti, near Collam (Quilon), is Kérala-rájyam; and thence to Canyácumári or Cape Comorin, is Mushica. Malayálma is the language of the two last provinces. In Cupum and in Tulu, which constitute the district of late named Canara, the Tulava, a distinct dialect though cognate with the Malayálma, prevails among the Aborigines. Mr. Ellis observes, that the Malayálma is, like the Codan-Tamizh, an immediate dialect of the Shen-Tamizh, or pure Tamil. The peculiar character of the Malayálma which distinguishes it from all other Tamil dialects is, that though it is derived from a language superfluously abounding in verbal forms, its verbs are entirely devoid of terminations, the person being marked merely by the pronoun. On the question,—Which of the Tamil dialects was the original one?—Mr. Ellis observes, that the Shen Tamil, abounding in inflections, is the earliest form of the language. The Shen Tamil probably constitutes no exception to the remark, that older languages are more complex in structure and more copious in inflexions than recent ones. The Shen Tamil, from which the Codun Tamil as well as the Malayálma is derived, is greatly superior in richness of inflections, as of tenses in verbs, and in the artifice of language, to the other forms of the language. The pure Tamil has a most artificial and elaborate system of verbal inflections. The Codun Tamil wants many of these, and the Malayálma rejects altogether the personal terminations.—See Ellis's Dissertation on the Malayálma Language, published at Madras.

The history of Malabar contains many curious particulars. All the lands, cultivated and wild, belong to Jelmkars or Proprietors. Originally, it is believed that they were all the property of the Brahmanical hierarchy, and were attached to certain pagodas, from which they were alienated to the Jelmkars. This account, which is considered as authentic, is connected by the Hindoos with their history of the country, contained in an ancient book entitled, "Kerál-ótpati; or, the Emerging of Kerala from the Sea." Parasu Rama, Vishnu incarnate, stung with remorse for the blood shed in conquering the Xatriya Rajas, begged the ocean god Varana to supply a tract of land for the use of pious Brahmans. Kerala emerged and was occupied by the sacred class. The new country reached from Goukera, a hill near Mangalore, to Cape Comorin. The Brahmans found the country infested by serpents, but reduced it to cultivation and governed it till about one thousand years ago, when they called in a foreign Rajah, Cherumah Perumal, from Chaldesh. Under his rule it was divided between the Rajas and chief Nayrs, who are the landholders, and who date their possession from that era.

The inhabitants of Malabar are divided into the following castes:—

1. Brahmans, who are called Namburis.
2. Nayrs of various denominations; these are the rajas or great lords.
3. Tiars,—free cultivators.
4. Malears, musicians and conjurers
5. Poliars, who are serfs, or bondsmen attached to the soil.

A Nayr may approach but must not touch a Brahman. A Tiar must not come within thirty-six steps of a Brahman, or within twelve of a Nayr The lower orders have their fixed limits of approach. Below all these are Parriahs, who are held in as much contempt by the Poliars, as are the Poliars by the Brahmans.

A singular deviation from the ordinary habits of mankind are the domestic customs established among the Nayrs.

The marriages of the Nayrs so termed are contracted when they are ten years of age; but the husband never lives with his wife, who remains in the home of her mother or brother, and is at liberty to chose any lover of a rank equal to her own. Her children are not considered as her husband's, nor do they inherit from him. Every man looks upon his sister's children, who alone are connected with him by the ties of blood, as his heirs. The Nayrs are all pure Sudras: they pretend to be soldiers, but are of different ranks and professions. They constitute the military of Malabar, directed by the Brahmans and governed by Rajahs. The slaves are probably the descendents of the aborigines conquered by the Chola kings and reduced to servitude.

The best account of this singular state of society has been suggested by Mr. Hamilton. Malabar was probably conquered at an early period by some king from above the Ghauts, who established the pagodas and the hierarchy of Brahmans, who for their own convenience introduced a body of Sudras, designated Nayrs. In process of time the Nayrs became warriors and rajahs, and continued to govern Malabar as deputies of the gods who occupied the pagodas.

The towns along the sea coast are occupied chiefly by Moplays, who were originally Arab traders, and early embraced Islàm. They hate the Hindú idolaters and are hated by them.

Calicut is a district of Malabar, and one of the principal countries of the Nayrs. The Nayr rajah of Calicut is the chieftain termed by the Portuguese and other Europeans the Zamorin. The Zamorin or Tamari rajah, which is his proper designation, is always the oldest man of the Tamarii family by the female line: all the males of this family are termed Tamburans, and the females Tamburettis.

The natives of Malabar in general are very black. Among the hills and thick forests, there are some wild tribes of much fairer colour. The complexion of one tribe in the woods of the high Coorg country, termed Malay Cudiru, is not darker than that of Spaniards or Portuguese.

"This," says Mr. Hamilton, "may be owing to the elevation of their residence, the shade of their forests, and the torrents of rain which through a great part of the year pour from their cloudy atmosphere."

TULAVA.—The country to the northward of the river Chandragiri, where Malabar ends, is Tulava, termed by the English South Canara. The Tulava language has a great affinity with the Malabar or Malayálma, and both are dialects of the Tamil. Tulava is a part of the ancient Kerala, and the Brahmans pretend, like the Namburi Brahmans of Malabar, that the country emerged in the time of Parasu-Rama. North Canara is beyond the limits of the Tulava language, and partly within the territory of Haiga, to which Battecolla properly belongs.

HAIGA is occupied by a tribe of Brahmans termed Haiga after the country, and by a low caste of Hindoos termed Halepecas, who are agriculturists. The Comarepecas comprehended in this division are pure Sudras from Concan.

CONCAN or Kankana is an extensive maritime district of the Western Dekhan, reaching, in the Indian native geographical division, which agrees with the ethnological one, from Gangawala, the northern limit of Haiga, to the small river Sawutry which separates Concan from Callianee. In Kankana the Dravira-desa no longer prevails. The Brahmans are of the Pansh-Gauda or northern class, and the language of the country approaches to the Bengalí and Hindústaní.* It seems from this probable that the country was really peopled by Hindoos, properly so termed, and that the aborigines were expelled.

According to the Abbé Dubois, between Tellicherrì and Onore or Nagara, within a space of fifty leagues, there are five different nations, who, though mixed together from time immemorial, still preserve their distinct languages, character, and national spirit. They are the Nayrs, the Kúrgs or Kudagu, the Tulavas, the Kaungani or Kankanas, and the Kanaras.†

* Out of thirty-two words in the Lord's Prayer as translated by the Missionaries into the Concan language, twenty-five were the same as in the Bengalí and Hindústaní translation, besides several Sanskrit words.

† J. A. Dubois, Description of the People of India, preface, p. 17.

It appears that at the southern boundary of Kankana we must fix for the western side of the Dekhan, the furthest limits to the extension of the Indo-European race, who peopled proper Hindústan and had the Sanskrit or its dialects for their original speech. The countries further northward on that side of the Peninsula come within the limits assigned to the Maharashtra or Mahratta language.

Note 1 *to Section* IV.—History of the States in the Dekhan, elucidated by ancient Inscriptions.

From various collections of inscriptions discovered in the Dekhan, and from other historical documents, some light has been thrown on the origin and decline of several states or kingdoms in the South of India. These memorials refer in many instances to dynasties which arose after the fall of the Buddhistical power in the Peninsula and the restoration of the Brahmans. The history of others goes back obscurely to a more remote epoch, and almost to the period when the worship of the Hindú gods was first spread beyond the southern boundaries of Central India.

From a collection of five hundred and ninety-five inscriptions found in the southern part of the Mahratta country and in the northern district of the Mysore, engraved on slabs of black basalt, on clay slate, or on the pillars or walls of temples, the caves of Ellora, and a few on sheets of copper, their discoverer, Mr. Elliot, has been enabled to trace the history of four dynasties of princes who held extensive sway in that part of India now called the Dakshana or Dekhan, but in the period of these records named Kantala-desa.* The capital of Kantala-desa was first Kalyán, in the province of Kalborga, and subsequently Dévagiri, now Dowlatabad. The limits of this kingdom appear to have been the Nermáda or Nerbudda to the north, the ocean on the west, the line marking the extent of the Kannádi language on the south-east and on the

* Hindú Inscriptions, by Walter Elliot, Esq.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, vol. 4, sect. 1.

south-west inclusively the provinces of Naggar or Bidneer and of Sanda. These boundaries include a vast region, namely, the north-western part of the Dekhan reaching almost as far southward as Seringapatam, and eastward to the middle of the Peninsula: they are supposed indeed to have extended as far as the Eastern Ghauts, under which lay the kingdoms of Kalinga and Andhra, and there is distinct evidence of their having comprised, besides the country of Karnataka, nearly the whole Mahratta territory reaching northward to the Nermáda. The four dynasties above mentioned are the Shalukhya, whose power commenced about the fifth century of the era of Salivahana, the Kalabharijas who succeeded them in the eleventh century, the first Yadavas or Hoisala Bellalas, and the Yadavas of Devagiri, who bring down the history of the Dekhan to the thirteenth age,—year of Salivahana 1234 (A.D. 1312.) The former of these are connected with the Rajpoot families of Rajast'han, whose history has been investigated by Colonel Tod: they belonged to the tribes who professed themselves to be the offspring of the Moon.

Some of the earliest of the inscriptions relating to these dynasties are of importance, as they serve to connect them with other monarchies in different parts of India. One prince of the first line, named Joya Sinha, is said to have descended from royal ancestors, of whom fifty-nine reigned in Ayodhyapura or Oude, and in other parts of Hindústan. Another performed the Aswamedha sacrifice, and was therefore an orthodox Hindú; he imposed his orders on the chiefs of Chol, Kerala, Kalinga, Simhala, and Bhupal. Another waged wars with Chola, Pandya, and the Kadamba. These are nearly all the most celebrated dynasties of the Dekhan. Most of the first line of kings appear to have been worshippers of Siva; their titles are derived from Mahadeva, and the Lingam makes its appearance in the inscriptions connected with their names. Traces of Ophite worship also occur, and many individuals are mentioned of the Snake Race, and old temples are found to be filled with sculptured representations of serpents.

The history of the more southern parts of the Dekhan

during the same, and even to an earlier period, has been illustrated by Professor Wilson, principally from documents in the Mackenzie collection.* The historical traditions of the South of India divide Dravira-desa or the south-eastern part of the Peninsula, into three principalities, those of Pandya, Chola, and Chera. The early existence of the Pandya kingdom is proved by classical authorities. At the Christian era, the "regio Pandionis," of which Madura was the capital, comprehended the southern portion of the Coromandel coast, and appears to have extended across the Peninsula to Canara and Malabar. It was afterwards reduced within narrower limits by the rise of Chera to the west and the aggrandisment of Chola in the east. Northward, the boundary of Pandya is said to have been the Palar river, a little to the southward of Madras. The lists and enumeration of kings, the only materials for chronology, vary much in the early periods, and scarcely afford data for any opinion as to the antiquity of this state. Professor Wilson conjectures that the foundation of Pandya as an organised state may have happened five or six hundred years before Christ; but he says, that most of the recorded accounts of its history belong to the later periods, a circumstance which throws a suspicion over earlier parts of the chronicle. In later times there is a great want of precise chronology. "The great outline is clear enough, but the details continue imperfect. In the ninth and tenth centuries the Chola princes extended their power through a great part of the Peninsula and overwhelmed the splendour of the neighbouring kingdom of Pandya. To them succeeded the Belala princes of Mysore, before whose ascendency the ancient honours of Pandya and the later glories of Chola disappeared. The decline of the Belalas failed to restore the authority of the older dynasties, the provinces and chieftainships of which had taken the opportunity of gaining independence. The disorganised condition of the Southern States was perpetuated by the con-

* Historical Sketch of the kingdom of Pandya in the Southern Peninsula of India, by H. H. Wilson, Esq., Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Oxford.—Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, vol. 3.

fusion and alarm of the Mohammedan invasion. Soon after these inroads in the fourteenth century, the dominion of the kings of Vijayanagara was extended, and finally in the sixteenth established in the seat of the Pandyan monarchs."* The empire of Vijayanagara brings us down into modern times; its fall is connected with the recent history of Seringapatam and Hyder Ally.

Outlines, merely historical, of the succession of dynasties or of states would be quite unavailing to the design of this work if they were not connected with the ethnography and history of races. We shall find that the preceding sketches, imperfect as they are, of the history of kingdoms in the Dekhan will afford some aid in this research.

SECTION V.—*Of the Aboriginal Tribes in the Mountainous Parts of India, principally in the Dekhan.*

It has been observed that tribes of rude and barbarous people are found in the mountainous parts of India, some of whom are apparently descendants of the aboriginal or native population of the country, or remains of its ancient inhabitants, who occupied it before the arrival of the Hindoos. Numerous accounts of such races are to be found, partly in the memoirs published by the Asiatic Society, and in other researches, transactions, or journals of different Literary Societies, and partly in separate works, but we are yet far from having obtained such information respecting the languages and characters of these tribes as might enable us to determine with certainty what relations they may bear to each other or to the civilised nations of India.

I shall describe the most remarkable of the mountain tribes of India, beginning from the north-western parts and proceeding towards the south.

* The author of the Periplus of the Erythean particularises Nilcynda or Neliceram, Paralia, Malabar or Travancore, and Comari, *i. e.* Cape Comorin, as forming part of the domain of king Pandion.—See Dr. Vincent on the voyage of Nearchus, Professor Wilson's Historical Sketch of the kingdom of Pandya.

Paragraph 1.—Mountain Tribes of the north-western parts of the Dekhan,—Bhíls, Kúlís, Ramúsis.

1. Of the Bhíls or Bheels.

The country of the Bhíls or Bheels is the wild and uncultivated tract of the Vindhya mountain-chain which traverses a great part of India from west to east, to the northward of the Nerbudda and parallel to its course: they are also found in the northern part of the Eastern Ghauts. "The grand geographical feature of Western India," says the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, "is the chain of Ghauts which runs along the western boundary of the Dekhan through its whole length. Between this range and the sea is the low country of Concan, now under the government of Bombay. It extends from forty to fifty miles in breadth, includes tracts fertile in rice, but is in general very rough and crossed by steep and rocky hills. Towards the Ghauts the country is divided by precipitous hills, intersected by ravines and covered with thick forests. The range itself is from two to four thousand feet high, very abrupt and inaccessible on the west. The passes are steep and difficult. On the eastern side there is a table-land, in some places of equal elevation with the Ghauts, but generally one thousand feet lower. The table-land is near the Ghauts broken, but further eastward a low open plain.

"The northern part of this chain of Ghauts and the adjoining country is inhabited by Bheels: to the southward of Baagland and the country at its base, as far to the south as Bassein, it is inhabited by Coolies, a tribe somewhat resembling the Bheels but more civilised and less predatory. The Bheels possess the eastern parts of the Ghauts and all the branches running from them towards the east, as far southward as Poonah; they even spread over the plains to the eastward, especially to the northward of the Godavery, and to the neighbourhood of the Wurda. On the north they extend beyond the Tapti and the Nerbuddah," that is in the Vindhya Mountains. "Both the Bheels and Coolies

are numerous in Guzerat. South of Poonah the Bheels are succeeded by the Ramoosees, a more civilised and subdued tribe, but with the same thievish habits as the Bheels. The Ramoosees do not extend further southward than Colapoor, or further east than the line of Bejapoor."

"The Bheels, the Coolies of Guzerat, and the Goands, on the eastern parts of the Peninsula, or in Goandwanah, are considered to be the remains of the aborigines of India. The two latter classes have maintained more of their original character than the Bheels. The Bheels have constant accessions to their numbers from the plains. Wretches of desperate fortune, outcasts from all tribes, flock to their standard."*

Sir John Malcolm, who has written a Memoir displaying much research on the history of the Bhíls, and whose authority on the history of Central India is of the greatest weight, differs from Mr. Elphinstone in several particulars. He remarks, "that the name of Bhíl has been vaguely applied to several plundering tribes in India who have nothing in common with the real Bhíls except the general occupation of robbery." Such are the tribes of Meenahs, Moghies, Ramoosees, and Gonds; all these are often classed with Bhíls though they have no affinity with that race. Mr. Elphinstone says, "that the Ramoosees have no language of their own, but speak that of the neighbouring Mahrattas, whom they resemble in manners. The Bheels," he adds, "differ from the rest of the people in language and appearance." Sir John Malcolm however declares that the Bhíls of the Vindhya Mountains and those of Nemar differ not at all perceptibly in language from the peasantry of the neighbouring country, though being uneducated and living among wild mountains they speak a rude dialect.† The

* Elphinstone's History of India.

† This statement agrees with that of Captain William Miles of the Bombay Establishment, who says, in a Memoir on the Hill-Fort of Champaneer in Guzerat not far from Ahmedabad at the isthmus of the Peninsula of Guzerat, if it may be so termed, that the Bhíls, who are almost the only inhabitants of that part of the province, speak, "in his opinion, the purest Guzerattee," having but little intercourse with the Mussulman Dekhanees. He adds that they use scarcely any foreign words.—Bombay Transactions, vol. 1, p. 141.

only means of obtaining satisfactory information respecting the origin of these tribes would be by a more careful examination of their dialects. If Sir J. Malcolm's opinion be correct, it would be difficult to maintain that the Bhíls are a people originally distinct in race from the Hindoos, though they have evidently formed for many ages a separate tribe. They have no Brahmans or Hindú instructors, and hold no intercourse with the civilised Hindoos. If they ever had a peculiar speech they probably would have preserved it, for the resort of a few robbers or outcasts to them from time to time cannot be supposed to have caused them to change their national idiom. They have besides many of the habits and superstitions of the less cultivated Hindoos, and it was Sir J. Malcolm's conclusion that they must be considered as Hindoos, though in appearance and in some of their habits distinct from the other races of India. They worship the Hindú gods, chiefly the inferior ones, and make offerings to Sita Maga or Shetula, the goddess of Small Pox. They celebrate the festival of Durga and bring a great revenue to Mahadeva. They also worship a numerous assembly of Ráwits, or Hill-gods, of whom Bhillel is most reverenced, in consequence of his successes under Bhairava the son of Siva. But the Bhíls have some peculiar customs different from those of Hindoos. On the death of their chiefs they make a brazen image of a horse or bull, and the Bhaut or priest makes an annual circuit of the hamlets with this image, performing ceremonies and commemorating the fame of the deceased. Unlike the Brahmans, they bury their dead, as do all the other tribes above-mentioned. They pretend to keep up a distinction of caste, and the pure Bhíls observe the Hindú rites respecting food, and have similar notions with the civilised Indians as to the marriages of widows.*

The Bhíls, whatever may have been their origin, are a very ancient race in India, and were of much greater extension than at present. Sir J. Malcolm informs us that they were

* Mr. Elphinstone says that the Bhíls eat beef and pork and drink toddy and arrack. They appear to be in very different stages of barbarism.

not always confined to the mountainous parts of Malwa, Kandeish and Rajputana. He says, "They are, and deem themselves, a distinct people. Like other Hindú tribes they derive their origin from the gods. Mahadeva had a family of children by an earthly mother. One of his sons, deformed and depraved, slew the sacred bull of Siva, and was banished to the mountains, where he became the father of the race." The original race of Bhíls claims a high antiquity, and there is reason to believe that they were once masters of many of the fertile countries in the plains of Hindústan, instead of being confined as now to rugged mountains and impenetrable forests. There are authentic records of the Rajpút sovereigns of Jaudhpúr and Udeypúr having subdued large tracts from the Bhíls, and the countries now under the Rajpút princes of Dongarpúr and Banswara may be termed recent conquests from the same tribe, who, though they have no longer their own chiefs, still form the mass of population. The same thing may be said of all the Rajpút territories in the forests which separate Malwa from Guzerat and the latter province from Mewar. But it is in the wild and uncultivated country along the left bank of the Nerbuddah, from the plains of Nemar to those of Guzerat, amid the Satpurah and Adjenti ranges, and among the hills of Baglanah and Kandeish, that this race has been least disturbed. The extraordinary custom of the *tíka*, or mark, that is put on the forehead of a Rajpút chief, at his accession to power, moistened with blood from the thumb or toe of a Bhíl, seems to be a token of their having formerly possessed the countries where this usage prevails. The Minahs, another degraded tribe whose princes formerly ruled over the country of Jeypúr, are equally tenacious of this custom as of a proof of their former greatness.

Sir J. Malcolm is of opinion that the Bhíls came originally from the countries north-west of Malwa.* He observes,

* He says, that tradition, supported by the local history of the Rajpoot princes of Jaudhpúr and Udeypúr, which states that their lands were conquered from the Bhíls, lays the first scene of their residence and exploits in the country of Marwár. Thence driven southward by other tribes, they settled among the mountains that form the western boundary of Malwa and Kandeish.

that the priests and minstrels of Rath and Nemar pass annually from the countries of Udeypúr and Jaudhpúr to visit the tribes in the southern districts, and he refers to the opinion of Captain Tod,—that the Bhíls, as powerful communities, can be traced as far back as the Mahabharata. Virát, to which the five Pandavas were banished, formed a part of the great forest of the Herambar, which comprehended Surashtra and Guzerat to the Malwa frontier. Bhíls are celebrated in the early poems of the Hindoos. The Bhíls also dwelt and still dwell in the country of Nishada, the modern Narwar or Nalwar, where the tribe of Luceriya is accounted the ancient ally of the race.

The mountain Bhíls live in clusters of small huts, under chiefs termed Nayacas. They are of small stature, active, and capable of enduring great fatigue, and seldom wear clothing except a small piece of cloth round the waist: their arms are bows and arrows; they are thieves and robbers. The agricultural Bhíls differ in manners from their brethren. They are not sanguinary but naturally of kind dispositions.*

On a review of the sum total of information as yet obtained respecting the Bhíls, which is indeed far from being sufficient to authorise a positive conclusion, it appears probable that this race is one portion of that great stream of population which flowed into Hindústan from the eastern side of the Indus. They owe, as it appears, their present barbarous condition to the nature of the countries into which they have been driven, and where they hardly support existence. The Bhíls may be a less cultivated tribe of the Hindú stock. They may have been driven to barbarism, or may have assumed the life of savage mountaineers, since they were obliged to take up their abode in wilds and forests, like the Kafirs or Siah-Posh of the Hindú-Kúsh. Both of these races speak Indian dialects, and both display traces of having once practiced the rites of the Hindú religion.

It does not appear that there is anything very character-

* This account of the Bhíls is chiefly taken from Sir J. Malcolm's Memoir on the Bhíls, in the first volume of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and from his Memoir on Central India.

istic in their form or features. Colonel Sealy says that the Bheels are generally of short stature;. sometimes with short curly hair and thick lower lips, of very dark complexion, and more masculine in form than the Hindoos. Bishop Heber says that the Bheels whom he saw were small spare men. He thought them less broad-shouldered and with faces less Celtic,—he seems to mean less broad and flat,—than the Paharias or mountaineers of Rajmahal, and not quite so dark in complexion as these last. Their beards and hair were not at all woolly, but thick and dishevelled, and their whole appearance very dirty and ill-fed. They spoke cheerfully; their countenances were open and the expression of their eyes and lips good-tempered.* They are very active. "When pursued," says Mr. Elphinstone, "a Bheel with a child on each shoulder will leap from rock to rock and from bush to bush with as much nimbleness as a he-goat; and he will coil himself up in a bush so snugly that the pursuer will often pass him unnoticed. They are intelligent, lively, patient of fatigue and vigilant, and attached to their children."

2.—The Kúlís.

The Kúlís or Coolies are another tribe of mountaineers who inhabit the north of India. They are often identified with the Bhíls, but by some writers are said to be a distinct people from that race, from whom they are separated by the highest summits of the Western Ghauts, the Kúlís being on the western side of that chain, and the Bhíls towards the east. The country of the Kúlís is that part of the chain of Ghauts termed Baglana, or Baaglan, which, according to Mr. Elphinstone means "mountain-land." It lies towards the south and south-west of Kandeish, and extends with its lower hill-terraces in front towards the sea coast and the haven of Bassen to the northward of Bombay. Hordes of the same people also inhabit the mountainous parts in the interior of Guzerat.

The Kúlís resemble the Bhíls in general, but they are

* Heber's Travels in India, page 82.

said to be less barbarous and predatory in their habits. They are described by Bishop Heber as manly and bold-looking people, but as very troublesome and ferocious, armed with short kirtles, swords, shields, quivers, and bows.*

3.—The Ramúsís.

The Ramúsís are a tribe of semi-barbarous people who live in a mountainous tract further southward than the Bhíls, who, as we have seen, reach in the inland parts as far southward as Poonah. They reside chiefly in the outskirts of towns and villages, in the valleys of the Maun, Neera, Bheema and Para rivers, and in the adjoining highlands within the dominions of the Raja of Sattara, and in the districts of Poonah and Ahmednagara, and the higher course of the Godavery. The country is about two hundred miles in length and from eighty to one hundred and twenty in length.

The Berdars are by some of the people of the adjoining country supposed to be the same race as the Ramúsís. But we are informed that the Ramúsís in the district east of Sattara hold no intercourse with the Berdars, who are spread over the district of Soorapúr and on the banks of the Tambúdra river, and to the east and south of Bejapúr. Both tribes consider themselves as distinct.

In the opinion of Captain A. Mackintosh, who has written a work on the Ramúsís, in which he has given much original information, the Ramúsís are probably a tribe of emigrants from the ancient kingdom of Telingana. He says, that in the scanty remains which they have of a distinct language there are many words which resemble the Teloogoo, and their idiom appears to have been a dialect of that tongue. They live in villages governed by hereditary Rakwalldars or village-warders. They have many curious customs which are minutely described by Captain Mackintosh.

* Elphinstone on the British Territories in the Dekhan, Asiatic Journal, vol. 23.—Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien, 4, 659.—Bishop Heber's Narrative of a Journey through India, vol. 3.

4.—The Wáralís and Katodís.

The Wáralís and Katodís are two forest tribes of the western part of the Dekhan, who have been lately described by Dr. Wilson in the seventh volume of the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain." They are wild people inhabiting the mountains and forests of the northern Kankana or Concan.

Paragraph 2.—Mountaineers of the Eastern parts of the Dekhan.

1.—Of the Gonds.

The Gonds are another barbarous race in the northern part of the Dekhan, by some supposed to be of kindred origin with the Bhíls; this is by others doubted: the question has never been investigated in a satisfactory manner. The province of Gondwana, named from the Gonds its primitive inhabitants, is of great extent and comprehends all that portion of India bounded on the north by proper Hindústan, to the eastward by Bengal and Orissa, and to the westward by Kandeish, Berar, and Aurangabad, which remained unconquered up to the time of Aurungzebe. But the country really inhabited by the Gonds is only a region of wild forests and mountainous tracts in the western and central parts of the province of Gondwana, situated along the eastern side of the Warda and Godavery rivers in their higher course, and to within one hundred miles of the mouth of the river last mentioned. There is also a tribe of Gonds near the source of the Nerbuddah: their high country sourrounds the sources of the northern rivers of the Dekhan. The southern part of the province was left unconquered by Aurungzebe, but was reduced about the middle of the eighteenth century by the Mahratta rajah of Nagpúr, who confined the Gonds in the wildnesses which they now occupy.

The Gonds are said to be little superior to beasts in their social condition. They wander nearly naked in the forests of their elevated region, whence they descend during the harvest to plunder the produce of their ancient inheritance. Lately the appetite of the wild Gonds for salt and sugar has promoted intercourse with their neighbours. The air of the sea coast is said to be as fatal to them as that of the hills to the people of the plains. The Gonds are considered Hindoos as to religion, some Brahmans having condescended to be the spiritual guides of their chiefs; they retain many impure customs and abstain from no flesh but that of kine. The rajah of Nagpúr exacts a tribute occasionally from them. Their ancient capital towns were Gurrah, Mandlah, and Deoghur, but no traces exist among them of high cultivation at any former era.*

According to a late traveller, some of the Gonds are idolaters and offer fowls, goats, rice, and other gifts, to Banga or Banca Deva. They intoxicate themselves with a liquor termed *hundea* which they distill. They are expert in the chase with bows and arrows. They celebrate their marriages with singular ceremonies. The Lutha-Koles burn their dead and keep a light for a month on the spot where the ashes are interred: they then erect a stone upon the spot. A Gond tribe termed Binderwurs, near the source of the Nerbuddah, are said to be cannibals; they kill and eat their relations when sick and unlikely to recover, and those of advanced age: this they consider as an act of kindness and acceptable to the goddess Kalĭ.†

The Gonds inhabit the country behind Orissa, namely, the northern parts of that province, and on the same side of the Peninsula at no very great distance to the southward we have accounts of a wild people termed Khonds or Khoi-Jati. Whether these are tribes of one original race, which seems not improbable, we have as yet no means of determining.

* Hamilton's Description of Hindústan.

† Lieut. Pendergast, Asiatic Journal.—Coleman's Hindú Mythology.

2.—Of the Pulindas, or Wild Tribes of Orissa

The barbarous tribes of the Uriyan inland country are termed in Sanskrit, Pulindas, a term equivalent to barbarians. They are wild mountaineers and are looked upon by the Brahmans as M'lechas, or mixed impure people, under which name are included both tribes without caste foreign to the Hindú race and the offspring of outcasts from the Indian community.

According to Mr. Stirling there are three races inhabiting the hilly region in the interior of Orissa who are quite distinct, the two former at least, from the Hindoos of the plains, in language, features, manners, and religion. They are the Koles, Khonds, and Sours or Sourahs. It is a plausible supposition, says this writer, that they are the descendants of aboriginal inhabitants prior to the arrival of Brahman colonies from the north. No such tradition or belief however exists in the province. These three tribes should perhaps be considered as branches of the same original stock; but as the offsets, if such they are, are found under different names and circumstances in different parts of the provinces, it will be convenient, as Mr. Stirling says, to describe them separately.

1. The Koles are divided into thirteen different tribes,—Kol, Larka-kol, Chowanyi, Sarvanti, Dhurowa, Bahári, Bhúwiak, Khandwal, Santal, Soar, Bhúmij, Batholi, and Amavat. Their original country is said to be a hilly tract termed Kolant Des. They have for many years had possession of parts of Chota Nagpúr, and particularly of Siabhúm and of Moherbunj: some tribes are settled in the back parts of Nilagiri. "The Coles are a hardy and athletic race, black and ill-favoured in their countenances, ignorant and savage in the last degree, but their houses built entirely of wood are said to exhibit neatness and comfort, and they carry on a very extensive cultivation. Their arms are bows and arrows and a small side battle-axe." They are passionately fond of spirituous liquors, and eat all kinds of flesh and grain. They own none of the Hindú

gods, and seem scarcely to have any religious belief, but hold in high veneration four things,—the Sahajna-tree, or *Hyperanthera Merunga*, puddy, oil expressed from the mustard-seed, and the dog.

2. The Khonds are found in great numbers in all the hill countries to the southward of the Mahanadi: they form the principal part of the population of Killah Ranpur, which has thence been called the Khondreh Dandpat. The natives also speak of a district between Daspalla, Boad, and Gúmsir, which they call Kandra, inhabited entirely by this tribe of hill-people. Mr. Stirling supposes all the vast unexplored tracts of mountain and forest lying at the back of the Ganjam and Vijayapatam hill-states, down as far as the Godavery, to be inhabited by Khonds in a very savage state.

3. The Sours are chiefly found in the jungles of Khowda from Banpur to Katak, and in woods which skirt the foot of the hills for some way to the northward of the Mahanadi. They are in general a harmless, peaceable race, but are so destitute of moral sense that at the order of a chief they will as readily kill a man as a beast. In ordinary times they work in clearing the jungle for the Zemindars. They are distinguishable from the other natives of the province by their inferiority of stature, mean appearance, and jet-black colour, as well as by an axe for cutting wood, the symbol of their profession. Their language has little resemblance to that spoken by the Uriyas, and is scarcely intelligible to any but themselves. They are said to worship rude forms of Mahadeo or Devi, or rather the Hindoos so interpret a rude worship of objects fancied to resemble the lingam of the Saivas.*

From this account is seems that the Sours are one of those tribes who are undoubtedly distinct from the Indian race and the descendants of an aboriginal people. The

* Account Geographical, Statistical, and Historical, of Orissa Proper or Cuttack, by A. Stirling, Esq.—Asiatic Researches, vol. 15, Calcutta, page 205. There is a more particular account of the religion of the Khonds in a Memoir by Captain Macpherson, published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1842. It appears from this account, that they have a great tribe of divinities, chiefly natural objects; and that their religion is one of fetisses or juggling ceremonies, with frequent and numerous human sacrifices.

same conclusion may be drawn in regard to the Koles and Khonds described by Mr. Stirling. We have further accounts of the latter people in a memoir, from which I shall make some extracts, on the Khoi-Jati, or Khonds of the Gúmsir or Goomsoor Mountains, who are doubtless the same race, since they concur with the former not only in name and description but in their local position. With the Goands of Gondwana, who are situated not far from the country of the Khonds towards the north, it is an obvious conjecture that they have some affinity, since there is here also a resemblance in names. But the inquiry which has hitherto been made on this point tends to a contrary inference. Captain Blunt, in his route from Chunar to Yertnagoodam, was assured by an officer of the Mahrattah Pergunnah of Manikpatam, who appeared to be well acquainted with the different tribes of the Berar government, that the Khonds or Coands are a different race from the Goands. "He said that the Goands are much larger men; that in many instances they have made good subjects; while the Coands are inferior in stature and so wild that every attempt to civilise them has been ineffectual."*

Of the Khoi-Jati or Khonds of the Goomsoor Mountains.

The Goomsoor Mountains are situated to the eastward of the Chika lake, near the eastern coast of the Dekhan, in the district of Ganjam, and about one hundred miles from Juggernauth, in the country of Orissa. The forests of this country lie under one of the hottest and most pestilential climates in India. These mountains are inhabited by a wild race, little known, who are called Khonds or Khoi Jati. Some short vocabularies of their language have been collected and compared with other dialects spoken in the eastern parts of the Dekhan, from which it appears that the greater part is derived from the Udiya or Orissan idiom, but that there is a considerable proportion of Telŭgŭ and Tamil words. The numerals and many common terms appear to have been derived from the Sanskrit through

* Stirling's Account of Orissa, page 304.

the medium of the Udiya, the corresponding words in Tamil being quite different.*

The Khonds are in a state of extreme barbarism. They perform human sacrifices to propitiate the earth. The victims, who are not of the Khond race, are sold by their parents or relatives without hesitation. It is the custom to make them drunk and throw them into a pit, in which they are buried alive. The oath administered to these people is characteristic of their savage state. It is nearly as follows:—"Oh! Father, I swear, and if I swear falsely may I become shrivelled and dry like a blood-sucker and die; may I be killed and eaten by a tiger; may I crumble away like the dust of this ant-hill; may I be blown away like this feather; may I be extinguished like this lamp."†

We have some additional information respecting the Khonds in a paper by the Rev. W. Taylor. He says, that their proper name is Khănd, which is an Udiyan, that is an Orissan word. There are tribes further in the interior called Gones, who do not intermarry with the Khonds but resemble them in appearance. The language of these tribes has a close affinity with the Udiyah. None of them have any resemblance to the Bhíls.

The country of the Khonds is described by Dr. Maxwell. It bears rice, but also produces the vegetables of Europe.

The description of the people by the same writer is as follows:—"The Khonds are a dark race of men, straight, well-limbed, and free from obesity, which makes them have a tall appearance. Many of the men have a pleasing expression of countenance. Generally however the nose is

* Dr. Maxwell observes, that the general result of this comparison of vocabularies is, that the Khonds have words peculiar to themselves, and others evidently derived from the lowland languages of the Peninsula, meaning the Tamil and Telŭgŭ. He looks upon the Udiya to be more modern than the Khond speech. The Udiya or Orissan dialect is seen at a glance to be derived from the Magadha or Bengal and Bahar dialects, and must have been introduced by Hindoos. The number of Tamil words favour the supposition that these mountaineers are from the south of India.

† This resembles the oath administered to some Pagan people in Siberia. The person to be sworn is placed on his knees before a shaggy bear and imprecates upon himself the misfortune, thus presented by a sensible image, of being devoured alive.

flattish, the face round, and the cheek-bones high; the lips and mouth large and often displaying a fine set of teeth; the eye is quick and brilliant. They are clean and neat in their appearance, and wear their hair in a manner quite characteristic and altogether different from their neighbours the *Wodiahs*, or the Orissans, who tie it in a knot behind. Having combed it all to the front, they roll it up like a large round of tape and fit it on the forehead, above the right eye. It is ornamented with strings of red cloth and porcupine quills, or iron needles are stuck into it, which not only ornament and secure it, but likewise prevent their being caught by the hair of the head. By way of additional ornament a little neat iron comb is added to the head-gear: some wear the knot differently, and a few others wear the hair loose, but it is principally among the young men that the greatest attention is paid to the dressing of the hair. They have little or no beard: perhaps they destroy it with chunam, like some of the tribes in the Philippine Isles, as mentioned in Prichard's 'History of Man.' They have no covering to the head, and in fact are naked with the exception of the loins, round which they wind a long narrow piece of cloth, the extremities of which, neatly chequered with red, hang down in front and rear. Some of the head men wear a red chequered plaid. They are all passionately fond of intoxicating liquors, and they prepare amongst themselves a potent description from the buds and flowers of the *Bassia latifolia*, called by them *Ippee* (Mhroanoo-tree), which grows abundantly. Their instruments of war are the battle-axe and bow, in the use of which they are extremely expert. Clenching the former with both hands, the thumbs supporting the shaft, it is said they can inflict tremendous blows. They have them of all shapes and sizes; the shaft neatly ornamented with brass wire, the point armed with a sharp piece of iron, by which they rest the instrument in the ground. Every Khond is armed either with a battle-axe or bow; at home or at the plough, asleep or busy in the chase, they are always at his side. The bows are either made of bamboo, or of a hard wood called Kæly, the tree of which I did not see. The string is made of a strip of

the hard outer rind of the bamboo. The women have no pretensions to beauty: the mouth is large and lips protuberant, the nose flat and broad, and cheek-bones high, and the face is tattoed all over with long streaks, three or four parallel, in each place where there is room. The ears stick out and are pierced round the edge with holes, in each of which a piece of stick is inserted. They wear a profusion of different coloured small beads round the neck, principally black: those whom I saw were scantily clothed with a chequered cloth."

"The Khonds are absorbed in the grossest ignorance and superstition, and practice that most horrible and ancient of rites, human sacrifice, by the perpetration of which, as they suppose, they propitiate the earth, the great object of their wild and frantic adoration, and procure fertility. This rite, almost of itself, seems to point out the very ancient origin of these people; but when a fuller vocabulary of their language shall be collected, then all doubts on the subject will be cleared up, and those learned in oriental and classic lore will be able to trace the history and origin of these wild mountaineers."

"The description of some of the tribes of the Polynesian Isles, as given from Marsden, in Prichard's 'History of Man,' nearly answers for the Khond tribe. He says, 'They are rather below the middle stature; their bulk is in proportion. The limbs are, for the most part, slight and well-shaped. The women flatten the noses and pull out the ears of their infants.' Whether the Khonds have these practices I know not, but their noses and ears correspond, in a certain degree, to the description, which is, no doubt, considered a mark of beauty."

4. Of the Yanadu-jati, a Wild People of Sri-harí-cotta.

A manuscript in the Mackenzie collection, in the Telŭgŭ language, contains an account of the first settlement of a Hindú colony of people, who were worshippers of Siva, in the district of Sri-harí-cotta, near Madrás.* The

* The situation of Sri-harí-cotta is twenty-three miles to the northward of Palicat, which is on the coast to the northward of Madras.

country had been inhabited previously by a wild race, who dwelt in the forests, carried bows and arrows and ate serpents. The were divided into four tribes, 1, the Chenju-Vandlu; 2, Yanadulu; 3, Coya-Vandlu; 4, Irăla-Vandlu. The Coya people live to the westward in wilds, at Gooty and Athavani.

Another paper in the Mackenzie collection gives a similar account of the introduction of a Hindú colony into Tondamandalam, a country described as circumjacent to Madras; the earlier inhabitants were tribes termed Vedars and Curambars. The history states that Tondamandalam was depopulated by a deluge. Afterwards it was covered by forests and inhabited by barbarians. The Curambars from the Karnataka country spread into it. These people were Jains. At length Adondai, the Saiva king of Tanjore, conquered the country and introduced the Brahmans and Veloxhas from Tulava. Mr. Taylor observes, that the Veloxhas, who are the inhabitants of the country, hold the traditionary belief that their ancestors came from Tulava, and that the Tulava language and the Madras Tamil are nearly the same speech. He adds, we have here a clear unvarnished account of the introduction of the Hindoos into the country round Madras. The Hindoos had colonised the region southward of the Coleroon at a much earlier period. He supposes the Coya to be the same people as the Khoi-jati, and as the Khonds of the Goomsoor Mountains.*

* The preceeding notices are taken from a paper in the sixteenth number (for July, 1837), of the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, volume 2, on the language, manners, and rites, of the Khonds or Khoi-jati of the Goomsoor Mountains, from documents furnished by J. A. Stevenson, Esq., commissioner in Goomsoor, and W. G. Maxwell, Esq., M.D., with observations by Rev. W. Taylor; also from "Some Additional Notes on the Hill-inhabitants of the Goomsoor Mountains," by Rev. W. Taylor, in the eighteenth number of the same Journal, March, 1818; also from a paper in the seventy-fifth number of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, containing a part of the "Analysis of the Mackenzie Manuscripts," by Rev. W. Taylor, and from another paper in the same number, containing further extracts from the Mackenzie Manuscripts, and the ancient history of Tondamandalam and its early inhabitants.

Paragraph 3.—Mountaineers of the Southern Parts of the Dekhan.—Races inhabiting the Nilagiri Hills.

The Nilagiri Hills or Blue Mountains form an elevated tract in southern India, lying north-north-west from the city of Coimbatore towards the Wynóad, which is situated between 11° and 12° north latitude, and 76° and 77° east longitude. They extend about thirty-six miles from east to west, and from fifteen to twenty miles in breadth. By Mr. W. Scot they are considered as a part of the great chain of the Ghauts, which run along the western side of the Peninsula: they form a crest from that chain. They constitute a single mountain or ridge which, from the numerous peaks or eminences that stud it, is more commonly termed the Nilagiri Hills. These hills are surrounded by a belt of flat land, through which various streams take their course. The mountainous tract itself consists of ridges of different elevation, running parallel with each other, and in the middle a loftier central chain in which are conspicuous eminences: the highest of these is Dodabitta, which, according to Mr. Hough, is the apex of this mass of mountains, and rises to the elevation of eight thousand seven hundred feet above the level of the sea. It is ascertained that the temperature of the Nilagiris is on an average 30° lower than that of the coast, which would give an elevation of nine-thousand feet, one degree being usually reckoned for three hundred feet. The sanitary depôt at Ottakened is seven thousand one hundred and ninety-seven feet above the sea. Though the Nilagiris are exposed to the monsoons it appears that less rain falls there than on the coast: the air is remarkably pure, dry, and elastic, and healthy, owing to the absence of jungle, which is the source of pestilence in India. Mr. Leschenault de la Tour has found in these mountains many European plants. These mountains, according to Captain Harkness, form the nucleus of the Eastern and Western Ghauts.

The inhabitants of the Nilagiri Hills are divided by Mr. Hough into four distinct classes, termed Thodaurs, Baud-

dagurs, Curumbars, and Kothurs. The former are supposed to be the aborigines. They are thus described :—

1. "The Thodaurs are a very manly and noble race, their visages presenting all the features of the Roman countenance finely and strongly marked; their tall and athletic figures at the same time correspond with the lineaments of the face, many of the men standing upwards of six feet high." Mr. Scot in speaking of them says, they are erect, firm, and muscular; their hair short and curled; their complexions brown, their beards bushy, and so pleasing are they in aspect that in a whole village it would be difficult to find one man who was not handsome. They are besides by every account extremely cheerful, frank, playful, powerfully strong, and in their deportment free from anything like servility. The women, Hough observes, have handsome features, and their complexion is finer than that of the men; their teeth are beautiful; their hair, of which they are proud, redundant; their feet small, and their children healthy and active.

The people called Thodaurs by Mr. Hough are the Tudas of other writers. We have several accounts of the topography of the Nilagiri Hills and of their inhabitants; one of the latest of which is a description of the Tudas by Captain Harkness. It seems from all those statements that these mountains are the abode of five different tribes. They are enumerated as follows :—

The Tudas are generally allowed to be the original inhabitants of these Hills. Their appearance, according to Captain Harkness, is "very prepossessing: they are generally above the common height, athletic and well-made; their bold expressive countenances declare them to be of a different race from their neighbours. They are bare-headed, wear their hair six or seven inches long, parted from the crown into bushy circles and of a jet black,—their beards likewise grow; a large full expressive eye, Roman nose, and pleasing contour, gravity varying into cheerfulness, distinguish them from other natives of India. They wear rings of silver and gold,—wear only a light short garment. The women are somewhat fairer than the men; have the same

expressive features, but with a feminine cast, and wear long tresses of black hair.

They are a pastoral people, have no towns or villages, but live in solitary houses and feed sheep and cattle.

Their language is considered as distinct. It has *perhaps* some resemblance to the vernacular idioms of the Peninsula and principally to the Tamil. There are two sounds, the *Zha* and *Ukh*, which are of constant occurrence in the Tuda and which, among the idioms of the low country, are peculiar to the Tamil and its sister-dialect the Malayálma. The pronouns, the plural, the honorary terminations of verbs, are nearest to the Tamil. With these exceptions it differs widely from the Tamil and all other known languages. It is merely an oral dialect.

On the mountains the Tudas have erected temples consisting of large stones. In some of these are numerous urns and figures of animals, such as the buffalo, the tiger, the peacock, the antelope. Their religion has no resemblance to those of the Buddhists, the Moslims, or any other people. They salute the sun on its rising, and believe that after death their souls go to Huma-norr or Om-norr, a country respecting which they ask for information.

2. The most numerous, wealthy, and civilised people of the Nilagiri Hills, are the Buddugur, termed, by Harkness, Burghers. They are Hindoos of the Saiva sect, who came from the north, as some say, four hundred years ago, but in the opinion of Harkness, during the troubles in the Mysore which followed the fall of the empire of Vijayanagara, about six generations ago. Their language is principally the Karnataca, having a slight mixture of the Tuda. They are an agricultural people. In physical character they differ from the Tudas, are of shorter stature, more slender form, straight and well-made, but of small limbs. In complexion both sexes are some shades lighter that the Tudas; but their features are quite of another cast, and are devoid of that lively and changeful expression which indicates freedom of thought. They have much of the manner and appearance of the Hindú cultivators of the Mysore: their wives are domestic slaves.

3 and 4. Erulars and Curumbars.—At the feet of these mountains and for a short distance within the forests which skirt the plains, live a race of people termed Erulars.

Above these, at a height varying from one to two thousand feet, in the clefts of the mountains and in the openings of the woods which gird them at this elevation, live another race, calling themselves Curumbars.

In other parts of the Peninsula there are tribes bearing the same names, but these of the Nilagiri seem to be distinct from them.

Tillage is practiced by neither of these tribes; they are nearly barbarians, but have some of the customs of Hindoos. Their languages are jargons made up of a mixture of Tamil, Karnataca, and Malayálma: that of the Curumbars is intermixed with the Tuda. The Tudas do not consider the Erulars as inhabitants of these hills, but allow that designation to the Curumbars, whom they term *Curbs*.

The following is the description of the Curumbars:—

"The village of the Curumbars was still more miserable," says Captain Harkness, "than that of the Erulars. It consisted of a few miserable hovels, constructed of the boughs and leaves of trees and loosely covered with dried grass. There was no temple, but their religion seems to be the same as that of the Erulars, except that they are not particular as to the disposal of their dead, but burn and bury them as it may be most convenient.

"Swarthy and unwholesome in countenance, small of stature, the head but thinly covered with sickly-looking hair; little or no eye-lashes, small eyes, always blood-shot; pot-bellied, and with water running from their mouths; they have more the resemblance of savages than of civilised men. The women and children have the same squalid appearance, though on their necks and breasts they wear ornaments made of wild seeds and berries. Many of the men wear ornaments in their ears of straw, plaited with some degree of ingenuity; but in their general appearance they are much like the Erulars, pictures of wretchedness and misery. They gave us an abundant supply of honey and of fruits from the higher parts of the mountains."

Their only marriage ceremony is performed by pouring pots of water over the parties. Like the Erulars, they cultivate in little patches of ground, millet and other small grain, the plantain, the chilly, and other esculent roots.

The same race also inhabits other parts of the mountains, where the streams falling from them, can be made to flow in any direction. This gives to the Curumbars much consequence among the cultivators below. They are also dreaded on account of their supposed magical powers, an impression arising from their singularity of character, and from their living in places where others cannot pass a night. The Buddagurs apply to them whenever any of their people fancy themselves bewitched.

It may be remarked that of the difference in physical character between the Tudas and Curumbars results from the peculiar qualities of the regions which they respectively inhabit. This is a very strong instance of the efficacy of such influences. Both tribes are considered as native races; but the Tudas occupy elevated and salubrious tracts in the higher parts of the mountains, and the Curumbars the low sides of the hills, rendered unhealthy by the jungle or low forests which cover them.

5. The Cohatars are another of these races. They are a singular people, have no distinction of castes, and differ as much from the other mountaineers as from the people of India in general. They eat beef; are not defiled by touching dead bodies. They cultivate millet, poppies and barley; are the artisans of the hills,—potters, smiths, mechanics. They are not Hindoos, but worship gods of their own, of which they have no images. Their villages are pleasantly situated on the tops of hills; and every hill so occupied is termed Cohatagiri. The Tudas call them Cúrs, meaning mechanics. In each village there are two good buildings dedicated to a god whom they term Cumataraga, and to the goddess. In neither is there any symbol, but on a post supporting the roof are nailed two plates of silver, a sort of palladium, marking the dwelling of the "*deus loci*." Vows and offerings are made in these temples, and a festival is held from the new moon to the full in every March.

Some families only among this rude insulated people are qualified to perform the priestly office. So widely spread is the impression on the minds of men, that certain individuals must be the mediators between their fellow mortals and the unseen powers which their consciences and necessities impell them to worship. In every Cohatagiri there is a cemetery where they deposit the bones of their relatives, which they collect after burning the bodies. On a day appointed, once in a year, they go, preceded by music, to the place of burning and collect the bones, and each family carries those of their relative to the interment, wrapped in a cloth. On the next morning the manes of the deceased are honoured with a sacrifice of buffaloes.

The tribes of barbarous people already enumerated may be considered as belonging to the Dekhan. I shall now proceed to collect some notices of similar races in northern Hindústan. These are found in mountainous tracts towards the east, in which direction it is most likely that the aborigines of the Indian plains would be driven by a people entering, as did most probably the Hindoos, from the west.

Paragraph 4.—Mountaineers in the Eastern parts of Hindústan.

The mountainous country towards the northern part of the province of Bengal, near Rajamahal and Boglipúr, is inhabited by an uncivilised race, who appear to be quite distinct from the Hindoos. Beyond Bengal to the eastward, and beyond the Brahmaputra, where it makes its great westward bend, are mountains inhabited by the barbarous Garro and Cossya tribes, and further towards the south, in the mountains of Tipperah, to the northward of Chittagong, are the barbarians termed Kúkís or Lunctas. All these tribes bear indications of resemblance to the nations found in the same quarter but further to the eastward, who will be enumerated in a following section; but as the people of Rajamahal belong to Hindústan, I have determined to insert the description of them in this place.

The mountaineers or Paharias near Rajamahal live by agriculture and the produce of the chase: they have many superstitious observances, which are unlike those of the Hindoos. Bedo Gossack is their chief divinity, and they believe in his superintending providence, and in a moral government of the world, which, if the accounts given of them are correct, is on much purer principles than those of either Hindoos or Moslims. All kinds of immorality are punished in a future existence, and the chastisement is in many cases to be born again, lame, blind, or impotent. The have no Brahmans or castes, but are governed by *demaunos*, who are prophets or priests, and obtain that office by certain rites of initiation. They hold periodical festivals, and sacrifice animals to inferior divinities, such as Pow Gossaik, the god of the good, Davary Gossaik, the protector of families, Kali Gossaik, the Ceres of these mountaineers, who is worshipped by cultivators at the season of growing corn. The live in villages on the mountains, and are governed by their own chiefs, having a regular administration of justice among them, according to the ancient Hindú institution of a *Punchayet*, or jury of five old men in every village. They have a language of their own, which is quite distinct from the dialects of the Hindoos. There are some few words in the short vocabulary given as a specimen of this language which resemble words in the idioms of wild tribes beyond the Brahmaputra, and it is very probable that it may hereafter be proved to be a member of the same class of languages.

The natives of the Rajamahal Hills are of short stature, but stout and well-proportioned. A man six feet high would be a phenomenon; there are many less than four feet ten inches, and perhaps more under five feet three inches than above that measure. "It may not however be far from the truth to assert that to be the medium height of the men. A flat nose seems the most characteristic feature, but it is not so flat as that of the Cafirs of Africa, nor are their lips so thick, though generally thicker than those of the inhabitants of the plains." "I shall not pretend," continues the author of this account, "to say whether they are aborigines or not;

as they have no letters, figures, or hieroglyphics, all accounts of their ancestors are oral. They suppose themselves to have descended from the eldest of the brothers who peopled the earth, and who became an outcast for receiving his portion of every thing eatable on an old dish. They have numerals in their own language for only one and two, but use the Hindú words from two to twenty."

Bishop Heber saw some of those people, whom he describes "as middle-sized or little men, but extremely well made, with remarkably broad chests, long arms, and clean legs." He adds, "they are fairer than the Bengalees; have broad faces, small eyes, and flattish, or rather turned-up, noses; but the Malay or Chinese character of their features, from whom they are said to be descended, is lost in a great degree on close inspection."

SECTION 6.—*Of the Races of People inhabiting the Island Ceylon.*

The northern part of Ceylon is inhabited by the Tamulian race, who probably passed over from the southern extremity of the continent and partly dispossessed the Singhalese, who still occupy the southern portion of the island. The Tamulians, who are here termed Malabars, occupy about one-half of the sea-coast from Chilaw to Battacaloa, and still preserve their language, which is quite different from that of the Singhalese, and is nearly the same as the idiom spoken in the southern parts of the Dekhan. There are Malay colonies on some parts of the coast. But the remainder as well as the interior is inhabited by people who speak different dialects of one speech, and constitute one race, though subsisting in very different degrees of civilisation.

"In ancient times it appears that the people of Ceylon were much more closely connected with the nations of continental India, than they have been for some centuries. Ravana, the king of Lanka, is said to have had extensive possessions in the Peninsula: his dominions reached northward as far as Trichinopoli, on the eastern coast, and to

Haiga, on the western side.* The religion of the Brahmans probably prevailed in those times over the whole of Ceylon; and pilgrims from the continent, who now stop at the Isle of Ramiseram, continued their progress to the temple of Siva, at Divinúr, at the southern extremity of Ceylon. Of this temple there are still extensive remains, resembling, in the style of its architecture, the temples of the Carnatic."†

The religion of Buddha appears, from the late researches of Mr. Prinsep and the Honourable Mr. Turnour, to have been introduced into Ceylon in the reign of Asoka, the great patron of that creed, who was a powerful monarch in Hindústan, and reigned, as we have seen, in the third century before the Christian era. From that era the Pali language has been used by the sacerdotal order, and the Singhalese has also been cultivated. The relations between this language and the idioms of the Indian Continent have not yet been elucidated in a satisfactory manner. Like the idioms of the Dekhan it borrows much from the Sanskrit, but these additions have passed into the Singhalese through the medium of the Pali.

The Singhalese race may be considered as divided into three great tribes,—the proper Singhalese, the Kandians, and the wild Vaddahs, who are regarded as the aborigines of the island.

The following account of the Singhalese is given by Dr. Davy:—

"The pure Singhalese of the interior, whom alone I shall describe, are completely Indians in person, language, manners, customs, religion and government.

"Like Indians in general, the Singhalese differ from Europeans less in features than in the more trifling circumstances of colour, size, and form. The colour of their skin varies from light brown to black. The colour, too, of their hair and eyes varies, but not so often as that of the skin: black hair and eyes are most common: hazel eyes are less uncommon than brown hair; grey eyes and red hair are

* Dr. F. Buchanan's Journey in Mysore, &c.

† Captain Colin Mackenzie's Remarks on some antiquities on the coasts of Ceylon.—Asiatic Researches, vol. vi.

still more uncommon; and the light blue or red eye and light flaxen hair of the Albino are the most uncommon of all. In size they generally exceed the low-land Singhalese and most of the natives of the coast of Coromandel and Malabar: they are inferior to Europeans. Their average height may be about five feet four or five inches. They are clean made, with neat muscles and small bones. For Indians, they are stout, and generally have capacious chests and broad shoulders, particularly the inhabitants of the mountainous districts, who, like highlanders in general, have rather short, but strong and very muscular, thighs and legs. Their hands and feet are commonly very small; indeed, so much smaller than ours that they appear out of proportion. The form of their head is generally good, perhaps longer than the European,—a peculiarity, according to Dr. Spurzheim, of the Asiatic. Their features are commonly neat, and rather handsome: their countenances are intelligent and animated. Nature has given them a liberal supply of hair, which they universally allow to grow on their face, as well as head, to a considerable length, being of opinion that the beard does not deform but improve the face; and certainly, in many instances, I have seen it have the effect of giving to the countenance an air of dignity that would have disappeared with the use of the razor.

"The Singhalese women are generally well-made and well-looking, and often handsome. Their countrymen, who are great connoisseurs of the charms of the sex, and who have books on the subject and rules to aid the judgement, would not allow a woman to be a perfect belle, unless of the following character, the particulars of which I shall give in detail as they were enumerated to me by a Kandian courtier, well versed and deeply read in such matters:—'Her hair should be voluminous, like the tail of a peacock; long, reaching to the knees, and terminating in graceful curls; her eyebrows should resemble the rain-bow; her eyes the blue sapphire, and the petals of the blue manilla flower; her nose should be like the bill of the hawk; her lips should be bright and red, like coral, or the young leaf of the iron-tree; her teeth should be small, regular, and closely set,

and like jessamine buds; her neck should be large and round, resembling the berrigodia; her chest should be capacious; her breasts firm and conical, like the yellow cocoa-nut; and her waist small, almost small enough to be clasped by the hand; her hips should be wide, her limbs tapering, the soles of her feet without any hollow, and the surface of her body in general soft, delicate, smooth, and rounded, without the asperities of projecting bones and sinews.' "*

"The Candians," as we are assured by Mr. Cordiner, "do not differ from the Cingalese more than the inhabitants of the mountains in any other country differ from those of the sea-coasts."—"The Candians are of a stouter make and fairer complexion, but not taller." Their manners are less polished, and the constant wearing of their beards adds to the natural ferocity of their appearance.†

The Malabars are a stouter and more active people than the other inhabitants.‡

The Vaddahs or Vaidahs are said by Mr. Cordiner still to adhere to the Hindú religion, a remarkable fact, considering the ancient date of Buddhism in the island of Ceylon. They inhabit the mountainous country about Batacaloa on the eastern side of the island. Cordiner assures us that they speak the same language as the Kandians and Singhalese, though in a peculiar dialect. The old voyager, Knox, gives a similar statement. He says, "the Vaddahs speak the Chingalaya language. It is said that they are in different degrees of barbarism, but all are hunters and live on the produce of the chase, and on the spontaneous fruits of the earth." Dr. Davy has given the best account of them. He has thus described a party of Vaddahs whom he saw during his visit to Kandy.

"They belonged to a large party who had come to Kandy with a tribute of dried deer's flesh and wild honey. They were quite naked, with the exception of a scarf of cloth. The hair of their head and beard was long and matted, and

* History of the Island of Ceylon, by John Davy, M.D., F.R.S., &c.

† Cordiner's Account of Ceylon, page 131. ‡ Id. page 137.

had never been cut or combed; their eyes were lively, wild, and restless; they were well made and muscular, but of a spare habit; and in person they chiefly differed from the Kandians in the slightness of their limbs, the wildness of their looks, and their savage appearance. According to their own account of themselves, they come from the neighbourhood of the lake of Birtenne, where they subsisted on game which they killed in the chase, some roots and wild fruits, and a little grain of their own growing. They were profoundly ignorant, could not count above five, were hardly acquainted with the rudiments of any art, and, though they feared demons, as they did wild beasts, they had no knowledge whatever of a supreme beneficent Being, and not the slightest notion of any state of existence after the present. Yet these men consider themselves civilised, in comparison with the wilder tribes of Vaidas, who never leave their sylvan haunts, and whom I have heard Kandians of a bordering province describe as living almost entirely on raw animal food, as going quite naked, as having no superstition, and, in fact, as being in a state very little removed from that of brutes."

It has often been observed that Albinos are frequently seen in Ceylon. Dr. Davy speaks of such persons. I shall transcribe his remark on one of them. He says, "The young Albino, twelve years of age, in England, and certainly in Norway, would not be considered peculiar; for her eyes were light blue, and not particularly weak, her hair of the colour that usually accompanies such eyes, and her complexion fresh, and rather rosy. She had considerable pretensions to beauty, and was not without admirers among her countrymen. It is easy to conceive that an accidental variety of this kind might propagate, and that the white race of mankind is sprung from such an accidental variety. The Indians are of this opinion, and there is a tradition or story amongst them in which this origin is assigned to us."

CHAPTER XII.

HISTORY OF INDIA CONTINUED.—OF THE RACES OF PEOPLE INHABITING THE MOUNTAINOUS COUNTRIES WHICH BORDER ON THE HIMALAYA.

SECTION I.—*General Survey.*

I shall have occasion to survey the extent of the Himálayan mountain-chain and its relations to the great highland region of which it may be regarded as forming a part, when I proceed to describe the races of people who inhabit the table-land of Central Asia. In the present section I shall merely trace the geographical divisions of the Himálaya and the mountainous tracts immediately connected with it, as furnishing the boundaries which limit and mark out the abodes of the Indian and Indo-Tartar nations, who inhabit the elevated country lying to the northward of Hindústan.

The Himálaya itself is sometimes considered as limited towards the west and east by the great rivers which form on both sides the boundaries of Hindústan. The sources of the Indus and the Brahmapútra are, as we have observed, not very distant from each other. From a comparatively elevated tract in the valley which lies to the northward of the Snowy Chain, these rivers take their rise near the mountain-lakes of Ravana-Hrada and Manasa, and flow in opposite directions, the Attok or Indus towards the north-west, and the Zangbú or Brahmapútra towards the south-east. At no great distance from the same lakes are also the sources of two other rivers which are very important in the geography of the Himálayan countries.

One of these is the Sutadru or Sutlej, which, like the Indus, flows towards the north-west, but turns southward after a much shorter course in that direction, and penetrating the Snowy Chain, runs down into the Panjáb to join the Indus before that river reaches the ocean. The other is the Gogra, which flows almost directly southward from its source, and passing through the mountain-chain becomes one of the numerous contributaries of the Ganges. These two rivers separate and insulate between them a considerable portion of the Himálaya, which is the middle part of the whole chain, while a larger tract is cut off by them towards both extremities, on one side between the Sutlej and the Indus, and on the other between the Gogra and the Brahmapútra. The central part of the mountainous region between the Sutlej and the Gogra lies behind the hill-states of northern India, Sirmór, Garwhal, Bisahur, and Kumaon. These are elevated countries situated in the hill-terrasses which lie out in front of the Himálaya, between the Snowy Chain and the plains of Hindústan. The western section of the mountainous country between the Sutlej and the Indus contains the celebrated valley of Kashmír and other mountainous districts, for the most part subject to Lahore and politically connected with the Panjáb, of which they form the northern and higher tract, while the eastern portion between the Gogra and the Brahmaputra contains Nepál and Bhútan, and various countries connected with those kingdoms.

The population of these three sections of the Himálaya, or rather of the hill-countries subjacent to it, is very different in different parts. The long line of elevated countries lying to the eastward of the Gogra, or which is nearly the same thing, of the Kali, a tributary of the Gogra, namely, Nepál and Bhútan and the subordinate tracts, is chiefly inhabited by people who are apparently the aboriginal stock of the whole chain. They are not Hindoos, nor have they any affinity to the Hindú race, but they resemble in physical character the Tartars of High Asia, and are nearly related to the Bhotíyahs, the proper inhabitants of Tibet. They might be termed the Bhotíyah race, but as that name

more properly belongs to the natives of Tibet and Bhútan I shall use the term Indo-Tartars as a more general designation. Secondly, in the countries between the Kali and the Sutlej, in the hill-states of Kumaon, Bisahur, and Sirmór and Garwhal, a Hindú population has encroached on the native stock of the mountains. The Hindú colonies settled in these tracts, as it is supposed, since the Mohammedan invasion of India,* are subject to Brahmans, whereas the Bhotíyahs and other Indo-Tartar tribes are principally worshippers of Buddha and revere the Lama of Tibet. The Hindú colonists, in some places intermixed with the aborigines, are called Khasigars, in other places Paharias or "people inhabiting hills."† A more general and classical designation for the whole stock is that of पर्व्वतीय—*Parbatíya* or Mountaineers. These people retain with their religion the Hindú language. The Parbatiya-bhasha is, according to Mr. Hodgson, one of the Indian prakrits or popular dialects. It is said to be a slight modification of the Hindí.‡

The Parbatiya Hindoos are not wholly limited to the countries between the Sutlej and the Kali; but this is their principal territory. To the westward of the Sutlej there are some tracts occupied by these comparatively recent Hindú colonists. But in this section of the Himálayan tract there is another Indian nation of much greater antiquity. I allude to the people of Kashmír. They will be described in a particular section.

All the nations above-mentioned are either Hindoos or Buddhists. The Indo-Tartar tribes who follow the religion of Buddha received that creed, together with a certain tincture of Indian customs and Indian mythology, at an early period, many centuries before the settlement of the

* Dr. Buchanan Hamilton found a tradition prevalent in Nepál, that the arrival of Hindú colonists in that country took place from Chetaur, and was occasioned by the conquest of that province by the Mohammedan king of Delhi, about five centuries ago.—See Hamilton's Account of Nepál, &c.

† Hamilton's Description of India. Fraser's Journey in the Himálayan Mountains.

‡ Hodgson in the Asiatic Researches, vol. 15.

Parbatiyas in the Hill-states. Buddhism was probably introduced into Nepál immediately from the adjacent country of Behar, which was the original cradle of this religion. A tradition prevalent in Nepál ascribes its introduction into that country to a fabulous hero named Manju-Náth, who is said to have divided the mountains by his scymetar.* A similar tradition prevails in Kashmír concerning Kasyapa, an ancient Indian saint, who is reported to have led into that celebrated valley the first colony of Hindoos.† At what period Nepál adopted Buddhism is uncertain. It was probably before the year sixty-five after Christ, which was, according to Professor Neumann, the era of its entry into China, whither it may be supposed to have passed from Nepál and Tibet.‡ But the ancient Buddhism of Nepál has undergone modifications and corruptions from Indian systems of later date.§

Besides the Hindoos and Buddhists of the Himálayan border of India, there are two other races or groupes of nations, who must be described in this chapter, though not strictly within the limits marked out by the two great boundary rivers of India. One of these are the barbarous tribes, mostly of Tartar physiognomy, who live in the mountainous tracts bordering on the Brahmapútra, to the eastward of Bhútan. They are numerous and imperfectly known, but so far as we can judge from the accounts yet received, appear to be people of the same description as many mountain-tribes of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. They have among them various sorts of rude paganism, and may well be supposed to be remains of the barbarous aborigines

* See Kirkpatrick's Expedition to Nepál.

The tradition prevalent in Nepál is found also in the Sanskrit books brought from Nepál by Mr. Hodgson, of which an analysis was given by Professor Wilson, in the sixteenth volume of the Asiatic Researches.

† Professor Wilson on the Annals of Kashmír.—Asiatic Researches, vol. 16.

‡ Neumann, Nouveau-Journal Asiatique.

§ The innovations on the older Buddhism of Nepál consist in the introduction of some parts of the worship of Siva and of the Tantrika system from India, between the fifth and twelfth centuries of our era.—See Professor Wilson, ubi supra, Asiatic Researches, vol. 16.

of these countries, and similar perhaps to the Bhotíyahs before the latter were to a certain degree civilised and changed by the introduction of Buddhism. Many of these tribes live beyond the Brahmapútra towards the east. The second barbarous people are a mountain tribe who inhabit a corresponding tract beyond the north-western boundary. I allude to the Siah-Pôsh or Kafirs of the Hindú-Khúh. They will be described in this chapter as an offset from the Hindú stock.

Section II.—*Indo-Tartar Tribes in Bhútan, Nepál, and the Himálayan Countries to the Eastward of the Gogra and Kali.*

The extensively-spread race of Bhōt, or the Bhotíyahs, is one of the divisions of that great nomadic class of nations, marked by peculiar features, who occupy the high regions of Central Asia. The Bhotíyahs are distinguished by their language which approaches more nearly to the Chinese, from the Turkish, Mongolian, and Tungusian families, whom they resemble in physical and moral qualities. The principal country of the Bhotíyahs is Tibet, but tribes allied to this race appear to have furnished primitive inhabitants to the great Himálaya, of which they still occupy most of the eastern part.

1.—Of the Bhotíyahs of the Kingdom of Tassisudon.

Bhútan Proper, or the kingdom of Deb-rajah who reigns at Tassisudon, is separated from the territory of the rajah of Sikim by the eastern branch of the Teesta. This is its western boundary; to the east its limits are unknown. Bengal and the Assam border on it towards the south, and Tibet towards the north. The subjects of this kingdom are precisely similar in manners, aspect, and religion, to the Bhotíyahs of Tibet and the other tracts at the feet of the Himálaya. The following description of the people of

Bhútan by Mr. Hamilton, may be considered as applying to the Bhotíyahs in general.

"In person the feeble-bodied, meek-spirited natives of Bengal are remarkably unlike their active and herculean neighbours, the mountaineers of Bhútan, many of whom are six feet in height; a strong resemblance in features pervades the whole Bhotiyah race, who, though of a dark complexion, are more ruddy and robust than the Bengalese, and have broader faces and high cheek-bones. They are greatly affected with glandular swellings in the throat; one person in six labours under this complaint, which spares the natives of Bengal. The Bhotíyahs have black hair, which they cut close to the head. Their eye is a very remarkable feature, being small and black, with long pointed corners, as if stretched and extended artificially. Their eye-lashes are so thin as to be scarcely perceptible, and the eye-brow is but slightly shaded. Below the eye is the broadest part of the face, which is rather flat and narrows from the cheek-bones to the chin, a character prevalent among the Chinese. The skins of the Bhutaniers is smooth. Most of them arrive at a very advanced age before they have the rudiments of a beard. Their whiskers are of a very scanty growth.*

2.—The Aboriginal Tribes to the eastward of the Kali River, who divide the high country between them, are thus enumerated by Dr. Hamilton.†

1. Magars.	4. Newars.	7. Limbus.
2. Gurungs.	5. Murmis.	8. Lapchas.
3. Jariyas.	6. Kerats.	9. Bhotíyahs.

1. The Magars occupied a great part of the lower hills in the western parts of the country beyond the Kali; they submitted to the Rajpút chiefs of the mountain Hindoos, and are now instructed by Brahmans and follow some of the Hindú rules. Formerly they had priests of their own tribe and worshipped chiefly ghosts. These priests were called Damis. They were then divided into twelve thums

* W. Hamilton's Description of Hindústan, vol. 2. page 731.

† Page 25.

or clans, considered as fraternities. This name is conjectured by Ritter to be connected with that of the Doms in Kumaon. The Magar language is peculiar, and unconnected with the Parbatiya and the Sanskrit. Dr. Hamilton considered it as well established that the Gorkha conquerors of Nepál were in reality Magars, though they pretended to be of Indian and genuine Xatriya origin. The language of the Gorkhas was the Parbatiya.*

Mr. Fraser described "the Ghoorkhas," meaning the Gorkha soldiery, who are, according to Hamilton, principally Magars. He says that "the Ghoorkhas and the people of the neighbouring states have nearly the Malay or Chinese physiognomy." He adds, that the features of the people in various parts of the hills differ, though often belonging to the Tartar or Chinese type and but little to that of the Hindoos.†

2. The Gurungs, settled near the Magars, lead, like them, a pastoral life, but wander further; they feed their flocks in summer in the alpine region and return to the valleys in winter. There are several tribes of Gurungs: Hamilton says, that "all the Gurungs require a cold climate, and live much intermixed with the Bhotíyahs on both sides of the snow-crowned peaks of Emodus "and in the narrow valleys interposed." They cultivate the ground with the hoe and are diligent miners and traders. They adhere to their old religion, that of the Lamas, none having been admitted to the dignity of Khasiya, that is reckoned to belong to the Khatri, or the military tribe, as it exists in the Khas country. The Ghartis however, one of the Khasiya tribes above-mentioned, are supposed by Hamilton to be a section of this race who have become Hindoos.

3.—The Jariyas were a numerous tribe who occupied great part of the lower hilly region between the Kali river and Nepál Proper, south from the Gurungs and intermixed with the Magars. The Malebum family was of this tribe. They have nearly all obtained the rank of Khas or Khasiyas,

* Hodgson, ubi supra.

† Fraser's Journey to the Himálaya.

which in these countries is synonymous with Xatriyas or people of the military class.

To one or the other of these three races Hamilton supposes that all the tribes of Khasiyas belong, who inhabit the mountainous countries to the westward of the Kali. They will be enumerated in the following section.

4. The more fertile part of Nepál Proper was occupied by the Newars, a superior tribe, and more intelligent: they are still Buddhists, except a few who worship Siva without changing their manners or submitting to the Brahmans: till conquered by the Rajah of Gorkha they had a chief of their own.

The Newars are the proper inhabitants of Nepál. There are among them many classes who have different superstitions and customs, and form castes of different habits and professions, though not according to Hindúism. They live in towns or villages; they burn their dead and kill animals of various kinds, and have many singular customs, which have been fully described by Dr. Hamilton. The Newars consider themselves to be the aboriginal people of the country which they now inhabit. There is some diversity in their features. "Some have high features," that is, not flat Chinese features, "large eyes and oval, not lozenge-formed, faces." But generally the Newars have, as Colonel Kirkpatrick described them, the physiognomy of the Chinese or Indo-Chinese race.* "They are of a middle size, with broad shoulders and chests, very stout limbs, round and rather flat faces, small eyes, low and somewhat spreading noses." Dr. Hamilton has observed, that this is a very precise description of the Chinese countenance.†

5. The Murmis are a ruder tribe, who occupy the more mountainous parts of Nepál. They resemble the Bhotiyahs or Tibetans, and by the Gorkhalese, who hate the followers

* "Les Newars sont généralement d'une taille moyenne; ils ont la poitrine et les épaules très larges, le visage rond ou plutôt plat, de petits yeux, le nez gros, et une physionomie ouverte et enjouée. Chez quelques femmes de Bhatgan, on rémarque même une teint vermeille, mais la-plupart d'entre elles quoique d'une constitution aussi robuste que celle des hommes, sont ordinairement d'une couleur qui est entre le jaune-gris, et le brun de cuivre."—Malte-Brun, Ann. des Voy., tom. 17.—Vide Kirkpatrick.

† Hamilton, p. 51.

of the Lamas, are called Siyena Bhotiyahs, or Bhotiyahs who eat carrion. Dr. Hamilton supposes their language to be nearly related to the Newarí.

6. The Kirats or Kichaks live to the eastward of Nepál Proper: they are a rude, warlike, and enterprising people, still attached to the superstitions of the Lamas, whose customs they are hardly induced to lay aside.

7. The Limbus live among the Kerats and resemble them, but are said to differ in language.

8. The Lapchas live further eastward near the Teesta river, marked as the boundary of Bhútan. They are vigorous barbarians, partly followers of the Lamas, and resemble the Kirats in manners.

9. The Bhotíyahs are the people of Bhútan and likewise of Tibet. The Hindoos call these people by one name, and the countries inhabited by them are termed generally Bhútan or Bhōt. Tibet and Bhútan are inhabited by kindred tribes of people, who resemble each other in features, complexion, language, and manners.

Although the different aboriginal mountain tribes are said to have different languages, it is very probable that if their idioms were examined critically the difference would turn out to be merely that of dialect. It appears from a memoir by Mr. Hodgson, before cited, that this is the case with the Newarí, the dialect of Proper Nepál, which is proved by a comparative vocabulary to have much in common with that of Bhōt or Tibet and Bhútan. A great proportion of the words are indeed different in the Tibetan and Newarí lists, but the coinciding or resembling ones are of such a kind as to denote a family relation between the tribes. The Newarí being the poorer dialect has borrowed more from the Sanskrit. Many words of the simplest kind, among which are the first of the numerals, resemble so nearly as to lead to this conclusion. The alphabets used by the Newars and Bhotíyahs are derived from the Devanagari: these letters are in general use, and the art of printing being known, books on the religion of Buddha are found in the hands of the meanest Bhotíyahs.*

* It is a remarkable fact that the art of printing and that of reading have been for ages so extensively diffused in Tibet and China. "This example," says

SECTION III.—*Of the Parbatiya Tribes inhabiting the Hill-States to the westward of the Rivers Kali and Gogra.*

The hill-country immediately to the westward of the Kali is termed in the Puranas *Khash*, and the people are spoken of as impure infidels.* The people originally thus termed were perhaps the native races, but in modern times the Parbatiya inhabitants are called Khasiyas in the neighbourhood of the Kali. The Khasiyas profess to be pure Hindoos, and they are considered as Xatriyas: the Brahmans residing among them are of the Kanoja nation. Dr. Hamilton was of opinion that many of the agricultural people in this part of the country, though they have the name of Sudras, are in reality descendants of the native tribes, who were suffered to remain when the country was occupied by the Hindoos.

The tribes inhabiting the country to the westward of the Kali are enumerated by Dr. Hamilton as follows:—Thappas, Ghartis, Karkis, Majhis, Basnats, Bishtakos, Ramas, Kharkas. It seems that these tribes, more or less of impure or mixed race, together with the Brahmans, constitute the mass of the Parbatiyas or Mountain-Hindoos. There is also a considerable tribe called Rawas who are slaves and accompanied their masters from Chetaur.

The principal states in the Khas country are Kumáu and Garhawal. Beyond this last state the people are not termed Khasiyas. The inhabitants of Kumaú have been described in a particular manner by Mr. Traill.

Mr. Hodgson, "proves to us indisputably that these arts may continue in daily use for ages in a vast society, without once falling into the hands of the strong man of Milton; and consequently without awakening one of those sublime energies, whose full developement in Europe has shed such a glorious lustre around the path of man in this world."—Hodgson, ubi supra.

* Hamilton, ubi supra.

Paragraph 1.—Of the Natives of Kumaú or Kumaon.

It has been observed by Mr. Traill, that the hill-country of Kumaú, immediately to the westward of the river Kali, must from its situation have been peopled either from the table-land of Tartary or from the plains of Hindústan. "Judging," he says, "from the personal appearance of the inhabitants, their religion, their language, the latter is most probable." The original occupants appear to have been uncivilised. At a later period the celebrity of the Himálaya in the Hindú mythology, by inducing a constant resort of pilgrims, led to a gradual colonisation from various parts of Hindústan: invasion and conquest soon followed. Such are the current and probable traditions. The colloquial language of Kumaú is pure Hindí without any admixture of Parsi; it differs considerably from the dialect of the adjoining state of Garhawal. "This indicates a colonisation either anterior to or speedily consequent on the Mohammedan conquest. The population are Hindoos in customs and prejudices. Castes are observed among the upper classes with extreme rigour. The inhabitants of Kumaon are comprised under three classes.—Brahmans, Rajpúts or Xatriyas, and Doms. Even the labouring people pass for Rajpúts. The Doms are outcasts to whose lot fall the inferior trades and menial offices."

Besides these three classes of people there are in Kumaú some small remains of the aboriginal inhabitants, who wander in the rude freedom of savages along the skirts of the Himálaya. They are called Rawats or Rajis. Mr. Traill suggests that the Doms are partly descended from them, a conjecture founded on the great difference between the Doms and the other inhabitants, the Doms being all extremely black, and having hair inclining to wool: secondly, they are mostly in a state of hereditary slavery.

The facts here reported by Mr. Traill prove that the Doms are a distinct people from the so-termed Brahmans and Rajpúts, but it is perhaps more probable that they were introduced into the country by their masters as slaves

from Hindústan. It does not appear that Mr. Traill was informed respecting the physical character of the Rawats. If they are aborigines of the country, it is by far most probable that they resemble in physical character the other numerous aboriginal tribes scattered along the Himálayan border, and once in possession of the whole of this region. All these tribes have the physical character of the Bhotíyahs in general, and are very unlike the Doms.

Paragraph 2.—Of the Paharias or Hill-Tribes of Garhawal, Sirmor, and Bisahúr.

Between Kumaú and the Sutlej are the provinces of Garhawal, Sirmor, and Bisahúr. These countries are of considerable extent and reach from the lower plains far into the high and cold region of the Himálaya; they contain districts which lie under a diversity of climates. Bisahúr in particular is an extensive rajahship, comprehending many states or smaller provinces on both sides of the Sutlej. The northern part of Bisahúr is Kunawar, which reaches northward beyond the Snowy Range. Its inhabitants are disciples of the Lamaite religion. Others have a language entirely different from that spoken on the southern side of the great mountain-chain, and which is said also to differ from the idiom of the Bhotíyahs of the Chinese territory, that is, of Tibet. They are strongly marked with features of the Tartar physiognomy, as it is here termed; are brave, hardy, and independent, and display frankness of countenance and manners, which strongly distinguish them from the Hindoos of the lower country to the southward of the mountains.*

The preceding account was that given by Mr. Fraser, but we have a later description of Kunawar from the pen of the late Captain Gerard. From his statement it appears that the inhabitants are of two classes. The proper Kunawarís, in the southern districts of the country, are of a dark complexion, but handsome,—some of them have ruddy

* Fraser, Page 262—265.

faces. They are of the Hindú religion; but according to Captain Gerard have a distinct language, which is called Milchan, of which there are different dialects. Another language, almost distinct, according to the somewhat vague statement of Captain Gerard, is the Thaburshád, spoken at Soongum. From this it is impossible to determine whether this tribe are Hindoos by descent or not. The people in the higher and northern tracts are Bhotíyahs and worshippers of the Lama. They are tall, nearly six feet in height, stout and muscular; their countenances ruddy, with small oblong eyes, high cheek-bones and thin eye-brows, and very few have either mustachos or beards. They are frank and open in their manners, and a race much superior to the inhabitants of the plains in India.*

In Bisahúr the mountain Hindoos, who are here termed Paharias, or People of the Hills, have somewhat of the bold and hardy character which is supposed to belong to mountaineers in general. Mr. Fraser has likewise remarked that the women in the higher parts of Bisahúr are handsome and have fair complexions.

Sirmor and Garhawal also contain districts of very different climate; the upper provinces lying in a cold region, of which the temperature might be compared to that of Norway, while the southern parts approach the plains of Hindústan. Here an opportunity occurs that is not to be neglected of observing what is the effect of climate on the physical constitution, and particularly on the complexion of the Hindú race, and I shall therefore cite verbatim the description given by Mr. Fraser of these two divisions of the same people.

Among the people of these hill-countries, who are of the Indian race, the constitution of society, the division of the community into castes, their language and religion, are nearly as in lower Hindústan. Mr. Fraser assures us that "the inhabitants of the high region as well as those near the plains are Hindoos, and worship the Hindú gods." The principal castes into which the people of the hills in these

* Account of Koonawar in the Himálaya, by the late Captain Alexander Gerard. London, Maddox and Co., 1841.

provinces are divided, are, according to this writer, Brahmans, Rajpoots, Kunavits, and Cooleys or Chumārs.

The following description of their physical characters relates to the inhabitants of the lower parts of the hill-country :—

"The general caste of their countenance is Hindú, but they seldom display that softness and even intelligence that may be considered a marked characteristic of the Hindú physiognomy. Their eyes are sunk deep into their heads, commonly of a black, but often of a grey or other colours. Their nose is prominent and inclined to an aquiline shape; their forehead high and round; the cheek-bones high, the chin long, and the whole visage long and spare, much drawn into wrinkles at the corners of the eyes and brows from great exposure to the sun; in short their whole countenance exhibits a perpetual grin.

"The colour of these people, like that of their neighbours in the plains, is found of every shade, from dark brown or black to a tawny yellow, and in a few instances they approach white."

The women are more prepossessing than the men: their stature is better in proportion, and their features far more delicate and regular, with much of the pleasing Hindú softness in youth. They are commonly fair, varying in colour from a mild yellow to a light shade of brown; but labour and exposure to the sun and storms soon destroy all delicacy of features, colour, and all vestiges of beauty; and they get, even while young in years, a wrinkled yellow visage.*

The Paharias of Theog and Comharseen, above the hill-range of Choor, are still, according to the same traveller, Hindoos. "Their language, their religion and the general tone of their customs and prejudices prove this. They worship the chief Hindú divinities, adore and protect the cow, and blindly follow most of the Hindú rites."

"Their features for the most part though altered gradually by the climate, as we leave the low country, still retain traces that point to the original stock in the plains."

* Fraser, page 60.

People of the Higher Region.

Mr. Fraser visited the high tract in the rajahship of Garawhal, where the great rivers, the Jumna and the Ganges take their rise. The fountains of these rivers at Jumnotri and Gangotri are celebrated places of resort for Hindú pilgrims who make journeys from various parts of the Dekhan to visit the holy fountains. The country about Jumnotri and Gangotri is very elevated. "The cold" says Mr. Fraser, "is here very considerable the whole year round; even in the summer,"—he was there in July,—"it is extremely sharp, morning and evening, and in the winter it must be excessively severe. Worsted stockings and double blankets were necessary for our feet during the night."

It seems that the inhabitants of this cold country are Hindoos by descent. Mr. Fraser says, that their language is Hindústaní, and though still corrupt it is more intelligible than that which he had heard at Bisahúr. The Hindoos of this high country have probably had their abode in it for some centuries. They are not, in general, intermixed in race with the aborigines. Mr. Fraser says, "occasionally traces may be observed of the Tartar features: the small eyes, high cheek-bones, and meagre mustachos; but they were not sufficiently prevalent to authorise the supposition of any considerable intercourse or intermixture."

He observes, that "the personal appearance of the people is much the same as that of the Bisahúris about Rampoor and Serān. They have stout, well-built figures; their *complexions frequently are very fair*, though much sun-burnt; *their eyes often blue; their hair and beards curled and of a light and even red colour*. They are admirably fitted to form a body of soldiers fit to act in this hilly region."* Here then are Hindoos of the xanthous complexion in a cold climate. Some writers have asserted, that such phenomena are very rare in the East, but I have already collected a

* Page 424. The altitude of the summit of Jumnotri is estimated by Mr. Colebrooke at 25,500 feet above the level of the sea.

variety of examples. Another instance of the appearance of similar characters in a race of Asiatic mountaineers occurs in the same work, from which I have cited the present description. In the expedition into the hill-countries near the Sutlej, Mr. Fraser was accompanied by Patan soldiers from Affghánistan, between eighty and a hundred in number. He says that they were "soldierly and imposing in their appearance. Many of them had red hair, blue eyes, and clear florid complexions, generally tinging the eyelids with antimony."* The appearance of the xanthous complexion among these Hindú mountaineers cannot be attributed to intermixture with Tibetans, or Bhotíyahs, for the Tibetans, though they may be considered with the Chinese as a white race, have generally black hair and black eyes.

Mr. Fraser has likewise given some notices of the countries lying between the Sutlej and Kashmír. The principal states to the westward of the Sutlej, are Kulú, Chambí, Mandí, Kangrah, Sukhet, and Gúlihur. The two first are of great extent, and stretch, as does also Bisahúr, through the Snowy Range of Himálaya: to the northward of these they are continuous with Ladhak and with other countries of Tibet, the inhabitants of which are so termed Tartar tribes, subject nominally to China and reverencing the Great Lama of Tíshú Lúmbú. The states above mentioned are now tributary to the Sikhs. To the south-west of Kúlú lies part of Kuhlúr, or Belaspore and Mandí, still further westward and stretching down into the plains of the Panjáb.

Section IV.—*History of Kashmír.*

In the western region of Alpine India is the celebrated valley of Kashmír, separated by a narrow mountainous crest from Little Tibet. Kashmír is estimated at one hundred and ten miles in length by sixty in extreme breadth. It is said to resemble a garden in perpetual spring; the

* See also Fraser's Account of a Journey to the Sources of the Jumna and Bhagirathi Rivers.—Asiatic Researches, vol. 13., page 105.

climate approaches that of southern Europe, and rain and snow occur in the same seasons as in Tartary and Persia: the people live chiefly on rice, but they eat also fish and drink wine.*

The natives of Kashmír are of genuine Hindú descent: in features they have not the slightest resemblance to their Tartar or Bhotíyah neighbours. Their speech is a peculiar dialect of the Indian language, but very much resembles the Bengalí and Hindústaní.

Kashmír, though situated so remotely from the centre of India, is the only country respecting which records have been preserved in any degree meriting the epithet of historical compositions. The Rájá Taringini or History of Kashmír has been celebrated in the East ever since the time of Akbar, when his learned minister, Abul-fazil, introduced it to the knowledge of the Mohammedan lords of India. This work, as we learn from the analysis of its contents by Professor Wilson, is in fact a series of histories composed at different times: the earliest portion was written in Sanskrit, by Calhana Pandit, who lived about A.D. 1148, and professed to have compiled his work, bringing down the annals of Kashmír from the earliest and fabulous times to the reign of Sangrama Deva, in A.D. 1027, or 949 of the Indian era of Salivahana, from a series of more ancient Kashmírian histories, which he enumerates. Like most Indian compositions it is written in verse, and is in fact a poem. "In the utter darkness which envelopes the history of India previous to the Mohammedan invasion, such a work," as Professor Wilson observes, "acquires an importance greater than the value of the composition itself, or the transactions which it records." It begins with a saga relative to the draining of the beautiful valley of Kashmír, formerly the lake of Uma the wife of Mahadeo, by the Hindú Saint Kásyapa, son of Marichi, whom Dr. Hamilton places in the twentieth century before Christ. About this time it is likely, in the opinion of Wilson, that Kashmír became colonised. The first inhabitants, though introduced by Kásyapa, are said to have worshipped Nagas, or Snake-

* Hamilton's Description of Hindústan, vol. 1, page 509.

gods: they were governed for one thousand two hundred and sixty-six years by princes of the Kaurava family, who in the Mahabharata or Great War were the foes of the Pandavas, or descendants of Pandu, famous in Indian history. It would seem then, that this dynasty of princes were an Indian race, but as they were ignorant of the Vedas, their names were not thought worthy of record. The chasm thus left, by the omission of all these kings, in the original work of Calhana, is filled up by Mohammedan translators with a long series of names. Professor Wilson thinks this series principally fabulous; but observes, that the names are not Indian, and have the title of "Khan" affixed to them. This might argue that the princes were Tartar chiefs if it has not arisen from the customary carelessness and ignorance of Mohammedan writers. The Hindú series of kings begins, after the expiration of the one thousand two hundred and sixty-six years, with Gonerda, who by a strange anachronism was contemporary with Crishna and Yudhisht'hira, and the Great War or Mahabharata: these were Indian heroes whose exploits belong to the commencement of the Kali-yuga. Gonerda was a relative of the king of Magad'ha: he was killed by Balarama, brother of Crishna, on the banks of the Yamuna or Jumna. From this time the history of Kashmír comes into close relation with that of India, and several of the kings have names well-known in the lists of Indian sovereigns, as Asoka, the name of an emperor of India, who reigned at Pataliputra. At a somewhat later period it appears that a revolution occurred in Kashmír, connected, with an event in the history of Hindústan. On this occasion the country fell under the dominion of Tartar princes and received the religion of Buddha.* Among these Tartar or Turushka kings one was Kaniska, a celebrated prince, whose reign was an epoch in the history of Buddhism. The religion of the Brahmans, however, regained its ascendancy, and Kashmír, according to Abul-fazil, previously to the seven hundred and forty-second year of the Hejira, had long been famous as a sacred

* Professor Wilson's Essay on the Hindú History of Kashmír, Asiatic Researches, vol. 15.

country of the Hindoos, and the seat of magnificent temples and consecrated fountains.*

We have here an opportunity of inquiring what are the physical characters of the Hindú race after they have inhabited a climate similar to that of the south of Europe during a thousand years. The features of the Kashmírians bear no resemblance to those of the Tartars or Bhotíyahs. "The Kashmírian females, as we are assured, have long been celebrated for their beauty and the fairness of their complexion." The people in general are a well-formed race. "Their complexion is what in France or Spain would be termed 'brunette.'"†

Section V.—*Of the Siah-Pôsh, or Kafirs of the Hindú-Khúh.*

No ethnographical discovery of recent times is calculated to excite greater interest than that of the aboriginal race who inhabit the range or groupe of mountains supposed to form a western continuation of the Himálaya. They are termed Kafirs by their Mohammedan neighbours, and under that name have been described by Mr. Elphinstone. According to the late account of Sir Alexander Burnes, their proper national appellation is Siah-Pôsh.‡

The country of the Siah-Pôsh, or Kafiristán, according to these writers, occupies a great part of the mountain-chain of the Hindú-Khúh or Indian Caucasus, and likewise a portion of the Belút-Tagh, or Cloudy Mountains, a transverse chain which runs thence northward to Badakshan. According to the latest accounts, and in the maps constructed by Mr. Arrowsmith in illustration of the travels of Moorcroft and those of Lieutenant Wood, Kafiristán is the high region

* Hamilton's Description of Hindústan, vol. 1, page 509.

† Fraser's Journey in the Himálaya Mountains. Foster's Journey from Bengal to England.

‡ Mr. Elphinstone supposed the name of Siah-Pôsh, or Seeaposh as he wrote it, to belong only to a part of this nation who were distinguished by black dresses.—Μελαγχλαινοι.

forming a continuation of the Hindú-Khúh to the eastward, and mostly included between the sources of the Kokcha, a river which falls into the Oxus above Kunduz and the hills which lie to the northward of the Kohistan of Kabúl, to the right of the river Kunar, which flows through the valley of Chetral. This region is one of the most highly elevated in the central parts of Asia. "The villages of the inhabitants are situated on the steep slopes of hills, or sometimes on mountain-plains, of which there are many within the circuit of Kafiristán, of twenty or thirty miles in extent. Among these villages, Wygul and Caumdaish are the best known. This Alpine country consists of snowy mountains, deep pine forests, and small but fertile valleys which produce wheat and millet and grapes, wild and cultivated, and feed numerous flocks, while the hills are covered with goats. The winters are severe, but the heat in summer is sufficient to ripen grapes."*

The people were almost wholly unknown till Mr. Elphinstone, during his mission to Kabúl, sent into their country an intelligent Mohammedan named Moollah Nujeeb. From this person, and from a Hindú clerk named Dhunput Roy, and from an Affghán who had traversed the greater part of Kafiristán, Mr. Elphinstone obtained much interesting information respecting this remarkable people. In particular he ascertained the important fact, that their language is nearly allied to the Sanskrit. This proves that they are not, as it has been previously conjectured from some of their reported customs, descendants of the Greeks of the Bactrian kingdom, or Guebres as others had supposed. A prevalent tradition among them is, that they formerly inhabited the country about Kandahar, where their whole nation consisted of four tribes, called Camoze, Hilar, Silar and Camoje. The first embraced Islàm and remained in their former country; the fourth retained their ancient customs and emigrated into their present abodes. As they have no knowledge of letters this is merely a traditional account. To Mr. Elphinstone it appeared credible. Whether the mountain tribes really originated from the

* Elphinstone's Account of Cabul.—Burnes's Travels.

south-west or not, it seems that the race is spread in this direction, since the Laghmaunee or Deggaunee language is said to be a Kafir dialect. The tribes of Laghmaunees and Deggauns are probably people of the same race converted to the Mohammedan religion. The tribe or rather nation of Deggaun, which seems to have been formerly spread over the greater part of north-eastern Affghánistan, is now confined to the valley of Coonner and some parts of the neighbouring country of Laghmaun. In Coonner they form a separate people, under a chief called the Synd or king of Coonner. Their language, the Laghmaunee, is mentioned in the commentaries of Baber. It consists partly of Sanskrit, whence Elphinstone concluded, that the Deggauns are of Indian origin.* The people of Cohistaun above Kabúl are supposed to be of the same stock, as the name of Cohistaunee is that applied to all newly-converted Kafirs.†

It seems from these facts that the race of the Siah-Pôsh is widely spread over the countries bordering on the Hindú-Khúh and extending towards the sources of the Helmund river, but that in the higher region alone they retain their ancient customs and name.

To the information obtained respecting the Kafirs by Mr. Elphinstone, Sir Alexander Burnes has added many interesting particulars. But the acquisition of greatest importance is a specimen of the language of the Siah-Pôsh. This specimen contains one hundred and twenty words, and about a dozen sentences in the Siah-Pôsh, and twenty-four in the dialect of a neighbouring tribe, termed the Pashye, which resembles the idiom of the Kafirs. Short as it is in extent, this collection leads, as Professor Ritter has observed, to the interesting conclusion, that the Siah-Pôsh or Kafirs of the Hindú-Khúh belong to the Indian race, and that the Sanskrit, which has long been a learned and dead language

* Elphinstone's Kabúl, pages 318, 319, 620.

† It is much to be regretted that Lieutenant Wood's party in the late expedition to the sources of the Oxus were prevented from proceeding in their original direction, which would have led them through Kafiristán. We should doubtless have obtained much information from them respecting the inhabitants. Lieutenant Wood was obliged to go round through Bamiyan and Kunduz.

in Hindústan, is still preserved in a peculiar dialect among the mountaineers of the Indian Caucasus. In a memoir on this subject, which was read some time since before the Geographical Society of Berlin, Professor Karl Ritter has collected from the various notices which have yet existed a tolerably full account of the Siah-Pôsh, and he has added some observations, by Professor Bopp, on the vocabularies of their language, and a comparison of many words with their Sanskrit analogues. Sir Alexander Burnes had remarked, that these sentences betray an evident affinity to some of the spoken dialects of India; but the resemblance, to whatever it may amount, is probably to be traced through the medium of the Sanskrit. There seems on the whole to be sufficient evidence that the Sanskrit language, or a popular modification of it, was the idiom of the ancestors of the Kafir race.*

We have but imperfect accounts of the superstitions of the Siah-Pôsh, but it appears probable that the rude paganism

* Some of the words are as follows :—

English.	*Siah-Pôsh.*	*Sanskrit.*
Star	Tarah	Tara
Sun	Soe	Surya
Moon	Más	Más
Fire	Ai	Agni S. (the nasal omitted)
Rain	Wash	Varsha (*r* as often omitted)
Snow	Zuin	Hima
Spring	Vastink	Vasanta
Hot	Tapi	Tap (to burn)
Man	Naursta	Nara
Woman	Mashi	Manuschi
Ear	Kar	Karna
Eye	Achán	Akschan
Nose	Nású	Nasa
Teeth	Dint	Danta
Finger	Agun	Anguli
One	Ek	Eka
Two	Du	Dui
Three	Tre	Tri
Four	Chata	Chatur
Five	Pich	Pancha
Eight	Asht	Ashtan
Nine	Nu	Navan
Ten	Dosh	Dasan

which prevails among them is a corrupt and imperfect relic, or perhaps a simple and undeveloped form, of the Hindú rites of worship, mixed with customs of a different origin, derived perhaps from the ancient Persians. They believe, as it is reported, in one god, whom the people of Camdaish call Imra, perhaps Indra the Hindú Jupiter or god of the visible firmament. By the people of Tsokooee he is termed Dagun or Doghan. They likewise worship dead men represented by numerous idols of wood and stone. They have inferior divinities at Camdaish,—Bugeesh, a god of the waters; Maunee, who expelled Yoosh or the evil principle, Murrur, Urrum, Pursoo, Geesh, seven-brothers named Paradik, created from a golden tree, Surijoo, perhaps Súrya, and others. At Tsokooee they worship Inderjee (Indra ?). Dhunput Roy who travelled in their country declared positively that they worship the Hindú god, Seddasheo, bearing his proper emblem, a trident, and that they give to another of the Hindú gods his proper name, Mahadeo. Sir A. Burnes confirms this account, and says, that "they know the Hindú god Mahadeo by name," but they all eat beef." Their customs have completely changed by their having been obliged to subsist in a totally different manner from that of the Hindoos; but their acquaintance with the names of Hindú gods seems otherwise inexplicable. They sacrifice cows and goats to Doghan their supreme god, particularly at a great ten-days' festival in April. "They neither burn nor bury their dead, but place them in a box, arrayed in a fine dress of goat skins or Kashgar woollens, on the summit of a hill. The females till the ground: they sit apart from the men. They have no fowls or horses; wheat and barley are their grains. They are fond of music and dancing, but the sexes dance separately: they sit on stools, and they have a two-stringed instrument and a drum."

A Hindú whom Burnes met at Peshawur, and who had penetrated into the higher country of the Siah-Pôsh, declared that these people were of his own creed, because they worshipped Siva. It seems that they have hereditary priests.

What is most interesting in the history of the Siah-Pôsh,

or Kafirs of Hindú-Khúh, is the fact, that being undoubtedly of the Hindú race, which their language attests, and inhabiting a high and cold country, they have the sanguine or xanthous complexion of the northern Europeans.

Mr. Elphinstone was informed that the name of Siah-Pôsh, or Seeaposh, black-vested, belonged to only one division of the Kafirs, while the others are called Speen Caufirs or White Infidels. This was denied by the informants of Burnes. The epithets relate only to their dress, for the whole nation, as Mr. Elphinstone says, are remarkable for the fairness and beauty of their complexion.*

The Hindú informant of Burnes said they were a race of exquisite beauty, with arched eye-brows and fair complexions. A native seen by Burnes in Kabúl was a remarkably handsome young man, tall, with regular Grecian features, blue eyes and fair complexion. Two other boys, eight and nine years old, who came with him, had ruddy complexions, hazel eyes, and auburn hair. They also had less beauty and high cheek-bones; but they were still handsome and remarkably intelligent. None of these individuals, nor two others whom Burnes saw, had any resemblance to Affgháns, or even to Kashmírians. "They looked a distinct race, as the most superficial observer would have remarked."†

* Elphinstone, page 619.

† This account of the Siah-Pôsh is extracted from the only accounts published, which are,—1. Elphinstone's Appendix C, on Caufauristan, in his Account of Caubul. 2. A Memoir on the Siah-Pôsh Kafirs, with specimens of their language and costume, by Sir Alexander Burnes, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for April, 1838. 3. A communication of Ritter's to the Berlin Geographical Society for May, 1839, entitled, "Einige Ethnographische Mittheilungen, über die Siah-Pôsh von Alexander Burnes," printed in the "Monatsbericht über die Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde." In this last paper are some remarks by Professor Bopp, on the specimens of the Siah-Pôsh language.

SECTION VI.—*Aboriginal Races in the Mountainous Countries to the Eastward of Bhútan.—Tribes of Ahoms, Garros, Cachars, Cossyahs, Cassays or Manipúrs, Miris, Abors, Mishmis, Kangtis, Bor-Kangtis, Singphos, Muamárias, Nagas or Kukís*

In ascending the course of the great river Brahmapútra, we find immediately beyond the eastern limits of Bengal and of Bhútan, mountainous tracts bordering on the valley of the Brahmapútra, which are inhabited by a variety of tribes in various degrees of barbarism. So many different tribes are crowded together within a small space as to lead to the idea, that some of them may be the remains of races driven into this quarter, and that the country may be the receptacle and place of refuge of many nations exiled from India. This is merely a conjecture. I shall now describe the principal races inhabiting the mountainous countries bordering on the Brahmapútra and beyond the eastern boundary of Proper Hindústan. In these parts we come into contact with the Indo-Chinese nations, to which stock many of the tribes evidently are related.

Natives of Assam.—The region so termed joins Bengal at its north-eastern corner and stretches in an easterly direction to an undefined extent. Assam may be considered as the designation of the valley through which the vast river Brahmapútra takes its course from the east, passing through the Himálayan chain to the Bay of Bengal. Its average breadth is computed at seventy miles, but the upper valley is much broader. The valley is supposed to be three hundred and fifty miles in length. It is divided into three provinces, Camrúp on the west, Assam Proper in the centre, and Sodiya at the eastern extremity. On the north Assam is bounded by the mountainous regions of Bhútan, Auka, Duffala and Mirí, and on the south by the Garro mountains which rise towards the east and change the name of Garro for that of Naga. These are names of some importance in ethnography. The animal and vegetable productions of Assam are similar to those of Bengal.

Books are extant in the ancient language of Assam, which is termed Ahom. The original Ahoms are supposed to have been a branch of the Shyun or T'hay race, which people Laos and Siam, but it has been remarked that no vestige of the worship of Buddha is to be found in their old chronicles.* Buddhism never penetrated into this country; but Camrúp or the Lower Assam, including, besides the country which still retains that name, the modern Rangpúr and Rangamatty, besides Manipúr, was under the influence of the Brahmans, and the original seat, as it is said, of the corrupt and sensual system of the Tantras. This may account for the close affinity between the languages of Bengal and of Assam. We have been assured that six-tenths of the most common words are identical in the Assamese and Bengalí idioms, the former substituting some letters according to rule for others in the latter. Some of the inflections of nouns and verbs are like the Sanskrit, but there are likewise other peculiar features in which the Assam approximates to the Indo-Chinese and Tartar languages: namely, it has no plural forms in tenses of verbs, no declension of adjectives, no endings to denote degrees of comparison; verbs come after their nominatives; particles are always suffixed; genitives preceed the nouns by which they are governed.*

We may consider it as proved by these facts that the Assamese are partly of Siamese and in part of Hindú descent. This refers to the civilised people of the Assam valley. In various tracts, and especially on the neighbouring mountains, there are, as we shall find, many distinct races.

A variety of tribes inhabit the mountainous regions bordering on Assam or the valley of the Brahmapútra, who must be briefly described in order to complete the ethnography of this region. I shall enumerate them in two divisions.

* Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 61.

† See Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 72.

1. Of the Garros, the Cachari, the Cossyahs, the Cassays or Manipúri.

The Garros are a wild tribe of mountaineers, who formerly occupied an extensive region bounded on the north by the Brahmapútra, on the south by the districts of Silhet and Mymunsingh, on the east by Assam and Gentiah, and to the west by the great sweep of the Brahmapútra. At present this race of people is shut up in a mountainous tract occupying only the central part of their former possessions, having been driven from the valleys and river-banks by colonists. Their hills are productive and from one hundred to three thousand feet in heighth: the climate is humid and the soil covered with forests. The Garros are much stronger than the Bengalese: a Garro woman can carry over the hills as large a burden as a Bengalese man can carry along the plains. They rear among the mountains, cattle, goats, swine, dogs, cats, fowls, and ducks, for their own eating. Puppies roasted alive are with them considered a great delicacy. The law of revenge for blood prevails among them, and they have the remarkable custom of making a solemn vow to eat the heads of their antagonists; and although a generation may pass away before the vow is accomplished, the engagement is not forgotten.

The northern Garros are said to differ somewhat from those of the southern parts. The former are a stout, strong-limbed people, with strongly-marked Chinese countenances, and in general with harsh features. Some of their chiefs are rather handsome. The southern Garros are likewise stout, well-shaped men, hardy and able to do much work. "They have a surly look, a flat Cafre nose, small eyes, a wrinkled forehead, over-hanging eye-brows, with a large mouth, thick lips, and round face. Their colour is of a light or deep brown. They are of a mild temper, gay and fond of dancing."

The unconverted Garros believe in a transmigration of souls as a state of reward and punishment

The Cachari.—The Rajah of Cachar is said to govern a

country of considerable extent, situated to the eastward of the Bengal district of Silhet. The Cachari are a numerous tribe who are scattered over many neighbouring countries, though their name is usually limited to the state of Cachar, of which the chief has been converted by the Brahmans, and stiles himself a rajah and a Xatriya of the Suryabansi, or Offspring of the Sun.*

The Cachari are a people in features resembling the Chinese; their complexion is lighter than that of the Bengalese; their language is monosyllabic, but is said to be quite different from that of the Manipurs. A vocabulary of this idiom was deposited by Dr. F. B. Hamilton in the library of the East India Company. It is said to have some affinity to certain provincial dialects of the Chinese, but this requires elucidation. According to Fisher the Cachari are very short, seldom above five feet high, of very dark colour. This account differs from that given by Dr. Hamilton, who says that they are tall and fair. Ritter supposes that the latter description belongs only to the mountaineers, and that those who are short and almost black are natives of the valleys.† F. Hamilton conjectures that before the Brahmans gained them over, the impure superstition termed Patris prevailed among them.

Of the Cossyahs.—The mountainous tract lying between the Garro hills on the west, and those of Cachar on the east, termed Gentiah or Jaintiya, is inhabited by a tribe called Khassies or Cacis, from which the Bengalese have made Cossyahs. According to Dr. Scott they call themselves Khyi. They are said by him to be a fine race of men, and an independent people. They are muscular and active. He adds that the Cossyahs are distinguished from their neighbours, as from the Garros, Cachari and others, who speak different dialects of a language once widely spread and have features approaching the Chinese. The Cossyahs want these characters, and in particular the oblique position of the eye-lids. Yet other writers

* W. Hamilton's Description of India, vol. 2.

† Ritter's Asien, iv, s. 386.

suppose them to be a tribe of the same family, and describe them of shorter stature than the former, but yet taller than the Cachari. Their monosyllabic speech contains many words resembling the Chinese.*

According to a late account the Cossyahs are a fine race of people, superior to many other Asiatics. They resemble the Malays a good deal in appearance, but are of a stouter make. They are good-natured and cheerful, and are employed from infancy in carrying burdens from the plains; the women are even stouter in proportion than the men.†

People of Manipúr or Cassay.—The Cassays are natives of Manipúr; they resemble the Hindoos in personal character and manners more than the Indo-Chinese nations. By the Bengalese they are called Maggalos. They are civilised industrious peŏple, and resemble the Hindoos in manners and religion.

2.—Of the Miris, Abors, Mishmis, Kangtis, Bor-Kangtis, Singphos, Muamárias, and Nagas or Kukís.

The territory of Assam is separated from the empires of China and Ava by a narrow but long tract of mountainous country containing the sources of the greatest rivers which traverse the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. From this mountainous range descend the Yang-tsi-kiang, the river of Nanking, and the great streams of the Camboja, Irawadi, and Saluaen, and the rivers of Ava and of Assam. It appears destined to be the great high-way of intercourse between the nations of Ultra-Gangetic Asia. This beautiful country, says Mr. M'Cosh, though thinly peopled by straggling hordes of slowly-procreating barbarians, and allowed to lie covered with primeval forests or run to waste with luxuriance of vegetation, has all the qualities fitted to render it one of the finest in the world. Its climate is cold, healthy, and congenial to European constitutions; its numerous crystal streams abound in masses and dust of gold; its mountains

* Ritter, s. 390.

† Account of the Cossyahs.—Geographical Journal, vol. 2.

are pregnant with silver and precious stones; its atmosphere is perfumed with the wild and luxuriantly-growing tea plant; and its soil is so well adapted to all purposes of agriculture, that it might be converted into one continued garden of silk, and cotton, and sugar, and coffee, and tea, over an extent of many thousand miles."*

This tract of country is thinly inhabited by various mountain-tribes. The following is a brief notice of them and of their abodes :—

1. The Miris are an industrious active race, of wild and barbarous manners, speaking a different language from that of the Assamese. They live on the northern bank of the Brahmapútra from the island Majali to the river Dihong.

2. The Abors and Mishmis inhabit an extensive hilly country along the southern exposure of the great Himálaya from 94° to 97° east longitude, and the precipitous borders of the two great northern branches or confluents of the Brahmapútra, the Dihong or Sampo, and the Dibong. Accustomed to a freezing temperature they descend to the low country only during the winter and depart as soon as the Simala-tree puts forth its blossoms.

The Mishmis are a small, active, hardy race, with the Tartar cast of countenance; they are excessively dirty. Like other hill people they are famous for the muscular developement of their legs: in this the women are inferior. They have no written language, and scanty clothing: they drink a liquor distilled from rice.†

3. Kangtis live between the Dibong and Lohit. They are descended from the Bor-Kangtis, a powerful race near the sources of the Irawadi, and came down into their present country about fifty years ago. They are a race superior to their neighbours. They are, like many other mountaineers, tall, fair, and handsome, and considerably

* Account of the Mountain Tribes on the extreme north-eastern frontier of Bengal, by J. M'Cosh, Civil Assistant Surgeon, Goalpura.—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 52.

† We have a further account of the Mishmi race from Dr. W. Griffith, who travelled in their country, in the sixty-fifth number of the Asiatic Journal of Bengal.

advanced in civilisation, and have the religion of Buddhism. They have a written character. Their language resembles the original Ahom.

The Bor-Kangtis and Munglany Kangtis are tribes of this race.

4. The Singphos are the most powerful of these hill-tribes. They are bounded on the west by a line drawn from Saddia to the Patkoi range, and reach eastward to the Lohit river which separates them from the Bor-Kangtis. The Burmah Singphos extend on both sides of the Irawadi and reach to the borders of China. They are a barbarous people and continually carry off as captives the Assamese. They speak a language different from that of the Shan or Siamese tribes, and are idolators. Rude as is the state of society among them, they have a distinction of castes and are divided into four classes termed Thengais, Miyungs, Labrungs, and Mirups. The tea plant grows wild in their country, through which is the track of intercourse between China and Assam.

5. Muamárias or Muttahs, a tribe of wild barbarians who profess the Hindú religion, between the Brahmapútra northward and the Buri Dihing on the south.

6. Nagas, numerous tribes spread over all the mountainous range which divides Assam from Manipúr.

Of the different tribes of Nagas we have more complete accounts in several memoirs already published.* It seems that the Nagas are tribes of the same race with the Kukís sometimes called Lunctas, the wild mountaineers of Tipperah or Tripura. The earliest notice of these people, who were termed Cúcìs, was contained in a paper translated from the Persian by Sir W. Jones, and inserted in the second volume of the Asiatic Researches. Further details were given by Mr. Macrae in the seventh volume of the same series. They are described by Mr. Macrae as a race of people living among the mountains to the north-east of the Chittagory province. The inhabitants of the first range are the Choomeeas, a people long tributary to the East India Company, whose villages are called Chooms. The Kukis

* See Ritter's Indien, 375.—Asiatic Researches, vol. 7, on the Kookees.—Asiatic Researches, vol. 2, on the Mountaineers of Tipra.

live beyond them. "They are a barbarous, active, muscular race, short, of stouter and darker complexion than the Choomeeas, and, *like them*, have the peculiar features of the natives of the eastern parts of Asia, namely, the flat nose, small eyes, and broad round face." According to their tradition, they and the Mugs are the offspring of the same progenitor, the Mugs of the oldest and the Kukís of the youngest son, who being neglected had the name of Luncta, or "the naked" entailed on himself and his posterity. Mr. Macrae confirms this tradition by assuring us that the Mugs and Kukís mutually understand each other, their language being nearly the same. "The Kukís are all hunters and warriors, are armed with bows and arrows, build their villages, called Parahs, on the steepest mountains, and have the law of revenge for blood, which they carry so far as to extend it to the brute creation, and even to inanimate objects." They preserve the bodies of their dead till a particular day, when annually they celebrate their funerals, by burning their bodies.* They believe in a future state of retribution for good and bad actions. The deity termed by them "Khogein Pootteany" is the creator of the world: they chiefly worship an inferior divinity or mediator, to whose image, placed under a tree, they sacrifice goats.†

The Kukís were by Dr. F. B. Hamilton identified with the Nagas, who are known to be a people very widely spread over the hilly countries bordering on Cachar and Manipúr. They extend from the 23° to the 27° north latitude. The most northern of these tribes, the Tikliya Nagas, settled under the parallel of Kolyabar, are said to be cannibals.‡ The Nagas are described by Pemberton as a bold and independant race who live in poverty in mountainous tracts remote from the inhabitants of the cultivated countries, where they have resisted in their inaccessible villages repeated attempts to subject them, made by the

* It is remarked that a similar custom prevails among some American tribes as noticed in Bartram's Travels.—Asiatic Researches, vol. 7, page 195.

† Asiatic Researches, vol. 7.

‡ Dr. F. Buchanan Hamilton's Account of Assam, in the Annals of Oriental Literature, London.

neighbouring rajahs of Tipperah, Cachar and Manipúr. The northern tribes of Nagas bear in their whole exterior the type of the races akin to the Chinese, but have a more animated expression. Their complexion is of a light copper colour; their hair of remarkable stiffness; their limbs are very strong and muscular; they are indefatigable in labour and in their wanderings over the mountains. The women are as laborious as the men. Their complexion is not quite so dark, and they wear their hair longer. Their houses are well built and clean, situated on the tops of the hills. The Nagas on the southern side of the river Barah, who are called Kutschung, differ in some respects from the above-described tribes who are to the northward of that river. The Kutschung or southern Nagas are of smaller stature and not so well made; of dark complexion: they are a savage, blood-thirsty people, and have contributed a great share to the depopulation of the countries inhabited by neighbouring peaceable tribes. They live upon rice and game, and never taste milk, which, like the Garros, they consider as an unwholesome and weakening diet.*

We have some further accounts of the Nagas in a memoir by T. Fisher, published in Wilson's account of the Burmese war. This writer, as Professor Wilson observes, principally refers to the more barbarous southern Nagas, who are the people in South Cachar called Kukís, and who inhabit the mountains near Tipperah, Chittagory, and Sylhet. He says that they differ much in person and countenance from the neighbouring inhabitants, meaning the Hindoos, and not less in manners and character. They are of dwarfish stature, broad-shouldered, and have slender limbs and a dark-brown complexion. Their countenance is expressive, their forehead low; their eyes are small, dark, and animated; their nose small, flat as in the faces of the Chinese; their mouth small, and well shaped; their ears large and lengthened by weights; their hair dark and spare; beard scanty. Most of these southern tribes are of wandering habits and seldom remain many months in the same place. The northern

* Pemberton's Memoir of the Nagas in Wilson's Burmese War.—Ritter's Asien, vol. 4, page 371.

Nagas or Kukís of Pyta have fixed dwellings on the tops of hills. They live chiefly on the produce of the chase, eat elephants, tygers, jackalls, dogs, frogs, snakes, and when pressed by hunger devour each other.

SECTION VII.—*General Account of the Physical Characters of the Natives of India.*

Paragraph 1.—Of the hypothesis that the Aborigines of India and of the Himálaya were a race of Negroes.

Before I proceed to collect a statement of facts relative to the complexion and form of the native inhabitants of Hindústan, I must take some notice of an opinion which has been maintained, that the aborigines of that country were a race of Negroes, or a tribe of people with woolly hair and in features resembling the native Africans. Although I once felt disposed to admit this opinion as probable, I have long since ceased to regard it as such, and I should scarcely have thought it necessary to bring the subject before my readers had not some countenance been of late given to this notion by writers of great learning and research.

The facts which have been thought to favour the opinion that a race of Negroes was once spread through India are the following :—

1. It has been often observed, that the remains of statuary and other ancient works of art in India display a different type of countenance from that of the modern Hindoos, and seem to have been formed after a model resembling the countenance of the Negro. Sir W. Jones observed, " that the remains of architecture and sculpture in India *seem to prove* an early connection between that country and Africa." He adds, " the Pyramids of Egypt, the colossal statues described by Pausanias and others, the Sphinx, and the Hermes Canis, which last bears a strong resemblance to the Varaha avatar, indicate the style of the same indefatigable workmen who formed the vast excavations of Canárah, the various temples and images of Buddha, and the idols which are continually

dug up at Gayá or in its vicinity." "These and other indubitable facts may induce no ill-grounded opinion, that Ethiopia and Hindústan were peopled or colonised by the same extraordinary race; in confirmation of which it may be added, that the mountaineers of Bengal and Bahár can hardly be distinguished in some of their features, particularly in their lips and noses, from the modern Abyssinians."*

It has been observed by several writers who have described the celebrated cavern in the Isle of Elephanta, that the Hindú gods there figured have African features. Dr. F. B. Hamilton, well known as a physician of great learning and judgement, whose works have contributed much to extend our knowledge of the races of people in India and the adjoining countries, says, that when he visited the cave of Elephanta, although then unacquainted with the controversies concerning the origin of the sculptures which it contains, he was struck with the African appearance of the images, particularly of their hair and features, and conceived them to be the work of Sesostris, as he had imbibed the vulgar idea that they were not the idols of the Brahmans. This latter notion he afterwards entirely laid aside. In fact it appears that the cave of Elephanta displays in these sculptures the oldest form of the Indian religion, that of the Smartal Brahmans, since the attributes of the three persons of the Triad are there exhibited as united in one figure, which represents the supreme divinity holding conjoined the attributes of Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer. The same African character in these images was observed by Mr. Hunter, who gave at an earlier period a description of the same cavern.†

It has been observed in particular of the statues of Buddha, that they display in many parts features resembling the Negro. Even the hair of the figures of Buddha is said to be represented as woolly, or at least in small curls, hardly distinguishable from wool.‡

* The third Discourse, of the Hindoos, Asiatic Researches, vol. 1, page 427.

† Hunter in Archæologia, vol. 7.

‡ Captain Colin Mackenzie has described a statue of Buddha in an ancient temple at Villigaam, on the coast of Ceylon, of which he says, that "the

2. It is well known that the Andaman Isles, in the Bay of Bengal, are inhabited by a wild tribe of woolly-haired blacks, who resemble in their physical characters the Negroes of Guinea and the Papuas of New Guinea They appear to be the aborigines of these islands. There are also tribes of a similar character in the mountainous and forest country in the interior of the Malayan Peninsula, named Samang. It is therefore an established fact that a black and woolly-haired race is among the aboriginal inhabitants of Asia, and of countries not far from the borders of India.

The mountains of Malacca form a chain of hills running southward almost in a continuous line, though in a different direction, from the great Himálaya. They may be considered as a termination or extension of that great system of mountains. The idea has occurred to writers on physical geography in different countries, that this woolly-haired tribe may be the relics of a people once more extensively spread over that high region, and that a Negro race may have been among the aboriginal inhabitants of the great Himálaya itself. It was indeed supposed by some learned men in France not long since, that historical documents in the Chinese language preserved a full account and description of Negro races formerly spread over the Kuenlun, the mountain-chain which, considerably to the northward of the Himálaya, from the neighbourhood of the Upper Hoangho, in the north-eastern part of China, runs westward and forms the northern frontier of Little Tibet. Under this impression, which appears to have originated in a mistake of M. Abel-Rémusat, the Geographical Society of Paris when proposing some years since a prize for an essay on the origin of the black Australian tribes, recommended that the discussion should

countenance is full and mild, and the top of the head painted to represent the hair in several small curls of a black colour." In another paper by Lieutenant Mahony, on the remains of sculpture in Ceylon, an image of Buddha, at Calanee, near Columbo, is compared with one at Boodh Gya, in the province of Bahar, in Hindústan. It is observed "that both these statues agree in having *crisped hair* and long pendent ear-rings."—See Asiatic Researches, vol. 6, in 8vo., pp. 436-448.

embrace the history of the Negro races of Kuenlun.* This proposal occasioned some surprise among the geographers both of Paris and of Berlin, but the affair was explained by M. Klaproth, who discovered that the error originated with the Japanese editor of a Chinese compilation written in 1607 by Wang khi, who described the Tseng-sza or Black People of Kuenlun. This name seems here to be the Chinese designation of Pulo Condor, in the Indo-Chinese Sea, and the supposed Negroes alluded to were the Papua or other dark-coloured races of that island.†

Professor Ritter was of opinion that the existence of a Negro race in the Himálaya derived confirmation, or at least some degree of probability from the account given by Mr. Traill of the wandering Rawats or Rajás, who live in

* "Programme des Prix de la Société de Géographie, Année 1830, Paris," p. 6.—"Rapport à la Société de Géographie sur le concours rélatif à l'origine des Nègres Asiatiques," in the "Bulletin de la Société de Géographie." Paris, 1832. Nr. 107, pp. 175-186. Ritter, Erdkunde, Th. 2, s. 1046; Th. 5, s. 446.

† M. Klaproth says, I find the following passage in a Chinese Cosmography entitled "Haï koue wen ki lou," published in 1730. "Kuen lun or Kuenlun must not be confounded with the mountain Kuen lun, round which the Hoang-ho turns. There are two mountains thus named situated to the southward of the sea of Seven-Isles (the Paracels)." The Japanese edition referred to by Klaproth, is in the King's library, at Paris. M. Rémusat found in it a passage describing the "Blacks of Kuenlun." The passage consists of two different notices, one being a text from the original Chinese work, and the other a comment upon it in Japanese. Appended to the latter is a figure resembling the Negroes seen occasionally at Nangasaki, on board of Dutch ships, introduced by way of illustration, and replacing a figure in the old Chinese edition, which, as Klaproth has copied it, has nothing of the Negro character. The text and comment are really curious as illustrative of the sort of information on ethnographical subjects which we are to expect from the boasted accuracy of Chinese documents.

Text of the San Thsaï Thou Hoei.

"The abode of the Tseng-sza, of Kuenlun, is in the South-west Sea. A bird is there found named *Pheng*, which when flying obscures the sun. He is able to swallow a camel. The quills of his feathers serve for water casks. The bodies of the native people are as it were covered with a black varnish. They are sold for slaves."

Supplement of the Japanese Editor.

"In our days we see arriving on board the Dutch ships, folks whose body is as it were covered with a black varnish. They are called Kouro-bô. Their bodies are so light and nimble that they climb with ease to the tops of the masts of ships."—Journal Asiatique, September, 1833.

the forests along the skirts of the Himálaya, in the province of Kumáu or Kumaon, in the country formerly subject to Nepál. Mr. Traill, in his statistical sketch of Kumaon, mentions the Doms or Outcasts among the different ranks of people inhabiting that country.* "The Doms are very different from the other inhabitants: they are nearly black and have hair inclining to wool." As they are so different from the higher class in physical character this writer imagines that they are remains of an aboriginal population, and that the Rawats are like them, and may have been a part of the same race. This however is but a conjecture. The origin of the Doms is as yet uncertain, but it is well known that the aboriginal races of all this mountainous tract are similar to the Bhotíyahs or Tibetans, and approach much more nearly to the Chinese than to Negroes or Papuas.

It seems on the whole that there is no sufficient evidence to establish the fact, that India was once inhabited by a race of Negroes. The following considerations go far towards proving the negative of such an opinion:—

1. As far back as historical accounts reach, the Indians had straight or lank hair, and features unlike the African.

Herodotus says, that "in the army of Xerxes there was a band of Ethiopians from the East,—ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων —who were drawn out next to the Indians. "These oriental Ethiopians," he adds, "in appearance—εἶδος—resemble the other Ethiopians, but differ in their language and in their hair. They are straight-haired—ἰθύτριχες—whereas the Ethiopians from Libya, that is from Africa, are the most woolly-haired of all nations"† It is probable that this description may refer to some of the Indian tribes, but it is perhaps too vague to afford any important evidence.

Megasthenes reported that the Indians were not altogether unlike the Ethiopians in aspect—ἰδέαις. The people towards the south are, as he says, "most like them, and they

*Statistical Sketch of Kumaon by G. W. Traill, Esq.—Asiatic Researches, vol. 16, page 150.

† Herodotus, lib. 7, cap. 70.

are black in colour, but they are not in like manner flat-nosed—σιμοὶ—nor is their hair woolly: nearer to the north they most resemble the Egyptians."*

2. There are, as we have seen, tribes of people scarcely at all civilised in the hills or mountainous districts of India, both in proper Hindústan and the Dekhan, whom we have strong reasons for regarding as remains of the aboriginal population. Many of them have never adopted the religion of the Brahmans, nor have they been intermixed with the Hindoos: they preserve their own languages and habits and native superstitions in their remote and seldom-approached retreats, and it can hardly be doubted that they retain their ancient physical character. I have already collected authentic accounts of these tribes, and only have to remark at present, that none of them have the peculiar traits of the African Negro.

It is difficult to account for the reported African character of the ancient statues in India: probably their analogy to the African type may be somewhat exaggerated. It has been chiefly noticed in the statues of Buddha, which are generally said, both in Ceylon and in Continental India, to have a broad and rather flat face; but it is very probable that the countenance imitated in these figures is the broad face of the Siamese and other Indo-Chinese nations, and not the physiognomy of the African. In the ancient Singalese temples of Buddha, described by Captain Colin Mackenzie, in the paper before cited, the whole style of sculpture and of the decoration of the edifices was such as to persuade the author that the builders were from the Eastern Peninsula of India, and he infers that the Singalese were a colony from that country. In manners and general character they are known to exhibit many indications of resemblance to its inhabitants.

Paragraph 2.—Description of the Hindoos in General.

I have already cited a passage of Herodotus, in which that historian speaks of the people of India and mentions

* Arrian, in Indicis.—Strabo, lib. 15.

their division into castes with such accuracy that we have no difficulty in recognising in his description the modern Hindoos. He takes little notice of their physical character, but they are admirably described in a passage of Dionysius the Geographer, of which the following is a translation by Mr. Bryant:—

> "To the east a lovely country wide extends,—
> India, whose borders the wide ocean bounds.
> On this, the sun, new-rising from the main,
> Smiles pleased, and sheds his early orient beams.
> The inhabitants are swart, and in their locks
> Betray the tint of the dark hyacinth.
> Various their functions,—some the rock explore,
> And from the mine extract the latent gold;
> Some labour at the woof with cunning skill
> And manufacture linen; others shape
> And polish ivory with the nicest care;
> Many retire to river's shoal, and plunge
> To seek the beryl flaming in its bed,
> Or glittering diamond.
> The rich soil,
> Washed by a thousand rivers from all sides,
> Pours on the natives wealth without control."

Sir W. Jones, who has cited the preceding description, has added the following graphic passage from an old English writer:—

"A people," says Mr. Lord, "presented themselves to mine eyes, clothed in linen garments somewhat low descending, of a gesture and garb, as I may say, maidenly, and well nigh effeminate, of a countenance sly and somewhat estranged, yet smiling out a glozed and bashful familiarity."

As the physical history of the Hindoos furnishes some facts strongly favourable to the opinions which I have already expressed as to the origin of variation in complexion, any summary description which I could draw from a collection of the accounts given by travellers would be liable to suspicion of a misstatement of their evidence. I shall for this reason cite verbatim the descriptions given of the people of India from various modern travellers.

Le Gentil says, "Les Indiens en général sont beaux et

bienfaits; l'œil noir, vif et spirituel; leur couleur est connue; on y voit de très belles femmes, bienfaites, ayant des traits à l'Européenne." "La caste des Bramines surtout est une très belle caste, un très beau sang; dans cette tribu on voit les plus belles femmes, les plus jolis enfans, et tout ce monde a l'air le plus propre."*

The Brahmans are of a lighter hue: a dark coloured Brahman and a whitish Parriah are looked upon as odd occurrences, which has given birth to a proverb, common in many parts of India, "never *trust* a black Brahman or a white Parriah." "The *tint* of the Brahman approaches to the colour of copper, or perhaps more nearly to a bright infusion of coffee." "Their women, who are still more sedentry and less exposed to the rays of the sun, are still lighter in complexion than the males." "In all castes, without exception, the Hindoos have the sole of the foot and the palm of the hand much whiter than the rest of the body."†

"In general the Hindoos have the forehead small, the face thinner and more meagre than the Europeans; and they are also very much inferior to them in strength and other physical qualities. They are lean, feeble, and incapable of supporting the labours and fatigues to which the other races are habituated The Brahmans in particular scarcely ever attempt any laborious effort of the body." This feebleness is no doubt occasioned by the nature of the climate, as well as by the quality of the food to which the greater number of Hindoos are restricted. In general they eat nothing but seeds, or such insipid matters. The mass of the people cannot obtain rice for their ordinary fare, but are obliged to sell what they raise."

"The features of the Hindoos," says Mr. Ward, "are more regular than those of the Chinese, Burmans, or Malays." "Many of the higher orders of the Hindoos, especially in the northern provinces, are handsome in their features, having an oval face and a nose nearly

* Le Gentil, Voyage aux Indes."

† Abbé Dubois.

aquiline. Some *are comparatively fair, and others quite black, but a dark brown complexion is most common, with black eyes and hair.* The general expression of the countenance reminds you that the Hindoo is mild and timid, rather disposed to melancholy and to effeminate pleasures. In Bengal the greatest number are below the middle stature, and very slender in body; but this description does not altogether suit the Hindoos of the upper provinces, where you immediately perceive that you are surrounded by a people more robust and independant, though the general features are the same."

From the statements of these writers we are assured that the deepness of colour among the Hindoos has some relation to climate and to exposure to its influence. But this is a subject of controversy and requires some investigation.

The deep blackness of some Hindoos produced a strong impression on Bishop Heber. He seems to have been unprepared to find natives of India as black as the African Negroes, and equally so to witness the variety which displays itself in others. On his first entrance into the Hoogly river he described the crew of a vessel as "*extremely black*, but well made, with good countenances and fine features,—certainly a handsome race." The crew of another vessel were, as he says, of the darkest shade of antique bronze; this, together with the elegant forms and well-turned limbs of many of them, gave perfectly the impression of Grecian statues of that metal. "This deep bronze," he observes, "is more naturally agreeable to the human eye than the fair skin of Europe, since it was not displeasing to us even in the first instance, whereas a fair complexion gives to Hindoos the idea of ill-health. In adverting to the diversity of colour observed among the Hindoos, Bishop Heber has made some very sensible observations, which seem to set this matter in its true light. He says, "the great difference in colour between different natives struck me much. Of the crowd by whom we were surrounded, some were black as Negroes, others

* Wade's Account of the Hindú religion, &c.

merely copper-coloured, and others little darker than the Tunisines whom I have seen at Liverpool. Mr. Mill, the principal of Bishop's College, who, with Mr. Corrie, one of the Chaplains in the Company's Service, had come down to meet me, and who has seen more of India than most men, tells me that he cannot account for this difference, which is general throughout the country and everywhere striking. It is not merely the difference of exposure, since this variety of tint is visible in the fishwomen who are naked all alike. Nor does it depend on caste, since very high caste Brahmans are sometimes black, while Parriahs are comparatively fair. It seems, therefore, to be an accidental difference, like that of light and dark complexions in Europe, though where so much of the body is exposed to light it becomes more striking here than in our own country."

One of the facts here stated is particularly worthy of remark. It is, that great varieties of colour exist within the limits of the same caste. It has been commonly said, that the Brahmans are universally of light complexion compared with the rest of the community; and this assertion is great part of the evidence adduced in support of the notion, that they are a people of different origin from the Hfndoos in general; that is, a northern tribe who conquered all the rest and imposed on them their language, preserving still in India, after many centuries, their original complexion. But if some genuine Brahmans of high and pure caste are black, which is the fact,* this whole system of conjecture falls to the ground, or must be so modified as to change entirely its bearing on the physical history of the race. The Brahmans are generally of lighter colour than the low castes, but this is subject to exceptions. The agency of external causes on breeds of animals, and on races of men, is not uniform if we regard individuals. The influence of external conditions is more favourable to the developement of one variety than another, and its

* The portrait of Ram-Mohun-Roy at the beginning of the preceding volume displays the countenance of a very dark Brahman. Ram-Mohun-Roy was much darker than many Africans.

operation is perceived on a large scale, but not in every individual instance.

The same observation applies, in a more general point of view, to the effect of climate on the congenital complexion. We have already seen that Hindoos in the Himálayan countries are frequently of the xanthous variety. Within the limits of Hindústan and the Dekhan a similar relation between the prevalent complexion and the degrees of latitude, elevation of countries, and exposure to the solar heat, are perceptible. I have already cited the evidence of Dubois for this fact, according to whom the people of the northern provinces are, *generally* speaking, fairer than those of the hotter and more southern, and persons who live at ease and protected from the influence of the climate are less black than those who are exposed. This is the uniform statement of travellers as the result of observation on an extensive scale, though not holding in particular instances. As an example I shall cite the remark of Mr. Elphinstone, who has contrasted the natives of Hindústan proper with those of the Carnatic. The former, he says, are comparatively tall and well made, and of slow and deliberate speech, unlike the small, black, and shrivelled natives of the Carnatic, who are remarkable for the vehemence of their gesture and their volubility.

Paragraph 3.—Of the Physical Characters prevalent among particular Races, and in particular Districts in India.

I shall adduce in confirmation of the preceding remarks some accounts, collected from various sources, of particular tribes, and of the inhabitants of particular districts in India.

1. Of the Rajpúts of Rājast'han.—The Rajpúts possess all the open and best cultivated country in Rajast'han, and their fortresses crown the summits of its hills. They are distinguished from all the other inhabitants by their manners and physical characters. They are tall in stature, stout and handsome, with hooked noses

and arched eye-brows. Their complexion is well known to be comparatively fair.*

2. People of the Panjáb.—Generally speaking the natives of the Panjáb, as Mr. Hamilton says, differ little from other Hindoos, except those who live in hilly countries, where the women have an olive complexion and are delicately formed.

The class of cultivators in the low countries are termed Jauts: they are the aboriginal inhabitants of the soil. The Jauts are described by Mr. Elphinstone as little, black, and ill-looking people, bearing strong indications of poverty and wretchedness. Hardships and exposure probably have modified their appearance.

The country in the north-eastern parts of Ajmere is inhabited by Bhatties: various tribes of Bhatties are likewise scattered through the Panjáb. These tribes are termed by Abul-Fazil, author of the Institutes of Akbar, Ashambatti. They are now Mohammedans, and for the most part robbers, under chiefs of the same religion. Formerly the chiefs were Rajpúts and the people were shepherds. They are of the race of Játs or Jauts.

A district to the north-eastern part of Guzerat, intersected by branches of the Banass river, bears the name of Jatwar, and is marked out as the particular country of the Jauts. But a mixed people of the same race forms the chief population of Sindh and of the country eastward of the Indus, subject to Kabúl: they compose the Mohammedan peasantry of the Panjáb, and are spread through Belúchistan where they are termed Jagdals. The Jats of Guzerat and of Kach' are of Sindhian extraction: they are Moslims, and a turbulent predatory race; yet they are industrious and cultivate their land: they are served by a race of slaves named Samehja, who were formerly an inferior tribe in Sindh.

"From the manners, appearance and customs of this tribe there is reason to believe that the Jauts, wherever placed, were all originally Hindoos, and that they were converted to Islàm after the Mohammedan invasion."

"The Jaut women are coarse in their persons, and dress

* Tod's Rajast'han.

in coarse black clothes which do not improve their appearance. Yet the Jaut women exercise an influence over the men which is rarely found among Mohammedans."

3. Physical characters of the Sindhians.—There are in Sindh two descriptions of inhabitants, the military, including the Belúche tribes who have descended into Sindh besides the Zemindars of different denominations, and secondly, the mercantile classes, both Hindoos and the Mohammedan Jauts. These are as industrious as the former are proud, indolent and jealous.

The people of Sindh are a strong and hardy race, in complexion similar to the natives of western India. The higher classes are corpulent proverbially, and are considered as so much the more handsome and respectable. The Belúches and many of the Sammá tribes have features remarkably Jewish and thoroughly different from those of the other inhabitants. An oval contour of face, aquiline nose, arched eye-brows, and high forehead, with expressive eyes, are the features of the Sindhians Both sexes are remarkably handsome.

The Hindoos who reside in Sindh resemble their brethren in the towns on the western coast of India.

4. Of the Sikhs.—The most interesting people of these countries are the Sikhs.

The Sikhs were originally rather a sect than a distinct race of people, though they have now formed for centuries a particular tribe. They are the followers of Nanaka, the founder of a new Indian superstition, who was born in Lahore, A.D. 1419. They were formerly attached to a republican government, equality being inculcated by their religion, but were brought to submit to the rule of Runjít Singh, who extended the power of the Sikhs. His kingdom extended from the Sutlej to the Indus, and from Kashmír to Multan, comprising the whole Panjáb or the region watered by the five tributaries of the Indus. Formerly Umritsir was the sacred city of the Sikhs, where their religious and political conventions were held.

The original country or the "mother earth" of the tribe is the "Doab" between the Ravee and the Sutlej. They

are a small population. No Sikhs are to be found westward of the Hydaspes and to the eastward of Lahore, where they do not, as we are assured by Sir. A. Burnes, compose a third part of the population.

The Sikhs were originally Hindoos of the Panjáb, for they were first associated in that country, and their mother tongue is the Panjábi dialect of the Hindústaní. They have been for some centuries in great measure a distinct race, and it is remarkable that they have acquired distinct physical characters. On this subject I shall cite an interesting observation of Sir A. Burnes. He says, "there is a curious subject of speculation in the appearance of the Síkh people and their general resemblance to each other. As a tribe they were unknown four hundred years ago; and the features of the whole nation are now as distinct from those of their neighbours as the Indian and Chinese. With an extreme regularity of physiognomy and an elongation of the countenance, they may be readily distinguished from other tribes. That any nation possessing peculiar customs should have a common character and manner is easily understood; but that in so short a period of time some hundred thousand people should exhibit as strong a national likeness as is to be seen among the children of Israel is, to say the least, remarkable."*

Sir A. Burnes assures us that the people between the Acesines and the Hydaspes agree with the description given by Arrian, who says that the inhabitants are strongly built and large-limbed and taller in stature than most Asiatics. This is in the higher country near the plateau formed by the Salt Range.

We have a more ample account of the physical characters of the inhabitants of Kattiwar or the peninsula of Guzerat, and this may perhaps serve as a specimen of the northern Hindoos.

The inhabitants of this country, who have been preserved by local circumstances from any great changes for many centuries, are classed under four heads.

* Travels into Bokhara, vol. 1, page 46.

1. Rajpoots of the four following tribes:—1. Jharejah, 2. Jhalla, 3. Goil, 4. Jetwah.

2. Kattees, of whom there are three families:—Walla, Khacher, and Khooman. They were originally one stock, but have now respective districts.

3. Koolies, Khauts and Sindees, called Bawars.

4. Koombies, Meres, Ahars, Rhebarries, and other industrious classes.

The Jharejahs, who are the most powerful and numerous of the Rajpút tribes, possessing all the western parts of the Peninsula, are a branch of the Rao of Kutch, who left their country about 800 A.D., and, having crossed the Runn, established in Kattiwar a sort of feudal system. The establishment of the Kattees was made thirty or forty years earlier. They are known by an authentic tradition to have come originally from the neighbourhood of the Indus, having crossed the wilderness between Kutch and Guzerat. We thus find that both of these races have inhabited this northern country for more than one thousand years, where they have retained their peculiar manners, and, like other Hindoos, their distinctness of race. The Rajpoots and Kattees are warlike tribes, who despise agriculture and leave all laborious employments to the Koombies and Ahars and other working castes, while they preserve for themselves the duty of defending the village and its inhabitants.

The Rajpoots of Kattiwar are hospitable to strangers, whom they will defend at the expense of life and property: they are impatient of insult or injury, but if unprovoked seldom offend, and they have a pride of birth and rank and a principle of honour thence resulting which preserve them from all acts of meanness. They are extremely indolent except when roused by necessity of exertion. As enemies they are cruel.

In stature the Rajpoots exceed the natives of the Dekhan, being generally tall, but not of robust make. The complexion of respectable Rajpoots is generally fair, their faces long, noses aquiline, eyes large, but devoid of animation, the general expression of their faces pleasing.

The Kattees differ in some respects from the Rajpoots; they are more cruel in disposition, but far more valiant; greater energy of character than the Kattees possess does not exist. The Kattees are above the middle stature and bulk, often more than six feet high. "Kattees are sometimes seen with light hair and blue-coloured eyes."

Both Rajpoots and Kattees eat the flesh of goats, sheep, and wild hogs, but they prefer a dish of milk and bujerie. They are much addicted to opium and spirituous liquors. The women of Kattiwar are generally chaste and virtuous, excepting those of the higher Rajpút families, who are quite otherwise. The Kattee women are large and muscular in their persons, but are reckoned always well-looking, and are often remarkably handsome. They are domestic in their habits, and their marriages are late compared with those of other Hindoos, which in a great measure accounts for the greater vigour of the race. They are often brides at sixteen or seventeen years of age. The men carry off their wives by force from their families. The Kattees intermarry with no other caste. They are Hindoos and worship the cow and adore Mahadeo and other Hindú divinities.

The Kauts, Meres, Ahars, and Rhebarries are cultivators, and some of them robbers when occasion allows.

These, and other parallel facts, which tend to prove that the complexion of the different races of Hindoos bears a relation to the climates of countries which they inhabit, can only be reconciled in one way with the observations already cited from Bishop Heber, according to whom, such phenomena display themselves as accidental and individual varieties. This is on the principle that such varieties are apt to make their appearance in the stock, just as accidental varieties so termed spring up in races of plants or of domesticated and sometimes in those of wild animals, but that the developement of individual varieties is promoted by the influence of particular external agencies, and takes place chiefly in particular climates. Thus the light and sanguine complexion appears to be the character of many, but not of all, in the northern and hilly countries of Hindústan, and the higher castes who are protected from the influence of the

climate are generally fairer, that is, the children at birth or soon after are generally fairer, than among the people of low castes who are exposed. But neither of these observations holds in all individual cases, since there are black Hindoos in Proper Hindústan, and even some black Brahmans of high caste. These facts, if I am not mistaken, illustrate the real process of deviation, according to which varieties are produced in human races as well as in the inferior orders.

Section VIII. — *Concluding Remarks on the Tribes of People inhabiting Hindústan and the Dekhan, and on their relations to other Asiatic Races.*

From the facts which have been surveyed in the preceding sections of this and the foregoing chapters, it may be collected that the native inhabitants of India are referrible to three classes of nations, which however they may be related to each other, a question which must be determined by various considerations, may in the first place be distinguished by clear and strongly-marked lines. These are first, an Indo-European or Arian race, who spoke the Sanskrit language, and who, at a remote period, entered Hindústan from the West, and having filled Aryavarta, or the Holy Land of the Brahmans, with their descendants, spread their colonies in long-after ages into the Dekhan or the Southern Peninsula, among the nations of which they introduced the manners and religion peculiar to the followers of Brahma and of Buddha. Though so many ages have elapsed since this last event took place, it is remarkable that the colonies of Brahmans and other Hindoos were unable to supersede by the introduction of their own language the native and original dialects. In the second place we have the various civilised nations of the Dekhan, who may be termed the Dravirian nations,* comprehending all

* The nations who speak cognate dialects of the Tamil are termed by Sanskrit writers the Dravidas or Dravirs, there being five Dravirs as we have before remarked.

the native tribes of the South, who speak dialects akin to the Tamil and Telŭgŭ and Karnataka languages. Thirdly: The aboriginal tribes of mountaineers who inhabit hills and forests in various parts of India: they are principally in the Dekhan, but there are some rude tribes in various elevated districts further northward, and particularly in the hilly countries near Rajamahal, in the north-eastern parts of Hindústan, above Bahar and Bengal. These tribes are every where in a state of barbarism.

The relation of these different classes of people to each other have not been fully investigated, nor have materials been collected as yet presenting sufficient data for such an attempt. Many circumstances render it extremely probable that the second and third of these classes of people were originally connected, and that the civilised Dravirians are descended from the stock of the wild aborigines. We have observed that some instances have been pointed out in which the civilised nations resemble in language the aboriginal races in their neighbourhood The comparison of vocabularies has alone been attempted as yet, and this is incapable of leading to any certain conclusion; but it is to be hoped that we shall hereafter be enabled to pursue it by an analysis of the grammatical structure of the several dialects. According to Mr. Ellis of Madras, there is a considerable resemblance in the dialect spoken by the mountaineers of Rajamahal to the Dravirian languages, and if this should be found to be an essential agreement and amounting to a family relation between these idioms, we shall have good reason to conclude, that the aborigines of the eastern parts of Hindústan and the Tamil tribes of the Dekhan were branches of the same race. Tribes who dwelt in the plains, and have been subjected to the influence of the Brahmans for many centuries, have become civilised, and have been brought nearer to the Hindoos in some of their social institutions and manners, but they are still distinguished by their languages and by many peculiarities.

If we inquire into the origin of the barbarous as well as civilised races, and their relation to other tribes of Asiatics, the investigation of languages is the sole resource, and this is only available in so far as it refers to the civilised Dravirs

and to some few tribes of mountaineers. The different languages of the Dravirians have some characteristics common to the idioms of High Asia and even to those of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. The following remarks are collected from Ellis's introduction, and from Campbell's Grammar of the Telŭgŭ :—

Nouns in the Telŭgŭ are declined by postpositions instead of the prepositions of modern European languages. This, as we shall have occasion to observe, is a remarkable trait common to the languages of Great Tartary or High Asia, and many of the idioms of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Many of these postpositive particles are in reality parts of nouns or verbs: they must be considered as originally separate words. From the addition of these to the nouns a sort of declension is produced. Adjectives, as in all the Tartar languages, are indeclinable in the Telŭgŭ. They have neither gender, number, nor case.

Possessive pronouns, as in those languages, are only the genitive cases of the personal pronouns.

One very remarkable trait in which the grammatical structure of the Telŭgŭ coincides with that of the Tartar languages, consists in the want of any relative pronouns properly so termed, and in the mode by which their place is supplied, by means of relative participles. These relative participles, which are forms of the verb, admitting, as in the Mongolian, Ouigour, and Mandschu languages, no personal terminations, have, as in all these idioms, the force of the English, *who*, *which*, *that*, inherent in them. The phrase, "a tree that grows", would be expressed in Telŭgŭ as in Ouigour and Mongolian, with a relative participle.

The inflections of verbs are formed by postfixing the personal pronouns to participial forms of verbs.

The collocation of words is difinitely fixed in the Telŭgŭ, in which respect it coincides with the Tartarian languages. The principle on which the regulated collocation is founded is nearly the same in both sets of languages. The verbal participles, denoting the less important relations, are placed first in a sentence, which terminates with the verb expressing the principal act. An example is the following :—

"Reducing to dust the arrows of his foes, piercing the

bodies of his enemies with his own arrows, and animating the spirits of his soldiers, Arjuna ruled the battle."

From these remarks it is obvious that the Dravirian languages differ most decidedly from all Indo-European idioms, and that they greatly resemble in many very striking peculiarities the languages of North-Eastern Asia.*

It would be a matter of interesting result if it could be determined what relation the Dravirian dialects bear to the numerous barbaric idioms spoken by races to the eastward of Rajamahal and in the neighbourhood of Assam, for in this direction we must seek the ingress of the Southern Indians. We have seen that the natives of the Rajamahal hills are said to have broad-faced skulls and a general resemblance to the Turanian races, and although we have very imperfect accounts of the physical characters of the aborigines of the Indian mountains, it is very easy to discover that the same characteristics prevail more or less in several of the tribes.†

It is not improbable that tribes of the same family may have overspread Aryavarta itself in remote ages and before it was entered by the Indo-European race who now hold possession of it. The aborigines were probably expelled. Remains of them are perhaps the Bhíls in the Vind'hya Mountains, and the Gonds of Gondwana. These are diminutive races like the tribes of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. The difference in form and the want of any philological proofs throws much doubt on the hypothesis frequently taken for granted, that the Parriahs are the offspring of conquered and degraded aborigines.

The great body of the Hindú race, and not the Brahmans and Xatriyas alone, were probably migrants from beyond the Indus. It has been remarked, that they partook of one

* Those who have not studied the structure of the languages of High Asia and Turkistan will appreciate the force of these observations better after they shall have perused a following chapter of this volume.

† In many portraits of Tamulian and other Dravirian natives of the Dekhan a certain resemblance to the Malay physiognomy may be detected. This may be noticed in the sculptures and paintings to be seen in the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society of London. On the other hand the Tudas, of whom there are several beautiful paintings, are, as it may be observed, a people of fine European features.

common national designation with the Arii or Ἄριοι, as the Medes were termed according to Herodotus, and this designation, slightly modified, was appropriated by the Brahmans, who were called Āryas, or lords, and the middle orders or Aryas, of the Vaisya tribe.*

The Arian race of India or Aryavarta differ in physical characters from the Medo-Persian Arians. The difference is most striking in complexion, the Hindoos being black while the Persians are comparatively fair with black hair and eyes. The cause which has given rise to this diversity can apparently be nothing else than the influence of the hot climate of Hindústan. Every historical indication is against the supposition, that the dark complexion of the Hindoos has arisen from the intermixture of an Iranian ancestry with the aborigines of India. The purity of the Sanskrit language, which would on that supposition have been merged in the idiom of the great mass of the community, precludes the notion that the Arian colonists were but a band of conquerors. All the historical traditions and the written histories which go back to the date of the Manava Sastra are, as we have already had occasion to observe, decisive against that notion. Neither are the physical characters of the Hindoos such as would be produced in a mixed offspring of Iranians with the tribes resembling the Bhíls or the Rajamahal Paharias. And if we were to adopt the notion, that the Brahmans and Xatriyas alone were foreigners, and that they conquered and reduced the aboriginal people and condemned them to an inferior rank, we have still to account for the black complexion of the Brahman tribe. It is true that the Brahmans are generally a comparatively fair people. But there are Brahmans extremely black, and the social regulations of the Indian community, which go back to the first ages of India, perclude the supposition, that this race at least has been intermixed with the barbarous aboriginal tribes.

That the black colour of the Hindoos who live in the hot plains near the tropics is a result from the agency of temperature, is rendered extremely probable by the con-

* Burnouf, Comment. sur le Yaçna.

sideration that the northern colonies of these very people, and the families who dwell near the sources of the sacred rivers, to which we may add the Siah-Pôsh of the Hindú-Khúh, are extremely fair and xanthous, with blue eyes and all the characteristics of a northern and even of a Teutonic race.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE HAÏKANIAN OR THE ARMENIAN RACE.

SECTION I.—*Name and Land of the Haïkani.*

The Armenians term themselves Haïkani and their country Haïkia from a traditional patriarch of their race named Haïk or Haïg, who is said to have lived in a remote and an unknown period of antiquity.* The country of which they are the aboriginal or immemorial inhabitants is subject to the Russian, Turkish and Persian monarchies, being situated in the region where these three great empires approximate. It extends through the space of three hundred leagues in longitude, from the banks of the Euphrates to the mouth of the river Kúr or Cyrus in the Caspian lake, and in latitude two hundred and fifty leagues from Georgia and Mount Caucasus on the north to the southern limits of Diarbekir. Through the whole of this region no other language is in use but the Armenian, with the exception of the Turkish, which is spoken by the Mohammedan inhabitants. Even many of the Turks who live in rural tracts

* Haïk is said to have been son of Thaglath, who is identified with Togarmah, son of Japhet. This induces a suspicion, that the story of Haïk is a monkish legend. It is more probable however that the ecclesiastical writers found a popular tradition respecting the reputed patriarch of the Armenian race, and fitted it to the biblical genealogies.

Haïg lived, according to the Armenian historians cited by M. Saint Martin, nearly twenty-two centuries before the Christian era. He came from Babylon to avoid the tyranny of Belus. The story seems an imitation of the biblical history of Abraham.— See Mémoires Historiques et Géographiques sur l'Arménie, par J. Saint Martin, tom. 1, p. 281.

remote from the towns have adopted the vulgar Armenian dialect, which is the genuine Armenian with a slight admixture of the Turkish, an idiom which now prevails through all the eastern part of Lesser Asia, known under the name of Little Armenia as well as in Cilicia and Shirwan.

The Armenian language is not even confined within the limits of the countries above described. The people are spread through many parts of Asia and of eastern Europe, and have every where brought with them their native idiom. They form a considerable part of the population in all parts of Anatolia, in the north of Syria, in Mesopotamia, and throughout Azerbáijan, which in ancient times was for the most part included in the Armenian province named Vasbouragan, in the Persian Irak, in Ghilan and Mazanderan, in the environs of Ispahan, in Georgia, which has increased in population from the ruin of Armenia, and even in Circassia, Astrakhan, on the banks of the Don, in the Crimea, in Poland, and in different parts of European Turkey. In these countries the Armenians have not only settled as merchants; a great proportion of the Armenian colonists fill the employments of artisans and husbandmen. In the merely mercantile profession they are found in great numbers through Egypt, Syria, Bagdad, in Persia, and even in India.*

The extent and limits of Armenia have been differently estimated at different periods. Strabo described it as bounded towards the south by the ridge of Mount Taurus, which, as he says, separates it from Mesopotamia, towards the north by Mount Caucasus, shutting in the Albanians and Iberians, and likewise by the Parachoathrian mountains hanging over the Caspian sea, a chain which by other writers is termed Mount Caspius.† Ptolemy gives Armenia a wide extent. He reckons among the mountains of that country the Moschic chain, extending above the Cappadocian Pontus and Mount Paryadres and the Gordyæan Hills, which were inhabited by the Karduchi and are now the abode of

* Mémoires sur l'Arménie, par M. J. Saint-Martin, tom. I.

† Strabo, Geog. lib. 11, p. 527.—See also Pliny, Hist. Nat., lib.

Kúrds. According to Ptolemy's account, Armenia comprehended a great part of the modern Azerbáijan and of Kúrdistan.*

Armenia may indeed be considered as forming, together with Kúrdistan, one geographical region of high mountain lands, including the sources of the great rivers of Western Asia. The central parts of Armenia are an elevated plateau of which the venerable Ararat, covered with perpetual snow, is the nucleus.† The whole region is surrounded by lofty but broken chains, in the different declivities of which are the fountains of great rivers flowing towards the Euxine, the Caspian, and the Persian Gulph. The contributary branches of the Tigris and Euphrates penetrate the lofty southern boundary formed by the chain of Taurus, rushing in some places with vast cataracts down into the plain of Diarbekir on their way to the lowlands of Irak and the Indian Ocean. The Kúr or Cyrus flows into the land of spontaneous fire, Azerbáijan, long inhabited by the worshippers of that element, and falls into the Caspian Sea. On the north-western side of Armenia the chains of Tscheldir and Djanik, covered with magnificent forests, frequently bearing snow upon their summits during the hottest months of the year, on the southern declivity of which is the city of Erzrúm, separate Armenia from the Euxine Sea. The southern chains, the Niphates of ancient geographers, to the southward of the mountain seas, lake Van and lake Urumíyah, are invested with a mantle of eternal snow. The Gordyæan Mountains fill the whole of Kúrdistan: one branch, the ancient Zagrus, is prolonged towards the south and now forms the boundary of the two great empires, where the superstition of the Arabian impostor prolongs its last struggle for existence, and still divides its votaries into hostile sects. Armenia forms a part of that great girdle of mountainous elevations between the south and north, to which both climates nearly approach, and where the natural products of the burning Arabian plains come almost into proximity with those of the cold North.

* Claud. Ptolem. Geogr. lib. 5, c. 13.

† Malte-Brun, Geographie, lib. 27, part 2.

Within ten degrees are situated Bagdad, equalling the heat of Senegambia, and Ararat, bearing perpetual snow: forests firs and dates join those of orange trees and palms. Here, says Malte-Brun, the roaring of Arabian lions echoes to the howling of the bears of Taurus, and we might almost say that Africa and Siberia have come together. A similar observation may be made in all the mountainous tract of of Middle Asia, from Caucasus, to the Himálaya and an explanation of the phonomena of temperature is to be found in the different elevations of the surface.

SECTION. 2.—*History of the Haïkanian People.*

The Armenian people, like many other races inhabiting mountainous and inaccessible countries, have always been zealous in maintaining their independence and their national peculiarities. Though in the neighbourhood of the most powerful and ancient monarchies, by the contending armies of which their country was often traversed in different parts, they preserved, in alliance with the Parthians, their freedom and the possession of their native land against the Roman arms. The same determination with which from the early days of Haïk, their mythical king and patriarch, they resisted the powerful kings of Babylon, was displayed against the emperors of Rome and Constantinople. They were obliged, by the irresistible fury of the Moslims, to yield political obedience, but zealously maintain the faith which they adopted by persuasion in the early ages of Christianity together with their national church, not only in spite of the persecutions of their Mohammedan masters, but against the attempts of Greek Patriarchs and Roman Pontiffs, and of the various missionaries sent to reduce them under the sway of the Byzantine and Papal hierarchies. Great numbers of them, driven into different parts of the East, preserve in exile their religion and their language almost as tenaciously as do the Jews. The Haïkian race is now computed to comprise three millions of souls, and of them it is said, that scarcely one hundred thousand have been prevailed

upon to join themselves to the communion of Rome. The United or Romanised Armenians and those of the national church regard each other with as much animosity as did Lutherans and Papists before the religious peace, and this feud and the controversies which it has occasioned has been by its results favourable to the preservation of Armenian literature and of the writings left by early teachers of their church.* The literature of Armenia and the period of their authentic history, as preserved in domestic contemporary annals, begin with the celebrated Miesrob or Mesrop, who invented an alphabet for his countrymen. It was during the time of Isaak the Great, tenth patriarch or Catholicus, who presided over the Armenian church from the year 390 to 440, that this important acquisition was made, and it was under the auspices of the same prelate that the Armenians obtained a translation of the Sacred Scriptures into their language from the Greek version of the Seventy. Before the time of Mesrop the Armenian language had been written, according to M. Neumann, one of the most learned investigators of Armenian literature, in Greek, Syrian, or Persian letters, but it appears that even such a mode of writing was rarely practised, since the Syrian language, though unintelligible to the people, was used until that era in all the services of the church. The father and great preserver of historical literature in Armenia was Moses, commonly termed Moses Chorenensis, from the village of Choren or Chorene, where he was born, a disciple and contemporary of Mesrop and Isaak. This writer, who lived one hundred and twenty years, devoted his life to literature and historical researches, and he embodied in his work on the antiquity of the Armenian people all that could be collected from ancient tradition and from the works of older Armenian authors who had written on the history of their country, either in Greek or Syrian, or by means of a foreign alphabet, in their native Haïkanian language. The series of excerpts which

* Versuch einer Geschichte der Armenischen Literatur nach den Werken der Mechitaristen frei bearbeitet, von Karl Friedrich Neumann.—Liepzig, 1836.

the earlier part of his work contains are the only undoubted documents extant of the history of Armenia before his time.

The history of most nations begins with poetical sagas or mythical and traditional songs, and the earliest literature of Armenia was a series of national poems. The contents of these compositions have been preserved in part by Moses of Chorene.* The Armenian poems celebrate the same persons whose exploits form the subject of the Shanameh or heroic compositions of the ancient Persians. Not only the names of warriors but their achievements likewise are the same in the early Armenian songs and in the traditionary poems of Firdúsi, a fact which affords, as Professor Neumann has observed, a strong presumptive proof of the affinity of the Haïkian to the Persian and Median races. The earliest writer of whom Moses Chorenensis found any remains, and the first, according to him, who attempted to collect materials for the history of Armenia, was a Syrian, Mar Abas of Catina,† who lived about one hundred and fifty years before Christ, under the feudal king Wacharschag, brother and tributary to the Parthian king Arschag the Second, or the Great.‡ His works are lost except the frag-

* Neumann, ubi supra.

† The name of Mar Abas is rather suspicious as applied to an Armenian, one hundred and fifty years before Christ. In the edition of Moses of Chorene, by the Whistons, the name was disguised. It was printed Maribas. M. Neumann says, that Mar Abas or Mar Ibas is according to the reading of the best MSS.—Neumann's Einleitung, S. 3.

‡ This Wacharschag or Vaharsaces is said by the Armenian historians (Moses Chorenensis being the principal authority whom Michael Chamuch has copied in his Armenian history), to have been appointed feudal king of Armenia by his brother Aschag or Arsaces the Great, who had his court at Nineveh. But who was Arsaces the Great? He was, doubtless, one of the Parthian Arsacidæ. The question has been considered and elucidated by Mr. Conder in a learned and able Essay on the ancient history of Armenia, prefixed to Smith and Dwight's Missionary Researches. Mr. Conder has shown that the Arsaces, termed the Great by the Armenian writers, must have been the fifth of the dynasty, and that he was probably the same Parthian prince who is said by Diodorus to have subdued the Medes, the Elymæans, the Persians and the Bactrians. He is named by Diodorus Mithridates. This appears, as Mr. Conder observes, to be an honorific surname, while Arsaces is a titular appellation. It seems not improbable that this was the real era of the origin of the Armenian kingdom,

ments preserved by Moses of Chorene. All the other authors cited by this compiler of history were of much later date and wrote some considerable time after the Christian era: they were either Syrians of Edessa or Pagan priests of Armenia, and some of them are said to have derived the materials of their works, which were written in Greek or Syrian, from archives preserved in the temple of Anin Great Armenia. Among these writers one is well know to the Greek fathers of the church, namely, Bardesanes of Edessa, who lived, according to Moses, in the reign of Caracalla. A clearer light is diffused over the history of Armenia from the era of the conversion of the people and the establishment of a Christian church in their country. The first patriarch of all Armenia was St. Gregory, surnamed Lusaworitsch, or the Enlightener, who was consecrated by St. Leontius, bishop of Cæsarea, in 302. He was the author of many theological works, some of which are said to be still extant in the Armenian language, and in various collections of MSS. in the East. Other works on theology, and some on Armenian history, appeared during the course of the fourth century. Among them Professor Neumann enumerates the chronicle of Agathangelus, a Roman by birth, who was secretary to king Tiridates of Armenia from 286 to 342, and relates the conversion of that monarch to the Christian faith. Of this there is extant a Greek as well as an Armenian text. Some doubts have been entertained of the genuineness of the latter, which is not surprising, as the writer lived before the invention of the Armenian alphabet by Mesrop: if, therefore, he wrote in the Armenian language it must have been in a foreign

which was at first a feudal state subject to the Parthians, but became afterwards independant. Kúrdistan appears to have belonged to it. The Romans had possession of it in the third century, and Tiridates, their ally, obtained in compensation for it Atropatene or Azerbáijan, and is said to have made Tabriz his capital.—See Mr. Conder's Essay, page 35. The Armenian history of Father Michael Chamich was translated by Joh. Avdall, an Armenian of Calcutta, and published in 1827. Later translations of various documents referring to Armenian history, by M. Neumann, and the work of M. H. St. Martin open a wide field of information to those who are particularly interested in this subject.

character. It is more easy to believe that all these earlier works were at a subsequent period translated into the Armenian language. For an enumeration of the Armenian authors and their works I must refer the reader to Professor Neumann's learned dissertation above cited, and to M. J. Saint Martin's collection, entitled "Mémoires Historiques et Géographiques sur l'Armenie".

From the consideration that the Haïkanians and the ancient Persians and Medes have common traditions and reckon among their ancestors the same mythical and poetical heroes and warriors, we might infer with great probability that a near relation of kindred existed between these races. They had the same religion, namely, the worship of fire and the doctrine of Zoroaster and the Magi, which they retained until their conversion to Christianity. This religion prevailed immemorially in Armenia, but it seems to have been corrupted by the licentious practices of the Assyrians. Strabo assures us that "the Medes and Armenians religiously observe all the same sacred rites as the Persians, but that the Armenians more especially adhere to those of the goddess Anaïtis, to whom they have built temples in other places as well as in Acilisene, and that in their temples they consecrate to the service of the goddess male and female slaves. This, he adds, is nothing very remarkable or surprising; but it is also customary for the most noble of the Armenians to devote their own daughters when virgins in these temples, where it is ordained by law that they shall live a long period as prostitutes with the goddess, and afterwards be given in marriage, which no body ever dislikes on this account to contract with such women."*

The ancient writers have left us no information deserving of much credit respecting the origin of the Armenians. Strabo has thought it worth while to preserve a story current among the Greeks, which derives the Armenians from one Armenus, said to have been a contemporary of Jason, and one of the Argonauts. Of this it was thought to be some confirmation that the Armenians wore long dresses like

* Strabo, Geog., page 532.

those of the Thessalians, and that the Peneus in Thessaly sometimes bore the name of Araxes. Strabo seems, however, to have given more credit to a notion that the Armenians were of one race with the Arabs and the Aramæans or Syrians: as an argument he appeals to the resemblance of names, but adds a remark which if well founded would have afforded much better evidence. He says, "that the Armenians, Arabs and Aramæans resemble each other much in their dialect, in their manner of living, and in their physical characters." In the former of these particulars Strabo must have been mistaken, since the language which is preserved to us in the version of the scriptures and in other books from the time of Mesrop, has no affinity to the Syro-Arabian idioms. Herodotus obtained a different account of the Armenians, which is probably nearer to the truth. He declares that they were a colony of Phrygians, and that being armed like the Phrygians, the Armenian troops accompanied the Phrygian subjects of the great king under a common leader in the expedition into Greece. The Phrygian language is supposed to have been an Indo-European dialect. Such as we have seen was the Armenian. It is singular that this language should have been set down by the learned authors of the Mithridates, as one altogether peculiar and fundamentally distinct from all others, especially as the numerals and the words of common use to which they advert betray an evident affinity to the Indo-European languages. This mistake has not escaped M. Klaproth, who never let pass an opportunity of speaking contemptuously of his predecessors or even of his contemporaries. Klaproth has displayed the verbal connexion of the Armenian and Indo-European idioms in a vocabulary occupying sixty-seven columns of his quarto "Asia Polyglotta," written down according to the pronunciation of an Armenian of Constantinople. In this a great proportion of the words resemble, as may be supposed, the Persian and Kúrdish vocabularies, and a considerable number have analogues in the more remote Indo-European languages. There are also some Turkish and Siberian words, belonging to the modern Armenian, which is much corrupted from similar

sources, and differs considerably from the pure old Armenian speech. But as this subject is of primary importance in supplying the deficiency of information in respect to the ethnology of the Armenian people, I shall take the liberty of citing at full length the observations of Professor Neumann.

"The old speech of the sons of Haïk," says this able writer, "is a member of the widely-dispersed Indo-German, or as it might rather be called, Arian family of languages. In its roots it has much resemblance to the dialects of the Median and Persian provinces, but its grammatical formation exhibits many phenomena entirely peculiar to it, which may in some instances be explained by the remarkable nature of the Armenian alphabet. One of the habitudes of this language is the use of *k* as a termination of the plural both in nouns substantive, and in numerals. This is probably a transition of the *s* of cognate dialects and languages into *k*, which is the reverse of the change often occurring in the Slavish, of *k* into *s*. Andrew Akoluth, whom we shall again have occasion to mention when considering the efforts made by Europeans to extend the knowledge of the Armenian language and literature, maintains that the Armenian is one with the ancient Egyptian and the modern Coptic, a fact which Leibnitz long ago with good reason doubted. Johann Joachim Schræder in vain attempted to give it the rank of a principal mother tongue. La Croze seems to have come tolerably near to the truth: he maintained that it is, in the proper sense of the term, the language of the ancient Medes. This is not strictly the fact: the Armenian language belongs in reality, as we have said, by the evidence of many of its roots, to the old Medo-Persian family of languages, so that most of the Median words preserved by Herodotus can be explained by means of the Armenian.

Section. 3.—*Of the Physical Character of the Armenians.*

Travellers have observed no peculiarity of the Armenians except their beauty in general terms, the fine growth and stature of the men, and the regularity of features of both sexes. Some late writer has fancied from this fact, and from the situation of the race around Mount Ararat, that the Armenians are the stock from which all other nations originally descended, a conclusion which by no means follows from the premises. The Armenians form a particular caste through all the East, devoted, like the Jews, to commerce, and in many respects resembling that people. The American missionaries, Dwight and Smith, whose works contain much valuable information, assure us that an Armenian merchant differs materially in his moral character from a Greek. As in his natural character there is more sense and less wit, so in his trade there is more respectability and less treachery. Not that he is an honest man, for cheating is universal among that part of the nation of which I am now speaking, meaning the commercial part. The Armenians, though less remarkable in other respects for good faith than the Turks, are not destitute of it." In describing the emigrant Armenians who were proceeding with the Russian army from Erzrúm across the frontier into Georgia, the same writer says, "In the United States we should have taken almost every individual for a beggar. They were clothed in rags. Most of them, men, women, and children, were on foot, though the mire of the place was deep. All had the same hardy, sun-burnt, and coarse complexion. In none, not even the females who were mostly unveiled, did we discover that fair and interesting countenance which distinguishes their countrymen at Angora and Constantinople. They were equally inferior too in form, being lower in stature and of a broader and coarser frame. Nearly all bear marks of a desponding spirit, the effect of the blighting influence of Mohammedan oppression."

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE KARTLI, KART'ULIAN, OR GEORGIAN RACE.

SECTION 1.—*Name and Land of the Georgians—Tribes of this Race.**

THE race of people known in Europe by the name of Georgians call themselves Kartli, and derive their origin, according to their national traditions, from an ancestor, Kartlos.† The Persians call them Gürjy, and their country Gürjistan, probably from the river Kúr or Cyrus; thence comes the name of Georgia.‡ The Georgians are generally said to be divided into a number of different tribes. It would be more correct to say, that several other nations belong to the same race as the Georgians, or as the people who are now generally known by that name, and who speak the Georgian language: these nations speak dialects akin to the Georgian though different from it. The whole race is said to occupy an extensive tract of country lying southward of the great chain of Caucasus, and reaching from the Caspian to the Euxine, and intercepted between Caucasus and Armenia. This country consists principally of the valley or basin of the river Phasis, which was the ancient Colchis, and that of the Kúr or Cyrus falling into the Caspian, with

* The Georgian race does not belong to the Indo-European family of nations, but as their history is intimately connected with that of the Armenians this is the most convenient place for entering upon it.

† Klaproth, Assia Polyglotta.

‡ Klaproth.—See also Missionary Researches in Armenia, by Smith and Dwight.

some adjacent mountainous tracts. Klaproth, who traced every race of men to some particular mountain, where he imagined that their ancestors escaped the Flood, supposes that the primitive Georgians descended after that catastrophe from the high chain of the mountains of Pambaki, in the south of Georgia, the highest part of which, the double summit of Alages, near the mountain-lake of Sevan, is covered with snow in the month of June. They spread themselves thence, in Klaproth's opinion, towards the north, occupying the lower countries between the chain of Pambaki and that of Caucasus. Mount Alages is not very far distant from Ararat. According to the Georgian tradition, the original country of their patriarch, Kartlos, was the province of Kartli, in the west of Georgia. He is said to have founded the town of Mtskheka, which was the seat of Georgian government till A.D. 469. Kakhos, one of the sons of Kartlos, is supposed to have given his name to Kakheti, the province of Georgia lying towards the north-east and at the foot of Caucasus. A third province is called Somkheti, meaning Armenian Georgia. The Georgians call the Armenians Somekhi.* This province borders on Georgia.

Georgia thus occupies the space given by the ancients to the Iberi, who were probably the ancestors of the proper Georgians. By the Armenian writers the Georgians are still called *Virk*, a name perhaps of the same origin as Ἰβηρες. From the Albani to the eastward of the Iberians, and the Colchians to the westward, are descended the other branches of this race.

The tribes of people allied to the Georgians and speaking cognate dialects are enumerated by different writers nearly as follows :—†

1. The Mingrelians in Mingrelia, the ancient Colchis, and in Guria or Guriel on the Euxine. The Immiretians, or people of the district of Immireti, belong to this division of the race.

* Smith and Dwight, ubi supra, page 145.

† Mémoires Inédits rélatifs à l'Histoire et à la Langue Georgienne.—Par Brosset Jeune Paris, in MS.—Adelung, Mithridat. 1.—Klaproth, As. Polyglott.

2. The Suani, who are the Soani of Pliny, are a barbarous people inhabiting the western extremity of the Caucasian chain to the northward of Mingrelia. They call themselves Tsoa, or, as Klaproth says, Shnau: they speak a barbarous dialect of the Georgian.

3. The Lazians, known by the name of Lazi to Pliny and in after ages to the Byzantine writers, are another barbarous and predatory tribe of this race who are spread through the country near the south-eastern angle of the Euxine from Guriel to the neighbourhood of Trebizond. The language of the Lazians approximates to that of the Mingrelians. In the middle ages the kingdom of the Lazians reached from the river Chorokh to the Phasis, and Procopius and Agathias declare that the Lazi were descendants of the ancient Colchians.

From all this it appears that there are two branches of the Georgian race,—First, the western or Colchian, to which belonged the old people of Colchis, the country of Medea, the tribe who were supposed by Herodotus to be descended from the Egyptians of Sesostris, because, as he says, they continued in his time to have black complexions and woolly hair; the Lazi of the Byzantine writers and the modern Lazians and Mingrelians are to be referred to this branch. Secondly, the proper Georgians or Kartuhlians, the reputed posterity of Kartlos, anciently called Iberians, to whom the language and the history of Georgia belong.

Section II.—*History of the Georgians and of their Literature.*

The Georgians make their patriarch Kartlos to have been the second son of Thargamos, meaning Togarmah, the grandson of Japhet, as the Armenians believe their ancestor Haïg or Haïk to have been his eldest son. Probably both these stories have been invented since the conversion of both nations to Christianity. There is no such affinity in their languages as would have led to an opinion of affinity in their origin and descent. The notion that they are thus allied,

and their adoption of a common biblical patriarch, may be explained by reference to their position and their probable connection in the early ages of Christianity. The Georgians have, like the Armenians, an old version of the bible into their language. The history of this is little known. Klaproth supposes it to have been made in the fourth century. Adelung observes that it must be very ancient, since it was mentioned by the Armenian Moses of Chorene in the first half of the fifth century.* It was made from the version of the Seventy. In 1743 the Georgian, or as the Russians term it, the Grusinian bible was printed, at Moskow, by an exiled Georgian Tzar, Buchar Wachtangewitsch and his brothers. A part of it had been already printed at Tiflis, before the flight of these exiles. It appears that the language of this version, old as it is supposed to be, differs but little from the modern Georgian of Tiflis.

The origin of letters among the Georgians is not so well known as is the date of this invention among the Armenians, but it was probably coëval with Christianity, and from the time of their conversion the two nations appear to have been a good deal connected in their ecclesiastical and civil history, though the Georgians adhered, with some temporary deviation, to the Greek church, while the Armenians become hetorodox. Armenian writers have supplied historical memoirs to Georgia, though the latter country has not been entirely wanting in domestic chronicles. These records are matters of great curiosity; they have indeed very much the style and appearance of the half-fabulous monkish chronicles of many other countries, but they are supposed to be founded on substantial truth, and by late writers, who have investigated their merits, have been regarded with so much attention, that I must not pass from the subject of Georgian ethnology without briefly surveying their contents, particularly as they contain some relations which have a bearing on the history of Asia.

One of the most important works on Georgian history is the memorials of the celebrated Orpelian family, which have been published, with a translation, by the learned M. Saint

* Klaproth, As. Polyglott.—Adelung, Mithridat., Th. 1.

Martin. This work was composed in the Armenian language by Stephen, Archbishop of the district of Siounia, in Great Armenia, who lived in the latter part of the thirteenth century, and was himself a distinguished member of the powerful family whose history he professed to record.* His chronicle begins with the earliest accounts of the Armenian and Georgian nations. He makes Haïg, the patriarch of the Armenian race, and K'harthlos to have been brothers, sons of Thargamos, who is said to have been a descendant in the third degree from Japhet, and he connects his history with the account of Babel and the Confusion of languages. K'harthel or Georgia Proper remained subject to native princes, according to Stephen, till the age of the Persian Khosrou, also called K'hek'havous. These names are taken from the Mohammedan history of Persia, according to Mirkhond. Two princes of the Kaianian family are confounded, namely, Kai Khosrou and Kai Kaús his immediate successor. Never was monkish forgery more palpable than in this instance. We are presented with a genealogy beginning with a biblical patriarch whose name is wrongly spelt, and with a story commencing from the Confusion of Tongues. Then come two names, taken from Mirkhond, blended into one. It is even very probable that the writer confounds them both with Khosroes Anushirvan of the Sassanian dynasty, who lived shortly before the age of Mohammed. It must however be recollected that the learned M. Saint-Martin admits the credit of this Orpelian history. He makes no difficulty however in allowing that facts may have been ante-dated two hundred years, and that the principal event recorded, instead of happening in the age of the great Cyrus, may be brought down to that of the

* There is an historical work extant in the Georgian language which records the same event, namely, the arrival of the Orpelians, but as it bears date not earlier than the commencement of the thirteenth century, it was probably taken from the Armenian history of Stephen. It is the history of Georgia, composed by Vakhtang V, king of K'hartel. Klaproth has inserted different fragments of this work in his Travels in Caucasus. The details of the account give reason to suppose, as M. Saint-Martin observes, that the Orpelians came into Georgia with a great number of their people, as did the Mamigonians into Armenia.

Macedonian conqueror of his empire. The event to which I allude is none other than the arrival of the noble Orpelian or Ouhrbéléan race in Georgia, which they entered through the northern gate or pass of Dariel. They settled in the fortress of Orpeth and became lords of the neighbouring region, and their descendants still claim a high station among the nobility of Georgia. But the most curious part of their history is that they were a colony from China. The Orpelians indeed were not, according to writers on Georgia, the first or only body of Chinese who gained a footing in these regions during times that may really be called the dark ages. The powerful race of the Mamigonians, who performed a conspicuous part in the history of Armenia, came into that country two centuries before Moses of Chorene. According to that historian they likewise came from *Djénasdan*. Djénasdan, as M. Saint-Martin shews, is the name by which China has always been known in the Armenian language. These accounts appear at the first view very absurd, and remind us of the monkish chronicles of Europe which derive the Britons from Troy and the Irish chieftains from the Red Sea, but in their support, and to bring the idea of Chinese colonisation of Georgia and Armenia within the limits of probability, a great deal of learned investigation has been made by the translator of the Orpelian history. M. Saint-Martin proves, by a comparison of various statements of the Mohammedan historians, Massoudy, Rashid-ed-din and others, with notices to be found in native Chinese writers, that the empire of China, from the age of the Han dynasty, which was coëval with the Christian era, to the end of the reign of the Thang, about nine hundred years afterwards, had extensive power over all the central countries of Asia, as far to the westward as the Caspian, and that Chinese colonies were founded near that inland sea. The Turks of Samarkand and of Ferghana were, according to the testimony of Abulfeda, vassals of China about 737 A.D. The Chinese had been well acquainted with the Roman empire, which they termed Ta-Thsin, or the Great Thsin, "à cause," as M. Saint-Martin says, "de sa ressemblance avec la Chine." China itself was called by

the Chinese Thsin, a name from which was derived, according to Saint-Martin, that of the ancient Sinæ and the modern Chinese.* From the same origin came Tchin or Tchinistan, the name given to China by the Persians, as well as the Sin of the Arabs, the Tsinistan of the Syrians, and Djénasdan of the Armenians. Of the empire of Sin there are accounts in Massoudy, who lived at the commencement of the tenth century of our era, and was contempory with Ibn Haukal. By this last geographer we are assured that the empire of Sin reached from the Great Ocean, meaning the Pacific, to the territory of the Moslims in Transoxiana. M. Saint-Martin has traced so much concordance in these accounts of Sin with the description of the modern empire of China, as to leave no doubt upon this subject. If the Chinese actually were lords of Mawer-al'nahar or Transoxiana, nothing can be more probable than that bodies of them may from time to time have passed into countries to the westward of the Caspian. Whether Chinese colonies ever reached Georgia or not, certain it is that the people of that country have nothing of the Chinese at present either in their language or persons.

Such are the historical records of Georgia, if they deserve that name, on which so much learned research has been bestowed by M. Saint-Martin. I should be very unwilling to set up my own judgement in opposition to that of so profound and justly celebrated a scholar, especially with regard to matters on which he is so infinitely better informed than I can pretend to be, but if I might entertain an opinion on the subject, it would be mixed with doubt as to the credibility of the documents which that writer has made known to the learned of Europe.

The structure of the Georgian language has been studied by M. M. Adelung and Vater,† and other modern philolo-

* The Chinese annals, as Saint-Martin assures us, make mention of an embassy from the sovereign of Ta-Thsin, sent to China in the ninth year, Yan-hi, which corresponds with A.D. 166. The name of the sovereign is written in Chinese history "An-thon." This was, as he says, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, then emperor of Rome.

† Mithridat., Th. 1, S. 430, et seqq. Beytraege., 4 Th., S. 130.

gers, but more recently by M. Brosset,* the author of several learned memoirs on the Georgian grammar and literature. It has been compared by M. Du Ponçeau with the idioms of the North American aborigines. Klaproth has given a pretty long vocabulary of it in his "Asia Polyglotta," from which it appears, that there are many words common to the Georgian and to other languages, namely, the Tartar, Persian, Armenian, and Aramæan.† The structure of its grammar is however peculiar. In many points it makes an approximation to the languages of High Asia, as in the want of a gender of nouns, and in the formation of plurals and that of cases chiefly by post-positive particles rather than by prepositions. M. Brosset has pointed out numerous coincidences between the Georgian and other Asiatic languages,§ but they are of secondary importance, and do not preclude our setting down the Georgian speech as one by itself, unconnected, or but distantly connected with any other idiom. The people must be considered as a particular race.

Note on the History of the Orpelians.

The information as yet obtained concerning the history of the Georgian race is so scanty and unsatisfactory, that I think it worth while to add some short notices from the manuscript work of M. Brosset.

"The earliest testimony," says M. Brosset, "that we have of the Georgian language, is that contained in the Chronicle of Wakhtang, cited by M. Saint-Martin, from Klaproth." M. Saint-Martin in the passage referred to says, after

* Brosset, le Jeune.—Nouv. Journal Asiatique.

† M. Duponeau, Preliminary Essay in the Memoirs of the Historical Committee of the American Philosophical Society.

‡ In particular the Georgian has the servile *m* of the Semitic and other languages. It has likewise serviles both *n* and *s*. Other terminations, as the diminutive in *aci*, are common to it and the Persian and Armenian.

§ Notice et analyse raisonnée du commencement de la Grammaire Georgienne du patriarche Antoni I, par M. Brosset le Jeune.—Nouv. Jo. Asiatique, tom. 11.

commenting on the Orpelian history of the Georgians, written in the Armenian language, "Pour jeter quelque jour sur ce que l'historien des Orpélians raconte des origines Georgiennes, nous allons rapporter ce qui se trouve dans Vakhtang (Klaproth, Reise in der Kaukasus und nach Georgien, Theil. 2) sur le même sujet. 'Selon les plus anciennes traditions,' dit il, 'les Arméniens, les Georgiens, les peuples de Rani (l'Arran), de Movakani (Schaki, Schirwan, et Mougan), de Herethi (Kakhéthi), les Lesghis, les Mingréliens et les habitans du Caucase, descendent du même chef de race Thargamos.' 'Ce Thargamos étoit fils de Noé, et c'étoit un homme vaillant.' 'Après la Confusion des langues, dans le temps que Nébrod étoit assis sur le trône de Babylone, les hommes se dispersèrent de tous les cotés. Thargamos s'en alla avec sa famille et fixa son séjour entre les deux montagnes Ararat et Masisi.' 'Sa race étoit innombrable. Il vécut ainsi pendant 600 ans, mais comme ses descendans n'avoient plus de place entre ces deux montagnes, ils se répandirent dans toutes les contrées voisines.' 'Parmi les enfans de Thargamos les huit suivans étoient renommés; c'étoient Hhaos (Haïg), K'hartlos, Bardos, Morakan, Lekos, Heros, Kavkas, et Egros.'" The writer then goes on to describe the countries given to each of these patriarchs by Thargamos their common ancestor. This is written much in the style of monkish chronicles founded on biblical history. Haïg, the father of the Armenians, is made to be the eldest son. The dominion assigned to Lekos, patriarch of the Lesghi (?) is made to border northward on the Khazars, doubtless the Khazars of the Wolga, as M. Saint-Martin concludes. If this is the meaning, it brings down the composition of this story to the period when the Khazars after the Hunns and Bulgarians gained possession of the country on the Wolga, and constitutes a strange anachronism of some thousand years. The chronicle goes on to give an account of an invasion of the countries thus allotted to the different nations descended from Thargamos by an army under Nebrod, *i.e.* Nimrod. The war is minutely described. Then follows an account of the different nations descended

from each patriarch of the Caucasian nations. They are all sons of Thargamos, who is thus common progenitor of the Georgians, Armenians, and the Caucasian tribes. The country of Hhaos or Haïg, the Armenian patriarch, is then afterwards invaded by the Khazars from the north, and the Khartlosian territory by Aphridun —Feridun—with an army of Persians from the South. This Aphridan is said to have been of the race of Nebrod."

This Georgian chronicle is a mere jumble of stories, founded partly on the book of Genesis, with scraps of almost modern history, and with the Mirkhondian story of Persia. To found any historical conclusion on such evidence would be absurd. Yet it seems to be held in great esteem by the learned French students of Georgian and Armenian literature, as it probably was by Klaproth, who reserved his literary scepticism and contempt for the contents of our Sacred Scriptures.

In this chronicle of Vahktang we are told, that all the eight tribes descended from Thargamos, the Georgians of course included, spoke originally one language, in all the country between the Caspian, called the Sea of Gargani, and the Euxine. This language was the Somkhouri, that is the Armenian. M. Brosset observes, "Cela dût être, puisque ces peoples sont fils de deux frères, Karthlos et Haïk." M. Brosset has examined with great care the Georgian grammar. He is the first writer who has entertained the idea of referring this idiom to the Indo-European family of languages. He says, "On croit voir que si, par l'ensemble de sa méthode il rentre dans la grande famille Indo-Germanique, il s'est implanté avec ses radicaux sur l'antique réjeton Mède *c. a. d.* Persan et Arménien, en adoptant en partie les formes grammaticales du Zend. Quant à la syntaxe je ne lui connois aucune analogie." M. Brosset seems rather to have inferred from the testimony of the chronicle that proved by facts the relation of the Georgian to the Indo-German languages, and the only member of this groupe between which and the Georgian he has attempted to institute a comparison is the Armenian, one of remote and but lately admitted claim to affinity

The observation with which the comparison is ushered in is rather in the manner of an *à priori* statement of the case, and indicates greater reliance on historical tradition than some persons would be disposed to allow. He says, "*Si les deux langues* Arménienne et Géorgienne *sont sœurs*, elles ne doivent pas avoir entièrement rompu leurs liens de famille; voici donc les rapports que l'on observe entre elles." The analogies pointed out are first in the elements of articulation, which however is not complete. The vowels and consonants are nearly the same, but the Georgians substitute gutturals for Armenian sibilants, and pronounce Bagrat when the Armenians write and pronounce Passarad. With respect to the vocabulary of the two languages M. Brosset says, that there is a great number of words common to both languages. In looking hastily over the Armenian dictionary of Auger he discovered at the first cursory inspection two hundred and fifty Georgian words. Whether these are a part of an original stock of words common to both languages or have been subsequently borrowed by one language from the other we are not informed. The resemblances in grammatical structure appear to be few and by no means conclusive. After all that has been urged and said it is evident that this subject requires a more careful investigation before we can venture to conclude the Armenian and Georgian to be kindred languages. At present this assertion rests on no better authority than the tradition already cited, and the opinion of Klaproth, who considered the Georgian, notwithstanding its possessing some resemblance to the Indo-European, and still more to the Northern Asiatic idioms, as a separate and distinct language, is still the conclusion to which we are led by facts. The following are the Georgian numerals, most of which differ from the Armenian and from all the Indo-European words of number, while the latter are all plainly similar among themselves:—

1, Ert'i; 2, Ori; 3, Sami; 4, Ot'chi; 5, Chat'i; 6, Ekwsi; 7, Schwidi; 8, Rwa; 9, Zchna; 10, At'i; 100, Asi.

The physical characters of the Georgian race are similar to those of the most beautiful of European races. The

Georgian women, according to Reineggs, are more beautiful than the Circassians,* but the complexion of the race is not so fair as that of the latter people, who are natives of the heights of Caucasus.

* Reineggs, Description of Caucasus, page 289, vol. 1.

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE CAUCASIAN NATIONS.

SECTION 1.—*General Observations.*

UNDER this name are comprehended by modern travellers and geographers a variety of tribes who have long ago lost all traces of connexion with each other, except those which an accurate comparison of their dialects affords. They inhabit the heights and valleys of the great chain of Caucasus.

The Russian, or rather German travellers, Güldenstedt, Pallas, and Reineggs, and lastly Klaproth, has given us most of the information we possess respecting these nations. The latter, particularly, by a copious vocabulary of their languages published in his "Sprach-atlas," has afforded an opportunity of forming some idea of their relations to each other.

Güldenstedt, and most former writers, included among the Caucasian races some tribes belonging to nations already mentioned, as the Ossetes, who are probably a remote branch of the Indo-European stock. The remaining Caucasian nations are distributed by Güldenstedt into four classes, namely, the Abassi, the Circassians or Tscherkessi, the Kisti or Ingushi, and the Lesghi. Klaproth reduces these four classes to three, by including the Abassians and Circassians together under the name of Western Caucasians, but this is merely a nominal alteration, for these last nations were before known to be allied. I shall mention the most remarkable circumstances in their history, dividing them into Western, Middle, and Eastern Caucasians.

Section 2.—*Nations of the Western Caucasus.*

1. The Western Caucasians consist, as above noticed, of the Circassians and Abassi. Güldenstedt observed, that the languages of these two nations are dialects of one mother tongue, but that they have become so different in the course of time, that it is necessary to take some pains in order to discover their affinity. That this is nearly the truth may be seen at once by inspecting Klaproth's vocabularies.

The Abassians appear to be very ancient inhabitants of the north-western part of the chain of Caucasus.* They are chiefly pastoral and predatory people. They are divided into two nations, termed the Great and the Little Abasa.

The Abassians, according to Klaproth, are distinguished by narrow faces, heads compressed at the sides; by the shortness of the lower parts of their faces; by prominent noses and dark brown hair.†

The Circassians are to the eastward of the Abassians. They inhabit the country between Caucasus and the Kuban, and further eastward the provinces of Great and Little Kabarda on the Terek. The people of these provinces are also called Kabardines. The Circassians term themselves Adigi, and by the Tartars are named Tscherkess, whence the appellation by which they are known in Europe. Their country abounds with high forest tracts, and their climate is cold.‡

The Circassian nation is divided into five classes or castes. The first consists of the princes, who are called Psheh or Pschi, in the Tartar Bek. The second is composed of the *Work* or ancient nobility, named Ousden by the Tartars and Russians. The third are the freed men of the princes and the Ousden. They are considered as Ousden themselves, but they owe their masters military service. The freedmen of these new nobles compose the fourth class, and the fifth consists of serfs, who are cultivators or domestic slaves.

* Mithridates, p. 439. † Travels in Caucasus.

‡ Mithridates, ubi supra. Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, and Travels in Caucasus.—Malte-Brun, Universal Geography, Book 25.

The Kabardines have a proud and warlike aspect, expressive features, a high stature, and generally great bodily strength. They observe the laws of hospitality with the greatest strictness. They have a similar practice with that of the Arabs in the revenge of blood.

Pallas informs us that the Circassians are a handsome race of people. "The men," he adds, "especially among the higher classes, are mostly of a tall stature, thin form, but Herculean structure; they are very slender about the loins, have small feet, and uncommon strength in their arms. They possess, in general, a truly Roman and martial appearance." He thinks, however, that they have some traces of intermixture with the race of Nogays. "The women are not uniformly Circassian beauties, but are for the most part well formed, have a white skin, dark brown or black hair, and regular features: I have met with a greater number of beauties among them than in any other unpolished nation."* Other travellers represent a mixture of *red* in their hair, as a characteristic of the Circassians† Klaproth says, "they have brown hair and eyes, long faces, thin, straight noses and elegant forms."‡ Reineggs denies their claim to superior beauty. He says, "I know not what can have given occasion to the generally-received prejudice in favour of the female Tscherkessians. A short leg, a small foot, and *glaring red* hair, constitute a Tscherkessian beauty."§

Section 3.—*Nations of the Middle and Eastern Caucasus.*

2. The Middle Caucasians inhabit the high country above Kabarda and the habitations of the Circassians, towards the sources of the Terek, and other rivers which flow into it from the heights of Caucasus. There are several tribes or nations belonging to this division of people, who, however, seem to be nearly allied in language. The principal of these are the Mizjeghi, a name which, according to Kla-

* Pallas, ibid. vol. i, page 398.

† Malte-Brun, ibid.

‡ Klaproth's Travels in Caucasus.

§ Reineggs, vol. i, page 289.

proth, comprehends the Inguschi, and the Tschetschenghi or Taschi; the latter being to the southward, nearer to Georgia. The Inguschi are termed by Güldenstedt Kisti.

3. The Eastern Caucasians, or the Lesghi, are the inhabitants of the eastern region of Caucasus, which is termed Lesghistan. They are divided by Güldenstedt into seven tribes or nations, one of which is the Avares, supposed to be the remains of the people once so formidable under that name."*

The languages of these nations of Mount Caucasus have hitherto been considered as entirely distinct from each other, and it has been supposed that the tribes thus distinguished by their dialects, belong to separate families of men. But the comparative vocabularies collected by Klaproth sufficiently prove, that although the differences are great, there is nevertheless that species of affinity between them which evinces a common origin at some very distant era. A very remarkable circumstance in the history of their language is the affinity which they display, as Klaproth has observed, in a multitude of words, to the dialects of northern Asia, particularly those of the Tschudish or Finnish nations, and of the tribes of Samoiedes.

* Reineggs, ubi supra. Mithridates, i, page 447.

CHAPTER XVI.

HISTORY OF THE NATIONS OF GREAT TARTARY.

SECTION 1.— *General Survey.— Physical Geography and Boundaries of High Asia.*

FROM the age of Tschingghis-Khakan, when the formidable name of the Tartars was first heard in Europe, Great Tartary has been the designation given to all that vast region whence the armies of the Mongolian conqueror issued, and from which many barbarous hordes, both before and since the time of Tschingghis, have poured themselves down over the civilised parts of Asia, and even of Europe. This name, in a geographical sense, has never been appropriated to any particular tract: its meaning is vague and undefined. I shall make use of it, after the example of a celebrated modern writer,* as the most convenient expression to denote the whole of that great region in Asia which lies to the northward of all the anciently civilised countries of the East, namely, the empires of Assyria, Persia, India, and China. Great Tartary may be considered in the widest sense as reaching from the Uralian Mountains to the Sea of China and Japan, and as bounded towards the south by a line which commences with Mount Caucasus, and is continued by the Himálayan mountains or by the northern limits of Persia and India. Towards the north it has no certain limitation, and some writers understand Great Tartary as comprehending Siberia and the lowlands approaching the

* M. Abel-Rémusat.

Frozen Ocean. It is more correct to exclude these countries from its extent.*

The part of the world thus designated contains countries the geographical features of which are most remarkable, and different from those of all other regions. It is likewise the cradle and immemorial abode of some of the most singular races of men, of those who deviate in the most striking manner from the more ordinary type of physical conformation. Many of these nations have performed a great and prominent part in the history of the world. But before we proceed to describe or even enumerate the races of people who have been formed, or whose national existence has been developed within its wide extent, we must briefly survey the physical geography of this region, which may be considered as the nucleus or great central and solid portion of the old continent, and around which the other and lower parts are spread out as limbs or ramifications.†

A principal part, though only a part, of Great Tartary, is the region designated by Ritter and other modern geographers as High Asia. The western and northern portion of it is well known to consist for the most part of low plains, which in parts are depressed below the level of the ocean. Such is the flat country extending through Mawer-al'nahar or Transoxiana, comprehending the basins of the Caspian and of Lake Aral, and reaching thence to the

* It may be observed that I have used the names of Tartar and Tartary in the sense in which these terms have been adopted by M. Abel-Rémusat, not as the appellation of a particular tribe or a particular district, but as a collective epithet. It was long disputed which particular tribe were the original Tartars or Tatars, from which the title was extended to all the races allied to them. Schloezer, Gmelin, and Pallas, would have appropriated this name to the Turks. It is now well known that the original Tatars were a tribe nearly allied to the Mongoles in race, who inhabited the banks of Lake Bouyir, in the eastern part of Mongolia. Their proper name was Tatars. It is said to have been changed into Tartar in consequence of an expression of St. Louis, who, when the devastations of Tschingghis were heard of with horror in Western Europe, is reported to have exclaimed, "Erigat nos, mater, cœleste solatium, quia si proveniant ipsi, vel nos ipsos quos vocamus Tartaros ad suas Tartareas sedes, unde exierunt, retrudemus, vel ipsi nos omnes ad cœlum advehant."

† This is the view taken of Central Asia by the greatest of modern geographers.—See Ritter's Erdkunde von Asien.

Lake of Ak-sakal, and northward beyond Omsk and even the great Siberian steppe of Baraba, still under the process of desiccation, and through the country of the Ostiaks of Beresow to the marshy coasts of the Frozen Ocean. Many phenomena, as Humboldt has observed, here indicate the former existence of water over all these tracts, which perhaps formed a part of the Great Bitter Sea, placed by Chinese geographers in the middle of Siberia, across the present course of the Yeniseï or of the ancient northward expansion of the Caspian.* To the eastward of the plains through which the Oxus and Jaxartes flow, a lofty wall of mountains runs from South to North, and forms the limit between these lower countries and what is properly termed High Asia. The traveller who takes his course in the meridian of Balkh from the Uzbek khanates of Bokhara and Ferghana, by the steep passes of Badakshan towards the East and into the territories claimed by China, has to ascend the high chain or terrass of the Bolor or Belút-tagh, or Cloudy Mountains, after which he finds himself on the lofty Upland of Pamer, on one of the highest levels of the Old Continent: he there stands on the western edge of the great plateau of Central Asia, a region of vast extent, of which the boundaries and geographical outlines have been illustrated by the late researches of Alexander Von Humboldt and the learned Ritter.† I shall endeavour to lay before my readers a very brief abstract of the description which these writers have drawn of the physical and geographical structure of these regions.

Vague and indefinite notions were entertained as to the site and direction of mountain-chains, and the respective elevations of different parts of Central Asia, until the Baron Alexander Von Humboldt undertook to investigate the geography of that continent. During his journey

* Fragmens de Géologie et de Climatologie Asiatiques, par A. de Humboldt, tom. 1. Paris, 1831. Also his lately-published and admirable work entitled, "Asia Centrale,—Recherches sur les Chaines de Montagnes et la Climatologie comparée." Paris, 1843, 2 tom., page 144.

† Humboldt, ubi supra.—Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien, Bände 1-4.

across the Obi, in company with M. M. Ehrenberg and Rose, M. de Humboldt passed some time on the frontiers of Chinese Songaria, at one of the Chinese posts to the northward of Lake Saïsang, as well as in other parts of Siberia and Central Asia. Here he enjoyed many opportunities of collecting information from travellers and from natives of different places in Chinese Turkistan, and other countries seldom or never before visited by European travellers. The results of these personal inquiries compared with the materials collected during a long course of years by scientific men employed in the eastern stations of the Russian empire, constitute the basis upon which Humboldt has founded his systematic idea of the geography of Central Asia.

The continent of Northern Asia, or rather that part of it which lies to the eastward of the meridian of Badakshan, and beyond the high border of Bolor or the Belút-tagh running from north to south, is traversed by four great mountain-chains, which take a direction nearly but not wholly parallel from west to east. The southernmost of these is the Himálaya, the northern is the Great Altaï, the Golden Mountain of the Tartars, continued to the eastward by the chain of Sayansk, afterwards by the Jablonnai-Khrebet or Apple-Mountains to the northward of the country of the Mandshoos, and terminating by the chain of Aldan, which reaches to the Sea of Okhotsk and the coast of the Pacific Ocean. The former of these boundaries faces the low regions of India, the latter overhangs the lower tracts of Northern Asia or of Siberia; between them is the region termed, though not without question as to the propriety of its name, High Central Asia. There are two other intermediate chains between the Himálaya and Altaï, which may be termed the higher and interior limits of the Central Upland. The Kuen-lun of the Chinese geographers takes its course through Tibet to the northward of the Himálaya, and not exactly parallel to its direction. It is supposed to be united with the Himálaya at its western extremity. Passing eastward these chains diverge and include between them the high valley of Ladakh and H'lassa, and

the territory of Katchi. Far to the northward of Kuen-lun, but yet to the southward of Altaï, is the Tengri-tagh of the Tartar nations, that is, the Mountain of Heaven, which the Chinese call Thian-shan. It runs likewise from east to west. Between these four chains are three comparatively high regions, the interior, which is enclosed between the Tengri-tagh and the Kuen-lun, being by far the most extensive, but of very unequal elevation. The disposition of these highlands and the direction of the great defiles which lead the way into the lower regions of Asia, have exercised great influence on the movements of the nomadic tribes and on the destiny of the nations who, in almost all parts of the world, have become the victims of their greater hardihood and prowess. In this point of view it will be worth while to mark somewhat more in detail the principal portions of these mountain-chains.

1. The System of Mount Altaï.—Mount Altaï, properly so termed, scarcely occupies the space of seven degrees of longitude, but the Altaic system of mountains, so termed by Humboldt, forms the whole northern border of the great highland of Central Asia: it traverses that continent between the 48° and 51° of north latitude. Altaï is properly the western part of this tract; it contains the sources of the Irtysh and of the Yeneseï or Kem. The continuation of Altaï Proper towards the east is Mount Tangnon; beyond it are the Sayanian Mountains, between lakes Kossogol and Baikal: further eastward it is continued by the High Kentai and the Daourian Mountains, which towards the N. E. join the Jablonnai-Khrebet or Apple-Mountains. They are continued by the chain of Aldan, running along the Sea of Okhotsk to the shore of the Pacific Ocean. These mountains are in parts rich in metals. The Turkish name of Alta-ün-oola means the Golden Mountains. Parts of the Altaic Mountains were excavated in immemorial times by people of a different race from the present inhabitants, who there sought the precious metals of which they formed the ornaments abounding in the tombs spread over the vallies of the Upper Irtysh and Yeniseï.

2. Thian-shan or Tengri-tagh, or the Mountains of Hea-

ven, traverse Asia about the 42° of northern latitude. The culminating point of this chain is a mass of hills remarkable for three summits, termed Boghda Oola or the Holy Mountain, whence Pallas gave to the whole chain the name of Boghdo.

From Boghda Oola, the tract of the Tengri-tagh runs eastward towards Barkoul, and it is to this part of the chain that the name of Thian-shan, or the Celestial Mountains, is more frequently applied, namely, to that division of the interior crest which is intercepted between the mountains of Bolor to the west, and the oasis of Khamil in the Sandy Desert of Shamo, to the east. To the eastward of this last point the whole area of the included plain rises into the high wilderness of Gobi or the Stony Desert, which extends from the sources of the Siberian Orkhon to the borders of China. Through all this tract the elevation of the chain is feebly discovered, but it rises again near the great bending of the Hoang-ho or Yellow River of China, for the Snowy Chain of the Gadjar or Inshan, which runs eastward above the country of the Mongolian Ordos, is a continuation of this line, the eastward extremity of which is, according to Ritter, the ridge of hills cutting off to the northwards the Peninsula of Korea and descending to the shore of the Pacific Ocean.

To the westward and beyond, that is to the western side of, the Belút-tagh, the line of the Celestial Mountains is continued by the chain of Asferah, which, towards the west, declining in elevation, still forms a dividing boundary as it runs down towards the Caspian, between the basins of the Oxus and the Jaxartes. In the great midland depression of the Continent this chain is lost, but in the opinion of Humboldt and Ritter Mount Caucasus may be regarded as a continuation of it beyond the Caspian.

3. As the chain of Caucasus is the western prolongation of the Celestial Mountains, so the third system, or that of Kuen-lun, lies in the same line and in geographical connection with Mount Taurus. The two southernmost of the four great mountain-chains approach and are connected towards

the west. The Hindú-Khúh or Hindú-Kúsh,* appears in reality to be the common origin of both. Even in the time of Eratosthenes this chain, which is the celebrated Paropamisus of the ancients, was identified with the Taurus of Lesser Asia. Strabo has described carefully the direction of these mountains. "If we proceed," says that geographer, "from the Hyrcanian Sea, that is the Caspian, towards the east, we have ever to the right hand as far in the Indian Sea that chain of mountains which the Greeks designate by the name of Taurus. These mountains," he adds, "begin in Pamphylia and Cilicia, and under different names are continued without interruption towards the east. Beyond Ariana these hills have received from the Macedonians, out of compliment to their leader who compared himself to Hercules, the name of Caucasus—the Indian Caucasus—but the Barbarians term them Paropamisus, Emodus, and Imaon."† This last name belonged however, as M. de Humboldt has proved, to the Bolor, the transverse chain. The chain of Taurus, which forms at its middle part the northern boundary of Khorasan, subsides into a lower level and takes a fresh elevation in the neighbourhood of Herat. Here the Paropamisan mountain-chain begins in the hills of Gúr, which, continuing the same line, form the natural boundary of Kabúl and Bokhara, or in a larger scale of Iran and Turkistan. At Kok-i-Baba it throws up three peaks to the height of 18,000 feet. Farther eastward, between 68° and 69° E.L., this ridge is intersected by the pass of Hajikak, which is the way to Bamiyan, and to the eastward of this pass it has the name of Hindú-Khúh, easily converted into that of the Indian Caucasus. Farther eastward this chain

* The proper orthography of this name seems doubtful. Hindu-kho is written by Sheriff Eddin, the historian of Timur. Ibn-Batuta, in Professor Lee's translation, terms it Hindú-Kush, and interprets it a place which "*destroys Hindoos*," namely, the Hindú slaves brought into the country. This last name has been adopted by modern travellers, as by Sir Alexander Burnes. It seems to be the epithet prevalent in the adjoining countries.—See observations by *M.* A. de Humboldt, "Asia Centrale," tom. 1, page 147.

† Strabo in Geogr., lib. 15, p. 689.—Conf., p. 68, p. 490, ed Casaub., lib. xi, p. 510.—M. de Humboldt (Asia Centrale, 1, p. 105), cites a correction of the text of Strabo, by Grosskurd in his German translation.

is fronted towards the south by the Himálaya, properly so termed.*

From the late traveller Lieutenant Wood, we have obtained some valuable information as to the approximation of these principal chains. He says, "that the Himálaya, to the westward of the Indus, extends to the meridian of Kabúl. It and the Hindú-Khúh belong to the same great system of Himálayan-Tartaric mountains. Hindú-Khúh is the northern, Himálaya the southern wall." "The former," he adds, "would appear to be the superior ridge, since it divides the waters of Central Asia from those which flow southward. It is one continuous chain, while on the contrary the Himálaya is pierced by the rivers Kuner and Indus as well as by others further eastward."

According to the information obtained by the late Mr. Moorcroft, the proper Himálaya has its western extremity or commencement from the valley of Pandschir, which is situated in the meridian of Kabúl. Nearly in the same meridian, but to the northward of the Hindú-Khúh, is the high plain of Pamer, probably connected with the mountains of Bolor, which run northward from this Alpine region. The Thsoung-ling is, as Humboldt informs us, the western part of the chain of Kuen-lun. The high region of Pamer is, according to Lieutenant Wood, correctly described by Marco Polo, who represented it as a high table-land. At the western side of it is the Sir-i-kol, the lake which is the source of the river Oxus. The surrounding plain is called by the neighbouring people Bam-i-Dúniah or the Roof of the World. The high mountains of Pamer around Sir-i-kol give rise to some of the principal rivers in Asia. From the eastern part flows the river of Yarkiang; from the low hills on its northern part rises the Sirr or river of Kokan, and from the Snowy-Chain to the southward, the river Kuner as well as both branches of the Oxus. Pamer is not only a radiating point in the hydrographical system of Central Asia, but it is the focus where some of its principal mountain-chains originate. The plain of Bam-i-Dúniah has an elevation of 15,600 feet, which is nearly equal to that of the

* Ritter's Erdkunde.

summit of Mount Blanc. From Pamer the ground sinks in every direction except towards the south-east, where similar plateaux extend along the northern face of the Himálaya into Tibet. The valleys of Giljit, Gungil, and Chitral, are mountain defiles which act as water-courses to drain Pamer.

"The table-land of Pamer," says Lieutenant Wood, "is buttressed by Tibet, slopes northward upon Kokan, having the Chinese territories on the east and the rugged country that feeds the river Oxus and the Sirr to the west."*

From all these accounts, if the reader will take trouble to compare them, he will be led to the conclusion, that M. Humboldt is justified in viewing the Kuen-lun or Thsoung-ling chain, so called by the Chinese, of which the Karakorum chain of the Tartars is probably a branch, together with the Himálaya, as bifurcations from one common nucleus of mountains. This nucleus is the Hindú-Khúh, or perhaps rather the table-land of Pamer. The relation of these chains to each other is thus described by M. de Humboldt:—

"Le troisième et le quatrième système de montagnes (Kuen-lun et Himálaya) sont comme fondus dans les grands nœuds de Badakshan, du Petit Tubet, et de Kashgar. Au dela des 69° et 70° méridiens, il n'y a qu'une chaine, celle de l'Hindou-kho, qui s'abaisse vers Hérat, mais qui ensuite, au sud d'Asterabad, s'élève à une hauteur considerable vers le sommet volcanique et pierreux du Démavend. Le plateau d'Iran qui, dans sa plus grande êtendue du Tehran à Chyrax, paraît avoir une hauteur moyenne de 630 toises, envoie vers l'Inde et le Tubet deux branches, l'Himálaya et la chaine du Kuen-lun; il forme une bifurcation de la fissure de laquelle les masses de montagnes se sont élevées."

The two branches of the Hindú-Khúh, as they are thus represented, namely, the Kuen-lun and the Himálaya, diverge as they extend eastward. The former keeping a direction nearly due east and the latter turning to the south-east. They include between them a considerable space, which is found to contain countries of various but generally considerable elevation. Katschí and Tibet are within this

* Lieutenant Wood's Journey to the sources of the Oxus, p. 337,

region. The chain of Karakorum, which in the map constructed by M. Arrowsmith for Moorcroft's journey appears to form the northern boundary of Tibet, is according to Humboldt a parallel branch or offset of the Kuen-lun.

The Himálaya is not a chain of mountains in the precise meaning of that term. According to Mr. Fraser, although it bears from the plains the appearance of one ridge, it consists of a series of separate mountains, which are only the highest snow-clad summits of many clusters or aggregates of hills. Some of them attain a great elevation. One of the peaks of Dhawalgiri, near the sources of the Gandak river, is said to be 26,862 feet above the level of the sea, which is the highest known elevation upon the suaface of the globe. Mr. Fraser estimates the breadth of the snowy zone at seventy or eighty miles.

The Himálaya is continued to the eastward of the valley of Assam, where it is traversed by the Brahmapútra flowing from north to south. After passing Assam, according to Chinese authorities cited by Klaproth, it takes its course in the same easterly direction to the northward of Ava, and penetrates the Chinese province of Yunnan. There it throws up to the west of Young-tchang snow-clad pyramidal summits, and turns suddenly north-eastward to the confines of Kiang-si and Fou-kiu, where it approaches the sea-coast of China. The mountains of the island of Formosa, 12,000 feet in elevation, are supposed to be a continuation of the same chain.

The regions included between these longitudinal chains are shut up in part towards the east and west by the transverse mountain-ridges which form the eastern and western walls of the Central Upland. To the eastward the long chain of the Kin-gan-oola, or the Siolki Mountains, faces China and divides that country from Tartary. It is pierced by the two great rivers of China, which descend from sources at no great distance from each other, and near the great lake of Khó-kho-nór. Towards the west the high plain of Asia is walled in, if we may use the expression, by the lofty barrier of the Belút-tagh or Bolor. At their southern extremity the Bolor Mountains meet and tra-

verse at right angles the direction of the Kuen-lun and the Himálaya, or rather of the Hindú-Khúh. This transverse chain is the Imaus of the ancients.

Elevation of the Table-land of High-Asia.—The elevation of different regions contained within the circuit of these mountainous barriers is various, but the general average is very considerable. Professor Ritter, who with other geographers ascribes to the Iranian highland, which he terms Western High-Asia, a medium elevation of four thousand feet above the level of the ocean, is of opinion that the Eastern Plateau, or that of Great Tartary beyond the meridian of Bolor, must be estimated at from eight thousand to ten thousand feet in medium elevation, some countries within the space described being much above this average height while others fall short of it.* By M. de Humboldt it has been inferred, from the phenomena of vegetation and partly from the dryness or moisture of the atmosphere of particular tracts, that the variety of climate within the high region is very great. "The central and most inland part,"† he says, "situate between the parallels of 30° and 50°, and between the meridians of Bolor or of Kashmír, and that of lake Baikal or the great curve of the Yellow River, consists of tracts of very different elevation. It is partly inundated by inland waters, which extend over considerable spaces, and these parts are apparently table-lands of a comparatively low elevation, comparable to the plateau of Bavaria, of Spain, or of the Mysore. There is reason to suppose that vast projections of the earth's surface, comparable to the high plains of Quito and Titicaca, are to be found in Central Asia, only in the countries included between the Himálaya and the Kuen-lun, that is in Ladak, Tibet, and Katchi, in the mountains which surround the Khó-kho-nór, and in the high wilderness of Gobi to the north-westward of Inshan. If we survey the whole region, we shall observe a vast surface divided into different basins by mountain-chains of different directions and of different

* Ritter's Erdk. von Asien, 1, s. 40

† Fragmens de Géologie et de Climatologie Asiatiques, par M. de Humboldt, tom. 2, page 331.

eras, which offer to the developement of organic life and to the formation of human societies, whether to Siberian hunting tribes, or to Turkish and Mongolian nomades, or to the agricultural Chinese, or to the monastic and recluse Tibetans, a diversity of plains, of terrasses and hollows, which occasion an infinite variety in climate. A monotonous uniformity prevails indeed over the vast steppes which extend from the Jaxartes and the chain of Alatau to the Icy Sea, but in the region beyond the Yeniseï, and to the eastward of the meridian of Sayansk and of lake Baikal, Siberia has the variety of surface belonging to a mountainous country properly so termed." The last remarks of M. de Humboldt refer principally to the northern regions of Asia beyond the boundaries of the great plateau. Within the circumference formed by the mountainous barriers already described, there are tracts much higher than others, yet the entire region, as Professor Ritter has observed, bears the character of a vast insulated upland, and its extent and average elevation being taken into the account, it may be said to form on the whole the most considerable projection on the surface of our planet.

Paragraph 2.—Subdivisions.—Interior Countries of High Asia.—Surrounding Countries.

The country included within the four mountain-chains is subdivided by these principal barriers into three great parallel regions, which, though of considerable elevation, may be considered relatively as three valleys, since they contain the basins of great rivers, which, finding no exit through the surrounding heights, pour their waters into inland lakes or seas. M. de Humboldt has observed that the three regions may be designated, by the names of the principal lakes and rivers which they contain, as the basins of Lake Balkash or Balkashi-Nór, of Lake Lop, and of Tengri-Nór.* The former of these receives the waters of the river Ili and of other less celebrated streams, the

* Asia Centrale, 1, page 193.

Ayagouz, the Lepsa, and the Ergetou* The banks of the Ili were formerly the abode of the U-sun, a people famous in the history of the ancient nomadic races of Tartary, as recorded by Chinese annalists, in whom Klaproth and Abel-Rémusat thought they recognised the remote ancestors of the Suiones of Northern Europe. They were driven out of their seats by the Hiong-nú, whose remote descendants, the Kirghis Khassaks, now feed their herds and wander, living under tents of felt, over the low valleys and extensive pastures with which their country abounds, owning, since the conquest of Turkistán by Kien-long, in 1756, a nominal subjection to the Chinese empire.† Towards the southern margin of this region, a little to the northward of the Mussur-tagh, which is a part of the chain of Thian-shan, was the famous Pentapolis or Bish-balig or Five Towns of the Ouigour Turks, who obtained at an early period the art of writing and some tincture of Nestorian Christianity from Syrian teachers, and were for ages the scribes and literati of Northern Asia.‡ This valley lies open towards the west and the river Irtish forms in its north-western exit the lake of Saïsan, the banks of which were inhabited by colonies of the same Ouigours.§ In the central region, between the Thian-shan and the more southerly chain of Kuen-lun, are vast plains, in many parts of lower elevation. Here the extensive basin of Lop-nór is filled by the waters of the Tarim, the common channel in which the rivers of Kash'gar, of Khoten and Yarkiang unite their streams. This country was in early times a famous seat of the worship of Buddha and of Lamaitic civilisation which is said to have flourished in Khoten before it reached China or even Tibet.‖ It has been described by Chinese travellers, whose relations, written during the middle ages, have lately

* Ibid, p. 101.

† Timkouski's Mission to China through Mongolia, vol. 1, p. 213.

‡ Klaproth, — Timkouski, 1, p. 217. — Abel-Rémusat, Récherches sur les Langues Tartares.

§ Abel Rémusat, ibid.

‖ Abel-Rémusat, Histoire de la ville de Khoten, 8vo.

become known. It now contains the numerous and populous towns of Chinese Turkistán, conquered by Kien-long in the middle of the last century, whose inhabitants are Moslims, partly Tajiks, and in part Turks, speaking the Ouigour or Eastern Túrkí. All these populous countries are to the north-west and west and south-west of Lop-nór. To the eastward of that lake are vast desert regions; naked steppes and marshes of vast extent, where meres and ponds receive the waters falling in perpetual cascades from precipitous mountains covered with eternal snows, and destitute of inhabitants and herds, reach almost from Pitshan, the old Ouigour capital, near Túrfan, through a space of more than ten thousand lí to the confines of Tibet. Lop-nór itself supports a few villages of fishermen. To the eastward is the Sandy Desert of Shamo, in the middle of which is the oasis of Khamil, inhabited by Turks. All these countries, unvisited by Europeans, are only known to us by the description of Chinese geographers, by whom they are termed, "the Region of the New Frontier," in allusion to their comparatively recent conquest.*

Further to the eastward than Khamil is the cold and lofty wilderness of Gobi, where the chain of the Thian-shan is, as we have said, lost in the general elevation of the plateau. It was visited by the late traveller Timkouski, who describes it as resembling the Sahara of Africa, filled in great part with sandy wastes and mountains, without vegetation, whose bare rocky surface reflects the solar rays. In other places there are wide plains, which, when freed from their wintry covering of ice and snow, afford pasturage to the herds of roaming Mongoles. To the southward of Gobi are the mountains which surround the Blue Lake or Koko-nór, near the sources of the Yellow River or Hoang-ho, which an ancient tradition reports to have been once united to the now distant Lop. Near the centre of the third great valley, formed by the Kuen-lun and the Himálaya, is the Lake of Tengri or of Heaven, at the extremity

* Timkouski's Mission to China through Mongolia.

of the unknown region of Katchi, and between it and China is the fabulous Tangut. To the southward of both, and immediately under the Himálaya, Proper Tibet, or rather Tubet or Tobout, includes H'Lassa and Diparchi, and the royal and pontifical residence of the Great Lama of Tíshú-Lúmbú, the perpetual incarnate divinity of three hundred millions of civilised Tartars and Chinese. In this region are the sacred lakes of Manasa and Ravana-hrada.

Besides these inland lakes, which receive streams that find no exit through the mountainous barriers, there are other rivers which make their way through defiles into the subjacent tracts towards all the four quarters of the compass, and fertilise with their streams the lower kingdoms and empires of Asia.

From the southern margin we have already traced the Indus, the Sutlej, the tributaries of the Ganges, the Brahmapútra, the Irawadi, and all the streams of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. To the eastward, the Hoang-ho or Yellow River, the Ta-Kiang or Great River of China, and the Amúr or Sagalian of Eastern Tartary flow into the Sea of Japan and the Pacific Ocean. The Frozen Ocean receives from the northern border of the Table-land the waters of the Lena, those of the Orkhon and Selenga from the lake of Baikal, the Yeniseï, and its numerous contributary streams, the Obi and the Irtish. The rivers of the western border of the Plateau are less important in geography, but not less so in the ancient history of the world. These are the Oxus and the Jaxartes, supposed to be the Araxes of Herodotus, in the lowest midland tracts of Asia.

Section II.—*Of the Races of People who still inhabit, or may be supposed to have originated from High Asia.*

Amid the vast wildernesses included between the extensive boundaries of the Altaic and the Himálayan mountain-chains, fertilised and in some parts inundated by numerous inland lakes and rivers, were the pasture lands, where during immemorial ages the nomadic tribes of High Asia wandered and fed their flocks and multiplied those hordes, which from

time to time increasing beyond the means of subsistence within their own abodes, poured themselves down in countless swarms upon the lower regions of Asia and even of Europe, and effected, or gave occasion to, some of the most remarkable revolutions recorded in the history of the world. The earliest of these inroads that is still remembered in history, but probably by many not the first, was when the Scythians from beyond the Araxes invaded Media before the eclipse of Thales. The conquest of the Greek empire in Bactria and India by the Turushkas followed after a considerable interval. The extensive power of the Chinese dynasties of Han and Thang, which is said to have reached the borders of the Caspian, probably restrained these movements for some centuries, but the dispersion of the Hiong-nú, recorded in the annals of the Han, gave rise to the descent of the Hunns, who precipitated themselves upon the Gothic domain of Hermanrich, and gave occasion to the ultimate overthrow of the Roman empire. From the borders of China came, as it would appear, the tribe which under Attila advanced into the heart of France. Hordes of the same race had destroyed the armies of Chosroes and prepared the way for the conquest of Persia by the Moslims. The fury of the Arabs repelled for two centuries the Turkish invaders of Iran, but the followers of Togrul-Beg and Seljuk and Mahmoud of Ghazni, of Tschingghis, of Timúr and Othman, at length overwhelmed the chaliphat and the empires of China and Hindústan, and lineal descendants of the shepherds of High Asia sit on the thrones of Persia and of the Great Constantine, and, though but nominally and without power, on that which Baber and Aurungzebe filled with barbaric splendour and magnificence.

The inroads of nomadic nations from High Asia known to history were probably not the earliest of such migrations. We shall find reason to believe that in far more remote periods colonies from these countries made their way into distant parts of the earth, and that some nations are descended from them, who, with a change of abode, have changed their habits, and have become civilised and po-

pulous. The first, as far as we can conjecture, in respect to the time of their descent, were the Finnish and Ugrian tribes, who appear to have come down from the Altaic border of High Asia towards the north-west, in which direction they advanced to the Uralian Mountains. There they established themselves, and that mountain-chain, with its vallies and pasture lands, became to them a new country, whence they sent out colonies on every side, as we have seen when tracing the history of the Iotuns of the North. The earliest of these colonies had spread themselves into Europe and had occupied the countries reaching along the chain of Waldai to the Baltic and to Scandinavia before the Germanic or the old Pruthenian or the Slavic race advanced from the south to become their hereditary enemies, and eventual lords. In the long warfares between these Finno-Ugrians and the Indo-European races, one tribe alone of the former, namely the Magyars, were able to conquer their Slavic enemies, the Slovaks of Pannonia, and establish a permanent state in the midst of Europe. The perpetuity of their name and of their national existence is probably due to their early conversion to Christianity and civilisation.

The descent of tribes belonging to this family of nations from High Asia is not historically recorded, neither does it rest on mere conjecture. It is known by affinity of language. We shall see proof that the dialects of all these nations, and those of the principal nomadic races still remaining in High Asia, belong to one family of languages.

The next great division of the Siberian nations, who, under the name of Samoiedes, "Salmon-eaters," given to them by the Russians, are better known than by their national appellation of Khasova, and who occupy the shores of the Frozen Ocean, from the neighbourhood of Archangel in Europe to the mouth of the remote Yeniseï, are proved to have descended from High Asia by the fact, now well known, that tribes of the same race still occupy a considerable part of the northern Altaic border. Their original country appears to be the pasture grounds surrounding the Lake of Oubsa.

Beyond these nations, towards the East, are several tribes of different languages, but of similar habits and character, both physical and moral. Some of these are known to have descended from High Asia: in other instances this can only be conjectured. The Yakutes of the Lena are proved by their language to be of the Turkish race, and they preserve among them, as we shall see, a very ancient and primitive form of the Turkish language. The Tungusians beyond them, a widely-spread nation, of barbarous and sylvan habits, in their northern abode reach from the Lena to the Pacific Ocean. They are well known to be allied to the Mand-shú and many other nations of Eastern Tartars. Whether the Yukagiri, and the Koriaks, and the Kamtschatkans, and the Aino or Kurilians, are really allied to the same stock of nations is hardly to be determined except by a comparative analysis of their respective languages. No sufficient materials for this purpose have been collected.*

We have perhaps stronger evidence that from the eastern border of the same high region descended the remarkable race of people, who, according to their own traditions, were a little horde of barbarians in the forest of Shensi, where, at the feet of the mountains which separate China from Tartary, they are said to have wandered, without settled habitations, clothed in skins, ignorant even of the use of fire, feeding on insects and roots like the Bushmen and the Australian savages. The Chinese, according to their own historians, emerged from this state, not as other nations have become civilised, by intercourse with more polished neighbours or by gradual refinement, but in obedience to the orders of their emperors. The place of history or genuine tradition seems to have been usurped by infantile stories among the Chinese, but we may believe the fact that the Chinese came from the Asiatic Highland, since we find tribes still left upon its borders who in languages and manners bear a decided resemblance to the Chinese.

The natives of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula may be sup-

* The vocabularies in the Petropolitan collection and those in Klaproth's Asia Polyglotta are far from being sufficient for this purpose.

posed on sufficient grounds, to have descended from the south-eastern branch of the Plateau. They probably made their way along the courses of the great rivers which descend from it, as the Irawadi and the Mekon.

The Bhotiyahs, and other Indo-Tartar nations, are still partly within the borders of the high central country.

Whether the Tamulian race and the aborigines of the Dekhan may hereafter be referred to the stock of the nomadic nations is as yet uncertain. I have observed that they have been set down by Professor Rask as belonging to the Scythian race.

Lastly, the Malayans bear in physical character a considerable resemblance to the same type.

On all these races nature has impressed a peculiar form or type of physical organisation. Is this the result of the peculiar agencies of climate in the regions which they have inhabited? We know that all the organised productions of nature display certain peculiarities in those regions of the earth considerably raised above the level of the ocean. The observation applies not only to the vegetable tribes, but likewise to many families in the animal kingdom, in which kindred races inhabit both high and low countries. A light and active, but often uncouth and graceless form of limbs and body takes place in the mountain-tribes of the more fully-developed, well-proportioned and elegant figure remarkable in races whose abode is in verdant plains and luxuriant vallies. The ruder form of organisation is perhaps best fitted for hardy tribes destined to obtain, often not without toil and difficulty, a scanty subsistance amid precipitous rocks or on the stunted vegetation of Alpine deserts. In the human species, mountaineers are noted for some peculiarities in their physical growth: compared with other races of men, they have less grace and beauty of figure, but more agile bodies, a shorter stature, and more angular and projecting features. This is at least a general observation: without stopping to inquire whether it is universally correct, we may observe, that the most extensively elevated region of the earth, I mean the great Upland of Central Asia, is the birth-place and cradle, or immemorial

abode of nations who are some of the most remarkable as to their physical constitution.

The great nomadic nations of Scythia or Great Tartary display a most singular and deeply-impressed character, by which they are not less distinguished from the people of Europe and the Western and Lower regions of Asia, than even those tribes who exist under the tropical sun of Africa or amid the virgin forests of the Western Continent. The history of these nations of Central Asia, will form the subject of the present chapter.

Of all the races in Asia, supposed with a greater or less degree of evidence to have belonged originally to the great Central Upland, there are five tribes of people who still inhabit countries within its extent. Of these I shall exclude two from consideration in the present chapter. The Samoiedes or Soiots or Uriang-chai, of the northern border of Altai, will be described in a succeeding chapter, as they form a race distinct from all the other inhabitants. The Indo-Tartar and Bhotiyah races, who have been already described, make a like division. The three races who remain for consideration in the present chapter belong to the Turkish, the Mongolian, and the Tungusian families.

These three nations of Great Tartary, the Turkish, the Moghul or Mongolian, and the Tungusian, called by the Chinese Mand-shú or Mandshurian, are distinguished from each other by speaking different idioms, though perhaps of cognate origin, but bear a mutual resemblance in their physical and moral characters and manner of life. They are pastoral nations, possessing herds of cattle and of horses, with which they have been accustomed to wander over their vast plains. They have handed down, from immemorial times, the simple arts which belong to the nomadic state; and with pastoral habits they have combined the pursuits of war, and on various occasions have poured themselves down in irresistible hordes on the surrounding countries inhabited by agricultural and civilised nations. The result of these invasions has been in various ages the establishment of new dynasties in the subdued regions. China has been governed in earlier as well as in later periods

by hordes of various races who have issued from the deserts of Tartary. The Mongoles gave sovereigns to that empire in the middle ages as well as to India, Persia, and Turkistan. Tribes of Tungusian origin are supposed to have preceded the Mongolians by many centuries, and people of the same race still domineer over the native Chinese. Extensive regions in Western Asia and in Europe have submitted more permanently to the dominion of the Turks. Of the three nations above mentioned the Tungusians are situated furthest towards the East. They occupy all the country to the northward of China, between the Sea of Japan and the long chain of the Siolki Hills. Under the name of Tungusians they are spread through vast spaces in the empire of Russia to the eastward of lake Baikal, and along the banks of the Amúr to the Aldan Mountains and the Sea of Okhotsk, and westward to the middle course of the river Yeniseï. To the westward of the Tungusians, and in great part subjected to their dominion, are the Mongoles, who reach from the limits of China on the east to the meridian of Lob-nór and the region of Khamil and Túrfan, and from Tibet northward to the chain of Altaï or of Sayan and the Baikal Lake. They thus occupy the most elevated region of the high plain of Eastern Asia. The Turkish nations are to the westward of the Mongoles: to the south they reach to the Mus-tagh, the Bolor Mountains or the Belút-tagh, and to the Hindú-Khúh. Originating, as it would appear, from the remote north-east, they obtained for themselves a new country in Turkistan and to the northward of the Oxus, which has been the centre of their later migrations into Europe and Southern and Western Asia.

Section III.—*Of the sources of information on the history of the Nations of Great Tartary.*

The nomadic nations of Tartary have long practised the art of writing. The Mongolians and the Mandshurians have acquired the knowledge of letters since the time of Tschingghis-Khan, but the Ouigours, an Eastern Turkish tribe

once celebrated and powerful, and whose descendants now occupy the country extending from Khasigar or Kashgar to Khamil, possessed this art some centuries before the time of Mohammed, having been taught, as it would appear, by Nestorian or other Syrian instructors, who formed for them an alphabet on the model of the Estranghelo. The Ouigours were the scribes of all Northern Asia long before the time of Tschingghis, but if they wrote historical books no records are known to have been preserved by them.

This want of all records, composed in ancient times by native writers of the Tartar races, has been supplied in a very imperfect manner partly by accounts derived from Chinese historians, which were the only documents nearly contemporary with the early events of the Tartar history, and partly by later historical works composed by Mohammedan writers. Gaubil, Visdelou, Mailla, De Guignes, and others, have collected facts that were to be found relating to the Turkish and Mongolian nations, in the Thoung-kian-kang-mou, or great Chinese annals, and in other particular histories; and later writers, especially Klaproth and Abel-Rémusat,* have analysed and more correctly estimated the value of these materials. The most celebrated of the Mohammedan historians who compiled the traditions of the Tartar nations, were Ibn-el-athir, who lived in the twelfth century, Atta-melik in the thirteenth, and the more famous Raschid-ed-din, born at Hamadan in Media, the first volume of whose history is dated in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Lastly, there are two works of later and of inferior value written by native Tartar princes, both descendants of Tschingghis and collectors of the histories of their respective nations. One of these, Abou'l-Gazi Bahadour-Khan, wrote in the Turkish language: he was a Mohammedan prince of Kho-

* See in Abel-Rémusat's Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques, tom. 1, a critical account of the works of the different Mohammedan historians who, in the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish languages, compiled the history of the Turkish and Mongolian conquerors. These works are preserved in M.S. in the King's library, at Paris. Their contents have been made known to the public, and admirably illustrated, in the late work of M. le Baron C. D'Ohsson, entitled "Histoire des Mongoles," &c., La Haye et Amsterdam, 1834, 4 tomes.

rasmia, and died in 1663. His work, which was long regarded as the highest authority in Turkish history, was translated and published at Leyden in 1726.* It contains the history and early traditions of the Tartar nations, mixed up with the fabulous legends of Mohammedans. The second writer of this class is Sanang Setzen, chief of the Mongolian tribe of Ordús, who lived since that people became subject to the Mandshurian emperors. Sanang Setzen was a zealous Buddhist and founded his history on the traditions of the Lamas: he deduces all his dynasties from the Indian Sakya, and allots between them the different provinces of Jambu-dwipa.†

The writers above mentioned have treated on the Turkish and Mongolian history. They have scarcely touched on that of the Mandshurians, which is only to be investigated in the records left by Chinese writers.

I shall now endeavour to lay before my readers a connected statement of the most important facts which can be traced in these different quarters in connection with the history and relation of The three Races of Great Tartary, and I shall subsequently endeavour further to elucidate the subject by a comparison of their languages.

Section IV.—*Of the Tungusian Race, comprehending the Mandshoos, Toung-hous, Kin, Khitans, and Ourianguites.*

The powerful nation of Mandshoos or Mand-shú Tartars, now masters of the richest part of Asia, and the most populous empire in the world, is only one tribe of the Tungusian race, a race which reckons among its numerous

* An edition in folio has appeared, some years since, published at Kasan, containing the Turkish text without any translation.

† Sanang-Setzen's work has been translated into German, and published by I. J. Schmidt at Petersburg, in 1829, under the title of "Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihrer Fürstenhauses verfasst von Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaidschi der Ordus aus den Mongolischen übersetzt, &c.: herausgegeben von I. J. Schmidt. St. Petersbourg, 1829," in 4to.

See an excellent analysis and review of this publication by M. Abel-Rémusat in the Nouveau. Journal Asiatique.

clans some of the most barbarous nations in the world, spread through the inclement regions of Eastern Siberia towards the shores of the Frozen Ocean and those of the Sea of Okhotsk. The province of Liao-toung, situated to the northward of the Hoang-hai or Yellow Sea, between the peninsula of Korea and the northern Chinese province of Pe-cha-li, has been from the most remote ages the theatre of wars between the Chinese and tribes termed in the annals of that people Toung-hou or Toung-hous. It was in that country that the prince who raised the Mand-shú dynasty laid the foundation of his power by the re-union of sixty petty tribes, whose assemblage constituted the nation of Mandshoos. Tribes who wander over the countries to the northward and north-eastward of Liao-toung are comprehended under the same name, which in this province had its origin. But towards the northwest, and as far as the Black River or Amúr, people of the same race bear the particular names of Solon and Dahour; these are the Toung-hous subject to the Mandshurian empire: beyond those rivers hordes of the same kindred acknowledge the yoke of Russia.* They are scattered through the countries lying to the eastward of Lake Baikal, where they are distinguished by the name of Ewenki.† Thence the Tungusian country‡ extends along the northern shore of the Black River as far as the Sea of Okhotsk. The Tungusian tribes spread upon the coast of that sea are termed Lamoots, from Lamu, in the Mandshurian dialect Namou, which means the Sea. Tungusian hordes are found without any particular name along the Aldan, as far as the country of the Yakutes on the Lena, and on the two rivers termed

* Abel-Rémusat, Récherches sur les Langues Tartares.

† Abel-Rémusat, ubi supra.

‡ The country to the eastward of Lake Baikal is called by the Russians Daouria, a word derived from Tougroum, which signifies "limits" or boundaries. Bargoutchia Tougroum is the "boundary land of the *Bargoutches*," which is the epithet of the Mongolian natives of this region, consisting of four tribes, namely, the Couris, the Coulaches, the Bouriates, and the Toumates. They are the most remote of the Mongolian race. Beyond them towards the north were the sylvan tribes called Boulgatchines, Carmouchines, and Ourianguites. These last are of the Tungusian stock.

from them Toungouska, flowing through a vast region to the east of the Yeniseï and falling into its channel. That river seems to be the ancient boundary of their race, for to the westward of it we find the country inhabited by Ostiaks towards the north, and towards the south by races akin to the Chinese.

The languages spoken by tribes of the Tungusian race are divided into six branches: the principal of these are,—1, the dialect of the Mandshoos: this has long been written in alphabetic characters; it is known grammatically to European scholars, the others only by vocabularies. 2, the dialects of the Southern Tungusians, spoken through the countries near Nertschinsk and Bargousinsk, within the Russian frontier to the eastward of Lake Baikal, and by tribes on the Upper Angaru, near Irkatsk, to the eastward of the same lake. 4, the northern and eastern dialects spoken near Yakoutsk, near Okhotsk, and by the tribes termed Lamoots near the ocean, and by those called Tschapogirs further westward. Lastly, two dialects prevalent among the Tungusian tribes who inhabit the country on the Yeniseï and the neighbourhood of Mangaseïsk. A comparison of these dialects spoken in countries very distant from each other displays analogies so extensive and so clearly marked, that no doubt remains as to their original identity and the descent of all the Tungusian tribes from a common ancestry.

The Tungusians have no national records reaching back to a remote period, but information has been collected from the Chinese historians, from which it appears that Eastern Tartary has been inhabited from early times by people of the same race. The relations of language and other tokens of affinity afford data which enable us with satisfactory evidence to carry back the history of the Tungusian race into ages long preceding the origin of the Mand-shú dynasty, and even anterior to the first appearance of the Mongolians among the warlike nations of Tartary. It was shown by Visdelou, whose opinion was confirmed by Abel-Rémusat and by Klaproth, and has been regarded

as unquestionable by all later writers,* that the tribes of Eastern Tartars, termed Niú-tschi, and Tchur-tché, who founded the dynasty of Kin, were a people of Tungusian race. The relics of their language preserved by Chinese historians, are nearly allied to the Mand-shú dialect, and the present Mandshoos acknowledge this relationship. The Niú-tchi or Tchúr-tches were independent nomadic tribes who wandered in the deserts which reach northward to the river Sagalien or Amúr and westward to the Songari.† This last river divided them from the Khitans, a people not less celebrated than themselves, who possessed an extensive empire in the East before the union of the Tchúr-tchés under one chieftain obtained for them, in 1114, a preponderance of power over the Khitans, and enabled them to conquer that people and found in the north of China and through Eastern Tartary the celebrated monarchy of the Kin. The Kin ruled contemporaneously with the Chinese dynasty of the Song, whom they compelled to retire into the countries to the southward of the Yang-tse-kiang. Their empire was termed by the Tartar nations Khitaï, apparently from its previous rulers, whence the celebrated appellation of Cathay. Both the Kin and the native Song were overpowered by the Mongoles, who invaded China under Tschingghis-Khan in 1211.

The empire of the Khitans, which had been subverted by the Niú-tchi or Kins, had been founded in 907 by a chieftain who had united under his command the numerous hordes of this people. The Khitans had inhabited for many ages the countries reaching northward from the river Sera, and bounded towards the west by the mountains of Kingan and the Great Desert, towards the east separated from the Niú-tchi by the river Songari. They have been subject at different times to the Turkish khakans and the Chinese emperors. Early in the tenth century, beginning from

* See Rémusat, Récherches, ubi supra.—Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, s. 292. —M. D'Ohsson, Hist. des Mongols, tom. 1.—Ritter, Asien., Th. 2, s. 433.— D'Avesac, Relation de J. du Plan Carpin. Rec. de Voyages, tom. 4, p. 520.

† D'Ohsson, Hist. des Mongoles, 1, p. 116.

the era above mentioned, they extended their power over all Eastern Tartary and the northern province of China. They adopted the arts and habits of the Chinese, and the refinement of their manners prepared the downfal which they experienced from the arms of the Kin. The Khitan dynasty adopted the name of Léao, which means iron, as that of Kin means *gold*.

A passage has been cited from Raschid-ed-din which seems to imply, that the Khitans were of Mongolian origin; but that writer was not aware of the national distinction between the different Tartarian races. Abel-Rémusat, as did Klaproth at the time when he wrote his Asia Polyglotta, believed the Khitans to be a people of the Tungusian race, and that opinion has been adopted by M. D'Ohsson, the learned historian of the Mongolian people.*

The defeat of the Khitans, and their expulsion from the north of China, is supposed to have given occasion to a revolution important in the history of the eastern world. Driven towards the west they were invited to Khorasm by a rebel govenor, who had revolted against the Seljúk sultan of Turkistan. The Khitans are said to have driven on that occasion the Euzes or Turkomans out of Transoxiana, which they had previously inhabited, into the countries to the southward of the Oxus, and thus occasioned one of the great Turkish inroads into the southern parts of Asia.†

In the Chinese records relating to earlier times the barbarous nations to the north-eastward of the empire are designated by the general name of Toung-hou. The Toung-hou are distinguished from the Hiong-nú or Turkish race, who were for many ages the most powerful among all the northern nations. No clear and definite account can be traced of the tribes belonging to the Toung-hou; but among them, according to M. Abel-Rémusat, were included the He-chouï-Moko or the Mokho of the Black River, and other hordes who, two centuries before our

* D'Ohsson, ubi supra.

† De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, vol 1, part 2, pp. 510, 522; vol. 2, p. 190.

era, were driven eastward by the Hiong-nú and confined to the province of Léao-toung, the native country of the Mandshoos. The Juan-juan, the So-teou, and other nations who in the early times of Chinese history were powerful in the eastern parts of Asia, are supposed by the same writer to have belonged to the Toung-hou.

The Ourianguites or Tungusians of Daouria have been thus described by Raschid-ed-din. "They inhabit vast forests; dwelling not under tents, but in cabins formed of the branches of trees and covered with bark. They have no herds, but feed on the flesh of wild oxen and sheep and clothe themselves with the skins of beasts. The most terrible execration that a father can utter against a disobedient child is, that he may be forced to betake himself to the tending of flocks: they look upon the inhabitants of towns, and even on pastoral people, as condemned to a life of miserable drudgery. They move from place to place and carry their baggage on the backs of wild oxen. Their country abounds in mountains and forests. They pass the winter in hunting on the snow, and by the aid of pieces of wood termed "*tschanas*" they fly over the surface of the snow with great velocity, and traverse spaces of incredible extent."*

SECTION V.—*History of the Turkish Race.—Of the Hiong-nú, Thiukiú or Turks of Mount Altaï, and of the Ouigours.*

The Turkish race is one of the most considerable among the families of nations confined to the Old Continent, whether we regard the collective numbers of individuals who belong to it or the extent of country over which its branches are dispersed.† One tribe of this race, exiled beyond the Lena, dwells in the remote East, on the ever-frozen soil which borders the Icy Sea: another possesses

* For the Djami ut Tevarikh. D'Ohsson, 1, 422.

† Abel-Rémusat, Récherches.

the throne of Constantine and has established its colonies in various parts of Western Asia, and even in Egypt and Nubia. Tradition informs us that some tribes now in the West once lived under the great wall of China, and Turkish hordes still inhabit many extensive countries in the Chinese empire.*

All the Turkish tribes now existing, with the simple exception of the Yakútes, are Moslims, but those who live in the remote East blend with Islàm many oriental superstitions. The Chinese, to whom the Turks of Túrfan and Khamil and Kashgar are subject, call them by the name of Hoeï-tseü.†

Since the literature of China has become known to European scholars, writers on the history of the Tartar nations have endeavoured to trace early accounts of oriental Turkish dynasties in the works of Chinese historians. Many early notices of tribes who are said to have dwelt primevally on the borders of China, and to have migrated from thence towards the west, are supposed to have reference to Turkish hordes. But there is some difficulty in identifying these ancient nations, whose names are disguised in Chinese orthography and of whom the descriptions, as interpreted by European translators, are for the most part vague and indefinite, with races known to us in later times chiefly through the medium of Mohammedan historians. There is one nation however, celebrated in the annals of China, and particularly in those of the dynasty of the Han, whom all European students of Chinese history are agreed in identifying with the Turks, or in regarding as the ancestors of the race afterwards known under that name. These are the Hiong-nou of De Guignes, or the Chiung-nu according to the orthography of Klaproth. This last writer thought he could distinctly trace their history in Chinese annals from very early times, with slight variations of their name.

M. Abel-Rémusat was of opinion that the historical

* Erskine's Introduction to the Life of Baber.

† Abel-Rémusat, Recherches sur les Langues Tartares, and Erskine's Introduction to the Life of Baber.

books of the Chinese are credible and authentic documents as far back as the age of the celebrated dynasty of the Elder Han, who reigned over Northern China from the year 163 before Christ to 196 after the Christian era; but he seems to have doubted whether they contain information worthy of credit, at least with regard to foreign nations, in earlier periods. M. Klaproth cites their authority, such as it is, for events much more remote. According to Klaproth the Turkish race is recorded in Chinese history to have come down soon after the great deluge from the lofty and now perpetually snow-clad mountains of Tangwe and the Great Altaï,* and to have spread themselves at first towards the south-west and south-east. It seems that in very early times they took possession of the country on the southern declivity of the highest steppes of Mongolia, to the northwards of the Chinese provinces of Shansi and Sheasi, and particularly of the region of In-shan, where the mountain of that name, near the northward bending of the Hoang-ho, forms the eastern continuation of the second great hill-system of Central Asia, that of the Thian-shan or the Celestial Mountains.† This people were, according to Klaproth, styled Hiun-yü‡ under the dynasty of Shang, which reigned over China from 1766 to 1234 before Christ.

* The site of the Great Altaï is well known. The mountains of Tangwe are situated between Lake Kossogol to the east and Little Altaï to the west, and between the Tes and Lake Ubsa to the south, and the source of the Yeniseï towards the north. This tract adjoins to the southward the country of the Uriang-chai or Soiots.—See Klaproth's Asia Polyglotta, p, 210.

† The Annals of the Elder Han, who reigned in China from B.C. 163 to A.D. 196, are considered by those who are versed in Chinese literature as an historical work of great authority. Abel-Rémusat and Klaproth appear to have been acquainted with them chiefly through the medium of extracts contained in Ma-túanlin's Great Chinese Encyclopædia, the Wen-hian-thoung-khao, compiled in A.D. 1321, or in other later works. But the annals of the Han have been translated from the Chinese original, by Father Hyacinth, and published in St. Petersburg in 1829. A part of this version, which is in Russian, translated into German by the learned Dr. Schott, has been inserted by Ritter in the 5th vol. of his admirable "Erdkunde von Asien."

‡ Abel-Rémusat also considered the identity of the Hiong-nú with the older Hiun-yo or Hiun-yun as historically clear.—Recherches, p. 10.

Under the Tsin and the Han, from 256 before Christ to 263 after Christ, they obtained the name of Hiong-nú. The time of their greatest glory, when they were formidable enemies of the Chinese and waged frequent and bloody wars with the generals of the Celestial Empire, was before the middle of the second century of our era. Their power was then broken by various accidents; by a severe famine and by internal dissentions, the consequence of which was a division of their race into the northern and southern Hiong-nú. The southern tribes allied themselves to the Chinese, and by their aid the northern hordes were expelled from the ancient domains of the Hiong-nú situated between the Upper Amúr, the Selenga, and the mountains of Altaï. The dispersion of the northern Hiong-nú is supposed by Klaproth to have given occasion to the first great movement among the nomadic nations of Asia towards the west.* The enemies of the Hiong-nú encreased in power in subsequent times, and in the first quarter of the third century the remains of that celebrated people were overcome and finally expelled from the country which the southern tribes had continued to possess between the desert of Gobi and the northern boundaries of China. This is the date of the final dispersion and of the wandering march of a great part of the Hiong-nú or Turkish race towards the western parts of Tartary, and of the final occupation of the desert of Gobi and the northern provinces of the Chinese empire by the tribes who have since possessed the country, and who over China itself have raised several imperial dynasties.

It will be worth while to observe more fully the principal facts on record in connection with the history of the Hiong-nú.

Paragraph 1.—Description of the Hiong-nú.

The manners of the primitive Hiong-nú, as described in the ancient records from which Visdelou, Gaubil and De

* The destruction or dispersion of the northern Hiong-nú happened, according to De Guignes, in the reign of Hyao-ho-ti, a sovereign of the Han dynasty.

Guignes have given copious extracts, are those of the nomadic nations in their simplest state.

Some tribes of the Hiong-nú are said to have tilled the soil from the earliest times, but most of them were shepherds who wandered through the wilderness in wagons which bore their tents. Their herds afforded their only sustenance, the hides of their oxen clothing and banners in war. Originally the power of the chieftain of the Hiong-nú was a burden against which tender mothers sought to preserve their sons. The song of a Chinese princess, wife of the chief of the Usun, describes their mode of life,—"A tent is my melancholy dwelling; a palisade the wall of my town; raw flesh is my only food, and my daintiest drink is curdled milk." The favourite pursuits were warfare and the chase. In great troops of cavalry, like the Beduius of the Arabian desert, they spread themselves on all sides through their vast plains or along their river-shores, moving like clouds, and when pursued dispersed themselves to all points.* They worshipped, according to the ancient customs of Siberia, the Sun: every morning the Tanshu or emperor prostrated himself before the rising sun, and in the evening, when it was visible, before the moon. Once in every year the chiefs assembled around the Tanshu and sacrificed with him to the Heaven, the Earth, the Spirits of the universe, and the shades of their forefathers. When the mother of a certain Tanshu lay sick, the soothsayers declared "the anger of the ghosts of their forefathers had caused the affliction, because the people had neglected to offer up a victim taken in war." Soon after the offering snow of unusual depth covered the earth, a pestilence spread itself, of which the Tanshu died, and it was perceived that human sacrifices were not agreeable to the gods. The Hiong-nú are said to have made this observation ten years later than the time when the Romans abolished the same custom.† Honours were paid to the

* Ritter, Erdkunde, Th. 1, pp. 241-244.—Th. 6, p. 585.—Joh. von Müller, Allgem. Gesch., Th. 1.—Gaubil, Hist. de la Chine.—De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, &c.

† Joh. von Müller, Allgem. Gesch.

Tanshus after death: at the full of the moon games were celebrated around their tombs, and towns were erected in the vicinity. The Hiong-nú, like the Greeks, believed that the separated soul wandered around the unburied body: he who interred the corpse of a fallen comrade became his heir. The Tanshu Huhan-shie drank out of the skull of an enemy who had been killed a century and a half before his time. It was to defend their land against the incursions of this "wild people of the mountains" that the Chinese general, Mum-tien, built the wall extending through a tract of ten thousand *li*,=10,000 × 1750 feet; but this afforded no security, and it was only by fomenting dissentions that crafty policy of China at length overcame. The line of the Tanshus had begun with Te-u-man, who, about the time of Hannibal, was a powerful chieftain on the banks of the Amúr and the Onon, and from the ocean to Tibet became sovereign of six and twenty nations. He was honoured by the Siberian tribes with tributary gifts of peltry and wool. Other tribes flying from his arms, descended towards the south, and these are supposed to have overturned the the Bactrian kingdom of Alexander's followers. The first empire of the Hiong-nú lasted till about ninety years after the Christian era. Huhan-shie called in the Chinese to defend his royal power against rebellious chiefs. After a long civil war the kingdom was divided: one body of the nation under Punon raised their tents from the Onon and Selenga and passed with all their herds into the wilderness of Songaria and towards Túrfan. Another division allied themselves, as we have observed, to the Chinese and took up their abode in the mountainous country of In-shan, and on the higher Hoang-ho, where they remained a powerful people until two hundred and sixteen years after the Christian era. Their chieftain termed Tshen-yu, was a sort of viceroy of In-shan, and defended the empire against the northern tribes of his race, and for a time against the increasing power of the Sian-pi, a tribe of Tartars who were encroaching from the east. The southern Hiong-nú, as these last are termed, were weakened by calamities, and were overcome by the same Sian-pi. The main body of

the race were driven towards the north and west to the sources of the Irtish, and towards the lake of Balkash.

Paragraph 2.—Of the Thú-kiú or Turks of Altaï.

The identification of the Hiong-nú with the Turkish race is a matter of great importance in the history of the latter people. On this subject no doubt seems to be entertained by any of the writers either of older or of later times who have investigated the accounts contained respecting the Hiong-nú in the works of Chinese historians. The opinion of De Guignes would be of less weight, because he was hardly aware of the distinction between the different races of Tartar nations, but Abel-Rémusat and Klaproth were very competent to decide such a question. The Chinese historical compiler, Ma-túan-lin, made a collection of various accounts relative to the origin of the Thú-kiú or Turks. The result is, according to Abel-Rémusat and Klaproth, that a tribe of Hiong-nú, driven from the province of Shen-si by the Weï dynasty, took refuge, under their leader, Assena, near Mount Altaï, where, under the dominion of the Jouan-jouan, a powerful Tungusian dynasty, they dwelt at the foot of a mountain helmet-shaped, and termed from that circumstance in Chinese Thú-kiú, from which they took their name. Here they became powerful under their leader Thūmen, a warrior celebrated in history. Thūmen lived about 545 A.D., and it was soon after his time, namely, A.D. 569, that the great Chagan or Khan of the Turks or Τουρκοι, who was named Dizabulus, was visited in the same region by Zemarchus and Maniach, ambassadors from the emperor Justin. The abode of the Khan was on the side of Ektag or the Golden Mountain: it was the scene of barbaric splendour and magnificence, and many traits in the narratives given by these early travellers identify the people with the Turks of other times.*

* Dizabulus received the Byzantine embassadors in his tent sitting on a wagon, or a couch supported by two wheels. The manufacture of iron, the pagan worship of the Turks, the impostures of shamans or wizards, and the use of an intoxicating drink, not made from the grape, were noticed by Zemarchus.—See Menander, Excerpt. ex legationibus, p. 132.— Corpus Hist. Byzant., Edit. Venet., tom. I.

We are assured by M. Abel-Rémusat, that a series of historical notices, continued without interruption in the works of Chinese annalists, leaves no room whatever for doubt, that the Thú-kiú of the 6th century were the same people who had in early times borne the name of Hiong-nú.* The same writer assures us that numerous words are preserved by Chinese writers from the idiom of the Thú-kiú of that age, which are to be recognised in the modern Turkish, and these observations have been confirmed by Klaproth, who has produced a specimen, which is sufficient for conviction.† Even from the vocabularies of the older Hiong-nú some relics yet remain which, as M. Rémusat assures us, are mostly Turkish words. In the opinion of this writer the country of the Hiong-nú is the region whence all the Turkish tribes originally issued.

Paragraph 3.—Of the Ouigours or anciently-civilised Turks.

Some inquiries of great interest in ethnography, and in the history of early civilisation and literature in Northern Asia are connected with the celebrated Turkish race of the Ouigours, on which we have obtained new and very interesting information in extracts published by M. D'Ohsson from the works of Atta-melik Djouveini and Raschid-ed-din.

About the middle of the eighth century, according to the authority of Chinese historians, the empire of the Thú-kiú

* Abel-Rémusat, Recherches sur les Langues Tartares.

† Klaproth says that he has found in Chinese histories the following words mentioned as those of the Thú-kiú. Taengri (Th.) heaven, Turkish, taengri; uik (Th.) horse, Turkish of Kasan, ui; thu-kïü (Th.) helmet, Turkish, teqieh; soka (Th.) hair, Turkish sudj; kan (Th.) chieftain, Turkish, khan; koro, (Th.) black, Turkish, qarà; kori (Th.) old, Turkish, gori; furin (Th.) wolf, Turkish of Kasan, buri.—Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, s. 212.

The word Chagan—Χαγαν—which is the title of the sovereigns of the Turks, may be thought to resemble the Mongolian Khakan rather than the Turkish Khan; but the word is the same in both languages, and was doubtless originally Khakan in both, having been shortened in Turkish. These Τουρκοί, who styled their chieftains Chagans, were certainly not Mongoles.

or Turks of Mount Altaï was destroyed by another tribe, likewise descended from the Hiong-nú, who originated from the countries to the southward of Lake Baikal and of the banks of the Selenga and the contributary streams of the Amúr river.* They bear the Chinese names of Hhuy-hhe and Hhuy-hhu, and were likewise called Kaotshe, from the high wheels of their wagons.† The Hhuy-hhe possessed for a hundred years the empire of the Thúkiú, and were at length partly subdued by the Chinese and in part forced to abandon finally the countries situated to the northward of China, which in the beginning of the tenth century fell under the power of the Khitans.

Descended from the Hhuy-hhe, or nearly allied to them, were the Turkish people who inhabited the country about Bish-balig, and an extensive region to the northward of the Thian-Shan. They were termed by the Chinese Kaotschang, and by themselves Ouigours.

Their language is the pure oriental Turkí and represents the state of the old Turkish language before it became corrupted or embellished by a mixture of Persian and Arabian words, which enter into the composition of all the other Turkish dialects, namely, not only that of the Ottomans or western Turks, which has received quite a new character from such modifications, but also considerably, though in less proportion, into that of the Turks of Jagatai, which was spoken in the cities of Transoxiana, Samarkand and Bokhara, and is the idiom of the writings of Baber and various Turkish poets and historians of the middle ages. The Ouigour dialect, as we shall have further occasion to observe, preserves the true characteristics and analogies of an oriental Tartarian idiom, and a comparison of it with the Mongolian and Tungusian languages furnishes one chief resource for elucidating the history and connections of the Turkish race. It s further important as having been a written language many centuries before letters were known among other nations of Central Asia, and it was the medium through which the Syrian characters

* Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta.

† Klaproth, ubi supra.—Abel-Rémusat, Recherches.

were introduced extensively among the nations of the remote East of Mongolian and Tungusian origin.

The history of the Ouigours has been collected from Chinese authorities by Visdelou and Abel-Rémusat and Klaproth, and by M. D'Ohsson from manuscripts of the most celebrated Mohammedan historians.*

The Ouigours were a Turkish people whose territory lay on the south-western border of the Naïmans. They anciently inhabited the countries watered by the Orkhon, the Toula, and the Selenga. At first subject to the Turkish empire, namely, that of the Thú-kiú or Turks of Altaï, they placed themselves under the protection of China in the time of the emperor Taï-tsong, from 626 to 649, and were ruled by Chinese governors. One of the subordinate chiefs of the Ouigours, named by the Chinese Khou-li-fi-lo, taking advantage of the calamities of the Thú-kiú, completed their overthrow in 745, and made himself sovereign of the nation. This chieftain received from the Chinese emperor the title of Boucou-khan: he was the founder of the Ouigour empire, which extended eastward to the mountainous limits of the Great Desert, and westward to Mount Altaï. The Ouigour monarchy was destroyed in 847 by the Chinese and the Kirghises. The Ouigours only preserved of their vast dominion the country situated to the south-west of the mountains of Karakorúm, near the high-chain of Tengri-tagh, and around Bish-balig or the Five-towns, where their chieftain had the title of Idi-cout or "lord of the country." The earliest religion of the Ouigours was that of the Schamans, termed by them Cames, the gross worship common to all the nations of Siberia. They afterwards adopted the religion of Buddha and some traits of civilisation, and by Nestorians the art of writing and Christianity were introduced among them. They became subject, about 1125, to the empire of Karakhitaï,

* Hist. des. Mongols, de M. D'Ohsson, tom. 1. Extracts from Atta-melik and Raschid-ed-din.

As early as the time of Justin, son of Justinian, a people named Ouigours —Οὐιγουροι—were known to the Byzantines among the nations subject to Dizabulus,—Chagan of the Turks.—Excerpt ex legat.—Corp. Byzant., tom. 1. p. 75.

founded by the Khitans, after the destruction of the Khitan dynasty of the Leaos in China, and eventually fell under the sway of Tschingghis-khan.

Atta-melik Djouveini gives extracts from certain historical books of the Ouigours which confirm this account, as do the extracts from Raschid-ed-din.* This writer traces them however in the first place from the fabulous Oghuz-khan, descendant of Jafett, from whom the Mohammedan writers derive all the nations of Tartary. "According to their own books," says Djouveini, "the Ouigours believe that their forefathers inhabited first the banks of the river Orkhon, which flows from the mountains of Karakorúm. Having increased in numbers they divided into two nations. Five hundred years afterwards appeared Boucou-khan." He then gives an account of a ruined city on the Orkhon, where inscriptions were found, said to have been read by learned men from China and to contain a fabulous legend concerning the origin of Boucou, who was the offspring of two trees and had three miraculous crows skilled in languages: he erected an empire over all the East, and was the first who led the Ouigours into the plains of Túrkistan. "The Ouigours," says the author, "had then the religion of the Cames, as have now the Mongoles. The Cames are men who pretend to be possessed by dæmons and to be instructed by them. Even now," he adds, "most of the princes descended from Tschingghis believe in these magicians, and undertake no enterprise unless they agree with the astrologers. Lamas, sent from the khan of Khitay, overcame the Cames and converted them to Buddhism. They say," continues Atta-melik, "that their souls have lived for thousands of years and pass through the bodies of animals." He declares that he has only related the hundredth part of the falsehoods contained in the books of the Ouigours.† Raschid-ed-din likewise derives the Ouigours from the countries near the mountains of Karakorúm.‡ He professes also to give their history

* D'Ohsson, ubi supra.

† Tarikh-Djihankuschaï.—Extracts by D'Ohsson.

‡ Extracts from Djami ut-Tevarikh by D'Ohsson.

from their own books, and says, that they early became divided into the On-Ouigours and the Tokouz-Ouigours, the former living in a valley watered by ten rivers and the latter in one watered by nine. Raschid derives a variety of Turkish nations, and among them the Kiptschaks, from the Ouigours. Klaproth has given extracts from Chinese authors containing similar accounts, with a legend parallel to that of Atta-melik, representing the birth of the Ouigour khan from a tree growing in a northern paradise. He describes likewise their settlement in Bish-balig.

It was from the neighbourhood of Bish-balig or the Five Towns or, according to authorities on which Abel-Rémusat has relied, from the plains extending round Lake Saïsan and the sources of the Irtish, and between Lake Lop and the river Ili, at no great distance from the high region of Bish-balig, that those Turkish hordes issued who occupied Mawer-al-nahar, and from thence conquered Khorasan and founded the Seljukian and Ghaznevide dynasties, and from the same quarter issued those successive swarms which traversed the rivers of the Euxine and made their way into Europe, first under the name of Hunns or Χουννοι, and afterwards under those of Chazars, Bulgarians, and Komanians. This region, near the sources of the Irtish, is the second great domicile of the Turkish nations: it was not their primitive abode or the cradle of the race, since we have seen that all the traditions current among the Ouigours themselves, and all the notices to be collected from Chinese historians, concur in deducing them in the first place from countries which lie nearly twenty degrees to the eastward of Lake Saïsan. The river Orkkon and the mountains of Karakorúm are to the southward of the Baikal Lake, and the countries of the Hiong-nú were immediately to the northward of the Chinese wall.

The Turkish race is therefore originally from the remote East, namely from a region which lies to the eastward of Mongolia and the first conquests of Tschingghis-khan.

Note.

A different opinion from that which I have stated has been maintained respecting the Ouigours. M. Langlès carries back the origin of civilisation among them three hundred years before the Christian era, and maintains that they sent out many colonies into remote parts of Asia.* Of these, according to Rémusat, Chinese writers have no notice.† It has been maintained by Schmidt, the editor of Sanang-Setsen's Mongolian history, that the Ouigours were a people of Tibetan and not of Turkish origin. This opinion has been refuted by Klaproth, Abel-Rémusat, and by Hamacker, on the evidence of original documents until lately inaccessible. These documents prove in the clearest manner that the Ouigours were Turks. Rubruquis had asserted in 1254, that among the Jugurs is the origin of the Turkish and Comanian language;‡ and by the Genoese who made treaties in the fifteenth century with the Turks of the Black Sea, the Turkish language is called "*Lingua Ugaresca.*" The testimony of Bar-Hebræus goes even further back: this writer lived in the kingdom of the Mongoles: he was born in 1226, a year before the death of Tschingghis-khan: he marks in his "Chronicon Syriacum" the western limits of the Mongoles at the country of the "Iguri Turcæ," and says, that the same Mongoles conquered the "Iguros Turcas," and exacted tribute from them. The same writer asserts, that these Iguri or Ouigours, at the command of Tschingghis-khan, taught the Mongoles the art of writing, and that since that time the Mongoles had continued to make use of the characters of the Ouigours, as the Egyptians used the Greek and the Persians write in Arabian letters. Abel-Rémusat has observed, that as the Ouigourian and Mongolian

* Alphabet Mandchou, par M. Langlès.

† Rapport sur les travaux de la Classe d'Hist. Paris, 1811.—Rémusat, Recherches.

‡ Rubruquis, cap. 28.—Abel-Rémusat ubi supra, p. 255.—Ritter Erdkunde von Asien, vi. s. 589.

alphabets have the same origin and form, the latter having more letters than the former which contains only fourteen characters, it is probable that the Ouigourian which is the most simple, is in fact the most ancient, and that the Mongolian was formed from it with the addition of certain letters. The alphabet of the Ouigours themselves is derived from the Syrian Estranghelo used by the Nestorians, and has not the slightest resemblance to the Deva-Nagari, or to any form of Indian writing, or the characters which the disciples of Buddha have spread through many parts of Asia. On the model of this it would have been formed if derived from the Tibetan. Its analogy with the Syrian is a sufficient proof, that among the numerous Christian sects some were already at very early times spread through Central Asia.*

I have gone the more into details in these abstracts from writers who have investigated the history of the Ouigours, because the conclusions which I shall attempt to draw in the following sections, as to the relation of the Turkish and Mongolian and Tungusian races, in a great degree will turn on the history of the Ouigourian dialect.

* In this character is the remarkable inscription found at Nertschinsk, near the borders of China, and thence brought to St. Petersburg. It is engraved upon a grey granite block, which is five feet high and more than one foot broad, in four perpendicular rows, which when read from left to right, according to Schmidt, contain the following beginning of a formula of oath to the Eliyas, or the winged dæmons :—"Tschingghis-khan after his return from the subjection of Sartagol, after the annihilation of all hatred between all tribes of Mongolians, to all the three hundred and thirty-five Eliyas."....Sartagol is Kara-Khitay, the capital of which, Kashgar, held by the Nayman chief, Guschluk-khan, was conquered in the year 1219-1220. The stone is therefore a talisman against the return of the hatred of the Eliyas, to whom probably vows or offerings might have been made here.—Ritter's Erdkunde von Asien, Th. 5, s. 590.

Section. VI.—*History of the Turkish Race continued.—Subdivisions.—Turkish Invasions anterior to the Mongolian Era.*

We have entered upon the history of the Turkish race so far as to identify the ancient Hiong-nú with the Thú-kiú of the Chinese annalists of the middle-ages, and with the Turks or Τουρκοι, whose great Khan or Chagan, Dizabulus, was visited by ambassadors from Constantinople in his capital on Ektag or the Golden Mountain, probably Mount Altaï, in the sixth century of our era. We must now advert to the subdivisions of this great nation.

The history of the Turkish invasions of Europe and Western Asia divides itself into two series of events. The first comprises the successive inroads of Turkish hordes from the time when they first became known to the western nations till the rise of the Mongolian power under Tschingghis-khan and his immediate followers. At that period the name of Turks disappeared for a time and gave way to those of Tartars and Mongoles. The second series comprehends the subsequent events of their history, when the name and glory of the Turks began to emerge from the temporary eclipse which had involved them. We have observed that the armies of Tschingghis were composed, in a great part, of Turks, though under Mongolian banners they bore now a different appellation. The conquests of the Mongolian khakans thus gave occasion to a much more extensive diffusion of the Turkish race. An account of the later states or khanates, of which the first chiefs were Mongolians, but the population really Turks, forms the second part in the history of this remarkable people.

Paragraph 1.—Turkish inroads prior to the age of Tschingghis.

The inroads of Turkish hordes on Iran are said to have begun during the reigns of the last princes of the house

of Sassan, and but shortly before the conquest of Persia by the Arabs. They continued, though with intervals, till, under the Seljukian and Ghaznevide sultans, all the countries from the Ganges to the Mediterranean had been laid waste by Turkish arms. But long before the time of Yezdejird, the last of the fire-worshipping kings of Persia, nomadic hordes of the East had made their appearance on the borders of the Iranian and Byzantine empires. Their approaches were ever made by the same inlets, namely, through the plains lying to the eastward of the Caspian, and to the northward of the Euxine. The last of these ways has been termed the high road of barbarians, the path by which many wandering and predatory tribes have passed successively from the unknown wildernesses of remote Asia to the threshold and sometimes into the heart of civilised Europe. The history of these invading nations is obscure, and their origin in many instances uncertain. They were not all of one race. The Goths made their inroads on the Roman provinces on the Danube, and afterwards their piratical expeditions on the shores of the Hellespont and the Mediterranean, from countries lying to the northward of the Euxine; but we have found reason to believe that these regions were only the transitory abode of the Goths, and that their way had been not from the central countries of Asia, as some writers have persuaded themselves, but from the northern parts of Europe adjoining the Baltic and the Vistula. The Scythians and the Sauromatæ or Sarmatians had in earlier times possessed the same countries on the Tanais and the Borysthenes. They were an Asiatic people; but the relation of these races to the Slavi in later times seems to claim for them, although resembling the Tartars in their manners, a result perhaps of local circumstances, a place in the Indo-European family of nations, and some country on the borders of Iran seems to be pointed out as the most probable scene of their early abode. The first invading race, altogether alien from the European fraternity of nations, were the celebrated Hunns, a people of a description so new that their very aspect excited aversion and

surprise. The origin of the Hunns was long a problem, and different opinions have been maintained with regard to it even of late years. It is generally supposed that the Hunns were a people from the remote East. When the history of the Hiong-núw as explored by De Guignes in the works of Chinese historians, it was concluded that the Hunns were the descendants of that people, and that their original country was on the borders of China. Late writers have maintained that the Hunns of the fourth century were of the same stock as the Magyars, who invaded the eastern parts of Europe in the eighth century, and who, as we have seen, were an Ugrian race, and issued from Ugria or Great Hungary on the borders of the Uralian Mountains. The inquiry, whether the Hunns were a people of the borders of Europe, or emigrants from Eastern Asia, is not only in itself interesting, but has an important bearing on that of other barbarous nations, who, during many successive ages, followed the path of the Hunns. It is therefore deserving of some attention.

The invasion of the Hunns took place, as it is well known, in the age of the emperor Valens. In the year 375 they crossed the Tanais and entered the Gothic empire of Hermanrich. The Hunns penetrated as far westward as the plain of Chalons, where they were defeated by the Roman general Aëtius. After the death of Attila their power was broken by the revolt of the Goths, Alans, and other nations who had been subdued by them and made a part of their armies.* The empire of the Hunns disappears from history, but is succeeded by that of the Bulgarians, who were long a powerful nation in the region which the Hunns had occupied.

The Bulgarians, who afterwards passed the Danube, and were known among the formidable enemies of the Byzantine empire, and whose descendants still remain among the

* In 444 Attila, in his camp upon the banks of the Thiess, was visited by Priscus, the ambassador of the Byzantine emperor. After the death of Attila the Goths and Gepidæ drove the Hunns out of their conquests in the central parts of Europe. His son Ellak was slain and then, says Jornandes, "reliqui germani ejus, eo occiso, fugantur juxta littus Pontici Maris, ubi prius Gothos sedisse descripsimus."

subjects of the Sultan, were a tribe of the same people. After the Hunns and almost in their suite came likewise the Avars, who are often called Hunns by writers of the middle ages and identified with the people of Attila, as they really were identified with them in their manners and probably in their descent. Nearly two centuries later, in the year 626, we find the first mention of the Chazars, who came likewise from the East and occupied the southern part of the country of the Bulgarians adjoining the Mæotic Lake. Bands of Chazars marched in the army of the emperor Heraclius against the Persian Chosroes. The Pecinaci or Petcheneges and the Komanians, who spoke the same language as the Petcheneges, are found at a somewhat later period in possession of the whole country to the northward of the Euxine. The latter are mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in his account of the nations of the Byzantine empire. By Constantine they are termed Patzinacitæ, and are said to have inhabited the country on both sides of the Dnieper, and to have reached along the coast of the Euxine to the mouth of the Danube. They bordered on the Chazars to the westward. The Komani are known to have been the same people afterwards called Kiptschaks.

The origin and relations of all these races will be most likely to be elucidated if we collect and compare the notices left of the several nations, beginning with the latest.

1. The Kiptschaks, termed Κόμανοι by the Byzantine writers, and in the Slavonian chronicles Polowczi, which means inhabitants of plains, had occupied all the country to the northward of the two seas before the arrival of the Mongoles, in the early part of the fourteenth century, by whom they were expelled and driven to seek refuge in Hungary. M. Zeuss has shewn that they were the people called sometime before Οὐζοι or Uzi by Constantine,* who are connected with the Petcheneges by some of the Byzantine writers. The Komani are declared by Anna Commena to have

* Constantine, Porph. de adm. Imperio.—Die Deutchen und die Nachbarstämme, voh Kaspar Zeuss, München, 1837, p. 721-722.—Frœhn de Chasaris. Excerpt. ex Histor. Arab.—Petrop. 1822.

spoken the same language as the latter.* They are termed Gússes by Masudi in a passage cited by M. Frähn, who finds an account of their passing the great rivers from Tartary into the country which they conquered from the Chazars.† This took place during the tenth century. By Henry, the Lettish chronicler, they are termed Chomani, and described, "gens immundissima, quæ carnibus utebatur fere crudis pro cibo, et lacte equorum et sanguine pro potu."‡ This description leaves no doubt of their Turkish origin, which is fully established by a later Persian and Komanian vocabulary, copied in 1303, and published by Klaproth, from the MSS. in the library of St. Mark at Venice.§

2. The Turkish origin of the Komanians being fully established, no doubt remains respecting the Petcheneges, who are authentically recorded to have spoken the same language. The Petcheneges occupied the country from which they were expelled by the Chazars and Uzi or Komanians, fifty years before the time when Constantine Porphyrogenitus compiled his work.‖ Their first invasion of the Russian territory is mentioned by Nestor in the year 915.¶ The Turkish origin of the Petcheneges is besides testified by Ibn-el-wardi in a passage cited by M. Frähn.**

3. That the Chazars were Turks and not a Finnish tribe, the express testimony of Theophanes is sufficient to prove in opposition to mere conjectures.†† That writer terms

* Anna Commena, Alexius, lib. 8, p. 232. † Frähn's Ibn-Foslan, p. 244.

‡ Chron. Zwetl. ad ann. 1239.—Zeuss, 744.

§ Klaproth, *Mém. rél. à l'Asie*, tom. 3.—M. d'Avezac, Notice sur les anciens voyages des Tartares en général, &c.—Rec. de Voyages, par la Société de Géogr. Paris, 1839, p. 489.

‖ Constantine Porph. de adm. Imperio., c. 37.—Zeuss, p. 742.

¶ Nestor, ed Schl., 4-5.—Zeuss, ibid.

** Frähn's Ibn-Foslan, p. 44.—Zeuss, ibid.

†† Bayer long ago maintained the Turkish origin of the Chazars (Comm. Acad. Petrop., T. 9), and Lehrberg has argued in defence of this opinion in his learned work entitled "Untersuchungen zur Erläuterung der älteren Geschichte Russlands (St. Pet. 1816).—Ueber die geograph. Lage der Chasarischen Festung Szarkel.

them Τοῦρκοι ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑώας, οὓς Χαζάρους ὀνομάζουσιν.* They are first mentioned in 626 on the occasion of their marching in the expedition of Heraclius against the Persian Chosroes. They are said by the same writer to have come from the inmost parts of Berzilia, meaning the country on the Caspian behind the Wolga, and to have invaded the country of the Bulgarians on the Mæotis. They became the most powerful people in the Pontic country, and exacted tribute from the southern Slavonian tribes on the Dnieper, but were afterwards pressed on that side by the Pectcheneges, against whom their last frontier town was Sarkel, on the Donetz.†

We are informed, in a passage cited from Ibn-Haukal, that the Chazars were a divided people, and that one tribe of them were called Kara-Chazars or Black Chazars. This Turkish epithet, if it was not merely a name bestowed on them by the Bulgarians, is a strong argument for their Turkish affinity. The Arabs spread commerce and Islàm through these countries early in the tenth century, and Ibn-Foslan, ambassador from the chaliph Muktedir to the king of Great Bulgaria, gained some knowledge of the Russians and other neighbouring nations.‡ In a passage cited from Ibn-Foslan it is expressly affirmed that the language of the Chazars was the same as that of the Bulgarians on the Wolga, "Lingua Bulgarorum similis est linguæ Chasarorum."§

* Theophan., p. 263.—Zeuss. † Nestor, 2, 153, 211.

‡ Zeuss, p. 721-722.—Frœhn de Chasaris. Excerpt. ex Histor. Arab. Petrop, 1822.

§ Zeuss, art. Bulgari, p. 723. It is singular that M. M. Frähn and Ouseley elicit, apparently from the same original, a totally opposite meaning on the question, whether the Chazars and Bulgarians had the Turkish language or not. The following are M. Frähn's words :—"Duplex Chasarorum genus exstat. Alteri nomen est Kara Chasar (*i e.* Chasari nigri): hi fusco colore sunt, sed propter fusci intentionem ad nigredinem vengente, ita ut species Indorum esse videantur. Genus alterum albo colore est atque pulchritudine et forma insigne." Then as to their language, "lingua Chasarorum à Turcicâ et Persicâ differt, nec ullius populi lingua aliquid commune cum eâ habêt. Chasari Turcis similes non sunt. Nigrum capillum habent." Ibn-Haukal in Ouseley's version gives an opposite statement:—"The principal persons of Atel (the capital of the Chazars on the Atel or Wolga), are Mussulmans and merchants;

We now come back to the older invaders of the Pontic countries, the first nomadic nations who are known to have entered them from Asia, I mean the Hunns, the Bulgarians, and the Avars.

The Avars are first mentioned between A.D. 461 and 465, soon after the fall of the great empire of the Hunns. By the writers of Justinian's time they are said to have been a section of the great people termed Ouar and Chuni. On this occasion the Avars were only known by distant report. About one hundred years later, a migratory horde, under the same name, and apparently the same people, were stationed near the feet of Mount Caucasus, as allies of the Alani. By the same writers we are assured that the Avars gave to their superior chieftain the title of Chagan. This is an epithet common to all the Turkish and Mongolian chieftains or emperors, being evidently no other than the Eastern title of khan or khakan. By Paulus Diaconus they are expressly called Hunns. "Avares primum Hunni, postea de regis proprio nomine Avares appellati sunt." The same Avars, in the reign of Justin, invaded Germany, and were defeated by the Aurtrasian Sigebert. Their history is to be found in the works of the Byzantines, Menander, Theophanes, and Theophylact Simocatta, and in those of Gregory of Tours and Paul the son of Warnefried, the deacon of Friuli.* By these last

their language is that of the Turks and is not understood by any other nation." He gives the same acccount of their division into two classes.—"The people of Khozr are near the Turks whom they resemble. They are of two classes; one of blackish complexions and of such dark hair, that you would suppose them to be descended from the Hindoos: the other race fair-complexioned." —Frœhn de Chasaris, Exc., p. 15.—The Oriental Geography of Ibn-Haukal by Ouseley, London, 1800. This text, translated by Ouseley, is however a Persian translation, of which the groundwork, according to Frähn, is not Ibn-Haukal's, but a still older Arabian work of Istachri, written in the beginning of the tenth century.—See Zeuss, p. 723. It seems evident that the passages cited are from the same original, but whence the contradiction it is difficult to determine.

* Menander, Excerpt., Legat. p. 99-155.—Theophanes, p. 196.—Theophylact Simocatt., lib. 9.—Greg. Turon, lib. 4.—Bouquet, lib. 2, p. 214.—Paul Diac. de Act. Langob.

writers they are termed Chuni or Hunns; and it has been observed by M. Zeuss, that one of the divisions of the Hunns is by Theophylact distinguished by the name of Avars.

The Byzantine writers supposed the Bulgarians to be the same people before known under the name of Hunns. Procopius indeed never terms them Bulgarians but always Οὖννους,* and Cassiodorus plainly identified them with the Hunns.† The Bulgarians are first mentioned by name in the panegyrical oration of Eunodius to the Gothic king Theodoric.‡ It may be considered, as M. Zeuss has shewn, as an historical fact, that the Bulgarians were the remains of the Hunns, who, after their defeat on the death of Attila, retreated to the banks of the Wolga and the plains extending from Bolgari to the Euxine.§ From that country, called, as we have seen, Great Bulgaria, issued the hordes of Bulgarians who, at a latter period, crossed the Danube and established the Bulgarian kingdom which was so formidable to the Byzantine emperors.

The kingdom of Great Bulgaria extended from the confluence of the Kama and the Wolga to the shores of the Euxine and the Caspian. The ruins of its capital city, Bolgari, have been discovered on the banks of the Wolga. It appears that a considerable traffic between the East and the North of Europe was carried on during the middle ages through the country of the Bulgarians and by means of the great rivers which traverse it. Nestor, in his catalogue of nations, mentions the Bulgarians, but only those of the Danube, though he remarks, that they, as well as the White Ougres, migrated into that country from the East. In later periods he frequently names these Bulgarians in relating the transactions of Russia with the Byzantine empire, and for the first time, in the beginning of the tenth century, and in the reign of the great Czar Vladimir, speaks of the Bulgarians of the Wolga, who at that period were Mohammedans and attempted

* Procop. Bell. Goth., 4, 18. † Cassiodor. Var., 8, 10.

‡ Op. Sirm., tom. 1. 1608.

§ Zeuss, ubi supra, 710.

to bring over the Czar with his people to the cause of Islàm.*

We learn from the Byzantine writers, to whom the history of the Bulgarian tribes in the vicinity of their country was a matter of particular interest, that the ancient seat of the Bulgarian nation was on the middle Wolga, near the Ural, whence they reached southward to the coast of the Pontic Sea, and thence to the Danube. There, to the northward of the Mæotic Lake, the Byzantine Theophanes fixed the situation of Great or Old Bulgaria. Rubruquis, in the thirteenth century, in his travels through the Pontic steppes, found Great Bulgaria or Etilia on the Wolga, whence, he says, the Hunns are said to have wandered forth. Later Russian historians, who mention Great Bulgaria on the Wolga, and Tatischtschew in particular, draw a distinction between Great Bulgaria on the Wolga as the father-land, and Little Bulgaria on the Danube as the colonial country of the race. The latter, among the Byzantine writers, is distinguished by the name of Black Bulgaria.†

The early history of these Bulgarians has been investigated by the learned M. Frähn, the editor of Ibn-Foslan, who has given extracts containing accounts of their commercial transactions with the Chazars and other Asiatic nations from the works of Arabian authors.‡ "The situation of their country," says M. Frähn, "traversed by the Wolga, brought them into relation with the people on the Caspian Sea, by the channels of the Kama and Wiatka with the tribes of the north-east, and by the upper course of the Wolga itself with the western and north-western nations of Russia." Russian historians record their intercourse with these scattered people of the North: their traffic with the nations of the South is attested by the Arabs. In the works of these last-mentioned writers Bulgaria is mentioned as the great staple-seat of commerce

* Zeuss, ubi supra.

† Müller's Ugrische Volkstamm, B. 2.

‡ Frähn, Ueber die Russen älterer Zeit, item Mem. de l'Académie des Sciences, St. Petersb., 1832.

with the northern countries. The discoveries made since the time of Peter the Great of the ruins of their ancient capital have displayed a remarkable monument of the former culture of the Bulgarian people, although, as Frähn has rightly maintained, these remains may in great part be referred to the age of Mongolian domination. These are not the only relics of the opulence of this people, found by the younger Rytschkow, who made the investigation of the Permian and Bulgarian countries on the Wolga the chief object of his travels. Extensive ruins of several other cities and the great number of smaller towns prove that these regions were formerly the seat of an active and numerous population till they were overwhelmed by hordes of barbarians from the East.†

That the Avars and Bulgarians, as well as the Hunns of Attila's time, who are, as we have seen, identified, were a Turkish race and not Finns or Ugrians, may be collected from the following considerations:—

1. Many of their names and titles are plainly of Turkish origin. Gregory of Tours says, "Chunorum rex vocabatur Gaganus, aliter Chaganus." The king of the Hunns was termed Gagan or Chagan. He adds, "that all the sovereigns of this race have the same appellation." He means indeed the Avars by the name of Chuni. Now khakan and khan are Tartar titles: the former is the Mongolian form, the latter the Turkish. The contracted form is the most modern one, and it is very probable that the word was originally khakaň in Turkish. Kagan occurs in Nestor, and the Arabian writers have *chákán*. It has been observed, that one of Attila's sons was named Dengisich, perhaps from his having been born near the Euxine or Caspian, *dengiz* being the Turkish word for sea, and that Attila himself, who came not to the throne by hereditary right, but assumed it on the death of his uncle, probably as guardian, may have derived his name from *atalik*, which means in Turkish, guardian or regent.

2. The description of the manners of the Hunns resembles that of the Turks or Tartars. In the curious

* Müller, Ug. V. 2, 414.

relation of the embassy of Maximin and Priscus beyond the Danube to the camp of Attila, there are many traits which indicate the Tartarian origin of the Hunns. Contrary to the general usage of the East, the queen displayed herself in public: her mansion was raised on round columns, with ornaments curiously carved: she received the ambassadors sitting or lying on a couch.*

We find a parallel account in the narratives of the minorite Jean du Plan de Carpin, who visited the court of the Tartar Batu-khan in 1246. He was received by the descendant of Tschingghis seated on a royal throne with one of his wives beside him. The tent of Cuyuc was raised on pillars covered with plates of gold. Maximin was forbidden to pitch his tent in a pleasant valley, lest he should infringe on the reverence due to the supreme chief, an observance recalling the kuruk of the Turkish princes.

It hence appears that soon after the period of the migration of the Hiong-nú towards the west, according to Chinese historians, a series of invasions commenced in the eastern parts of Europe. The assailants were a new kind of people, unlike the barbarians of northern Europe, who had been previously known to the civilised world. They were Asiatic nomades, and their description coincides with that of the Kirghises and other nomadic Turks of modern times. The Hunns were the first of these invaders, the Komanians or Kiptschaks were the last who acquired a footing in the Pontic countries previously to the events which changed the political and social condition of all Asia. In the meantime other Turkish bodies had settled at various periods in Transoxiana, whence they had passed into Khorasan and thence westward into Media and Persia, and eastward, joined with Affghans, to Hindústan. The former were principally Túrkomans. The Seljukian dynasty ruled over the Turkish tribes, who descended in this direction and founded a powerful monarchy in Western Asia.

We must now turn our attention to a race of people

* Priscus, ed. Bonn, p. 158.—Zeuss, p. 729.

whose prowess suddenly eclipsed that of the Turks, and who became for a time the ruling tribe throughout the eastern world.

Section VII.—*History of the Mongolian Race.*

Until the early part of the thirteenth century the name and existence of the Mongoles was unknown in Europe. Even in the ancient records of China they are obscurely traced and hardly to be identified among the barbarous hordes of the North, though various nations of Turkish and of Tungusian origin are clearly distinguished in the history of invasions which the northern provinces of the empire underwent in successive ages. Until the time of their great national hero, Temutjin or Tschingghis Khakan, the Mongoles were confined to a comparatively small territory. If we consider the impression which they produced and the part which they performed in the history of human events, the Mongolian nation appears to have been wonderfully small, and in respect of numbers insignificant. Even in the armies of Tschingghis and his successors the number of Mongoles was inconsiderable in comparison with that of the Turks, who, though at first unfortunate in arms against their more barbarous foes, yet in the sequel gained victories under the banners of Mongolian leaders, and formed at all times the great body of those numerous armies which were said to increase like a snow-ball in their progress.* If the names of chieftains recorded in history, with notices of their alliances and genealogies, left any doubt as to the truth of this remark, the fact, as M. Abel Rémusat observes, would be rendered evident by an examination of the dialects spoken in Kasan, Astra-

* "Les Mongols," says M. Rémusat, "formoient une nation peu nombreuse en comparaison des peuples Turks dont ils étoient entourés. Ils ne manquèrent pas, après avoir soumi les Turks, de se servir d'eux pour subjuguer les contrées plus éloignées. Leurs armeés, en atteignant le terme de leurs invasions, se trouvoient composées de beaucoup d'étrangers et d'un fort petit nombre de Mongols."

khan, in the Krimea, in the country of Jagatai,* and wherever separate khanates or petty Tartar kingdoms have survived the dismemberment of the great Mongolian empire.

In the present time a few scattered hordes of the Mongolian race are to be found in countries at a distance from their home, but the great body of the people are still confined to the countries which they are known to have occupied soon after the age of Tschingghis. The tribes whose assemblage constitute what the Chinese term the "Forty-nine banners," and who are the Mongolian nation properly so termed, namely the Dourbet, the Gorlos, the Djalaït, the Naïman, the Toumet, the Ordos, the Ouirat, and the Khochot, occupy, to the northward of the Great Wall and to the westward of the Mand-shú country, a broad tract extending from the 120th to the 116th degree of east longitude from the meridian of Paris, and stretching east and west to the northward of the Great Desert of Gobi. Farther northward, ascending towards the Onon and the native land of Tschingghis, we find the Khalka Mongoles or the Khalkas, whose country reaches towards the west as far as Lake Oubsa, near the Little Altaï, and northward to the boundaries of the Russian empire. Some of these Khalkas have passed the Russian frontier, and have established themselves in the neighbouring government of Irkutsk and on the rivers Selenga, Temnik, Djida, and Tschikoï. Not far from them live the Bouriæts, another branch of the Mongolian nation, whose different tribes form the majority of inhabitants of the government of Irkutsk, to the northward of lake Baikal and in the isle of Olkhon, in the territory of Ilim, and in the districts of Ondinsk and Selenginsk.†

To the westward of Mount Altaï, towards the sources of the Irtish and as far as lake Balkash, in the region

* Abel-Rémusat spells this name Tchakkatai. I have followed M. Rémusat in his expression of the name of Tschingghis, which is variously represented in European languages. Probably Tchakkatai would be correct, but I find the name Jagatai in maps, and the difference in sound is not so great as to render it worth while to change a name already recognised as a geographical distinction.

† The Bouriæts are the people termed Bratski by the Russians.

bordered on the south by the cities of High Bokharia, dwell the remains of the Dschoun-gar or Songarians, a nation formerly powerful and troublesome even to the Mand-shú emperors, at present dispersed and almost subdued by China. Many scattered tribes of this people have taken refuge either in the Russian territory or among the Turks of Bokharia: other hordes have joined themselves to the tribes of the same race settled long since in Kôke-khotan or on the Blue Lake or in the country of the Ordos. Lastly, there are in Tibet a great number of Mongoles, supposed to have been settled there since the time of Tschingghis. They are termed Tungatian Mongoles, and by the Chinese, the Western Tsang.*

The Kalmuks of the Don, the Wolga, and the Jaik, who speak the Ölet dialect, or the western Mongolian, derive their origin from the Olets of Khó-kho-nór and of Altaï, named Tourgots and Dourhets, mixed with Songarians, Khochots, and other tribes of the same race. Their genealogy is exactly known as well as the era of their emigration towards the West. The arrival of the earliest colonies of the Mongolian race, namely, of the Kalmuks, is not of more remote date than the commencement of the seventeenth century.† Their number was encreased by emigrants from the Songarians, at the destruction of the dynasty which that people had established in the centre of Asia.

It may hence be perceived, as Abel-Rémusat observes, that after omitting to take account of these western emigrants from Mongolia and of the tribes settled in Tibet, we may comprehend all the nations of the Mongolian race within a line, which, passing from the northern extremity of Lake Baikal to the northward of the lake of Balkash, turns thence eastward to the Hoang-ho, which it traverses near the mountains of Alachan, follows then the direction of the Great Wall through nearly its whole extent, and reverting by the north at length joins the river Non, at

* Abel-Rémusat, Recherches, pp. 237-255.

† According to Klaproth, the Kalmuks on the Lower Wolga first crossed the Jaik from Central Asia in 1662.—As. Polyglotta, p. 272.

the spot where the latter falls into the Songari, and comes back to the point whence it set out. The space thus circumscribed includes a considerable part of the desert of Gobi, surrounded on every side by Mongolian Aïmak and Oulous, all of whom speak the same language and acknowledge the same origin, which they attest by exact genealogies reaching back to the age of Tschingghis.*

All the writers who have attempted to investigate the history of the Mongoles have felt great difficulty in recognising among the existing tribes the descendants of the nations who were celebrated in the age of Tschingghis. Raschid-ed-din has preserved a list of twenty-four tribes, said to have descended from the sons of the fabulous Oguz-khan, but he has not distinguished them according to their national relations. Some are Turks, and it is not always easy to determine which were really of Mongolian blood.* Mohammedan writers appear to have had little or no accurate knowledge of the diversitity of these races. Among the twenty-four tribes there are several of doubtful origin. The tribes most nearly allied to that of Tschingghis were, after the victories of that chieftain, styled Niroun or genuine Mongoles, in contradistinction to other tribes of the same stock. The Niroun Mongoles themselves were twenty-one tribes; they inhabited a region of no great extent between Lake Baikal and the Desert of Shamo. The particular tribe to which Tschingghis belonged wandered in the mountainous country where the Onon, the Toula, and the Keroulen take their rise. Under the guidance of Temutjin or Tschingghis the Niroun Mongoles soon overcame all the tribes who were more remotely connected with their race. The proper Tatars, a people divided into six tribes, dwelling near Lake Bouyir, to the eastward of Mongolia, were among the first of their conquests, and these tribes took afterwards so conspicuous a place in the armies of Tschingghis, and performed so distinguished a part in their warlike atchievments, that their name be-

* Abel-Rémusat, ibid.

† D'Ohsson, Hist. des Mongols, tom. 1. Note.

came equally glorious with that of Mongoles.* Both in fact were so generally assumed that it is now impossible to point out the rightful claimants of either. In the time of Jean du Plan de Carpin the names of Tatar and Mongol were identified.† That traveller gave the former name to the ruling tribe, and termed their country Mongol or Mongal. In this country, at the feet of the mountains of Qarâ-qaroum, watered by the river Ourgoun, was the celebrated capital of the Mongolian empire, generally named Karakorúm.‡ "Hæc terra quondum," says Plan de Carpin, "populos quatuor habuit: unus Yeka-Mongal, id est Magni Mongali vocabantur; secundus Sa Mongal, id est, Aquatici Mongali vocabantur, ipsi antem se ipsos Tartaros appellabant à quodam fluvio qui currit per terram illorum, qui Tatar nominatur; alius appellabatur Merkil; quartus Mecrit." He adds this important observation,—"Hi populi omnes unam formam personarum et unam linguam habebant, quamvis inter se per provincias et principes essent divisi." The Yeka-Mon-

* Abel-Rémusat, Recherches.—M. D'Ohsson has cited an important passage of Raschid-ed-din to this effect:—"The Tatars obtained in former times so many victories, they rendered themselves so powerful and formidable, that the other Turkish nations [he uses the term in a vague sense], were eager to assume so glorious a name and to pass for Tatars, just as in the present days [the days of Raschid] the Tchelayr, the Tatars, Ouyrât, Oungout, Kerayt, Naymân, Tangcout, and others affect the name of Mongoles, which Tchinguiz-khan and his successors have ennobled."—D'Avezac's Voyage de J. du Plan Carpini, p. 533.

† Deinde terram intravimus Mongalorum, quos nos Tartaros appellamus.—Plan de Carpin, ed. D'Avezac, p. 753.

‡ It does not appear that Plan de Carpin visited Karakorúm though he was near to it; but we have an account of this place from Rubruquis, who was there five years afterwards, in 1653. He describes it and says, "De civitate Caracoron noveritis quod, excluso palatio ipsius Chan, non est ita bona sicut burgus Sancti Dionysii, &c." He adds, "that the monastery of St. Denys was worth twice as much as the Chan's palace."

The artificers of the town were Cathaians.—Catharani, lege Cathaiani. It seems then that the Mongoles had not expelled the old inhabitants of places conquered by them from the Khitans, or rather Kara-khitans.

Jean du Plan de Carpin or Carpini was the earliest European traveller who traversed Great Tartary. His journey took place in the year 1246. The narrative has been admirably edited, with a collation of MSS. and critical and geographical illustrations by D'Avezac, in the Recueil de Voyages, published by the French Geographical Society.

gal of Carpini are supposed to have been the Niroun Mongoles, the particular nation to whom the name of Mongol more properly belonged, and the kinsmen and subjects of Temutjin. We are assured by Abel-Rémusat that they are termed by the Chinese writers of the time Black Tha-tha, and distinguished from the White Tha-tha of the same writers, who are the Oungout of Abulghasi-khan.* The Sa-Mongal or Mongoles of the water, are supposed to be the Tatars of Lake Bouyir. The Merkyt, as their name is written by the Mohammedan writers, are probably the Merghed in M. Schmidt's version of Sanang-Setsen, the well-known name of a powerful tribe on the banks of the Selenga and Lake Baikal, between the Tatars on the eastern and the Naïmans on the western side. The *Mecrit* of Carpin are not easily recognised. M. D'Avezac has conjectured that the name alluded to the Kéryt or Keraites. The Keraites were a numerous people, consisting of several tribes, who inhabited the mountains of Karakorúm. They are supposed to have resembled the Mongoles in language, and to have been a branch of the same stock. Immediately before the rise of the proper Mongoles under Temutjin, the Keraites are said to have been one of the most powerful nations in Eastern Tartary. Their sovereigns bore the name of Unch-khans, or Great Monarchs. By Nestorian missionaries who had previously acquired influence among their western neighbours, the Ouigours or Igurites, the Keraites were converted to Christianity, which they are said to have embraced in the early part of the eleventh century, and to have long retained; though it does not appear that they possessed any portions of the scriptures in their language or the art of writing. By Assemani, who has investigated the history of the eastern nations converted to the Nestorian creed during the last century, it appears to have been proved, that the Unch-khans or

* Recherches, p. 239. Tha-tha, also Tha-tha-eul, is synonymous in Chinese orthography with Tatar. The ethnological notices obtained from Chinese writers are but vague and indefinite at best. We find the term Choui Tha-tha or Water Tatars ascribed, as M. de Rémusat assures us, to people of the Tungusian race by Chinese writers, whereas the Water Tatars of Carpin are the genuine Tatars of Lake Bouyir.

sovereigns of the Keraites were the princes celebrated in Europe under the famous title of Prester John.† Rémusat conjectured that the Tourgots, whose descendants are found among the Kalmuks of the Wolga, are the lineal descendants of these ancient Keraites. Besides these tribes known to Carpin, the Djelaires lived near the Onon, divided into ten great branches. The Ouïrates, also subdivided into several tribes, inhabited a higher country, watered by eight rivers, which uniting form the Kem or the Upper Yeniseï The forest Ouriangaites were a sylvan people living further northward, similar in manners to the Ourianguites of the Tungusian stock, but of a totally different race. Lastly, the Naïmans were beyond all these towards the west. They were either the most westerly of all the old Mongolian nations in the time of Tschingghis and his successors, or they were the most easterly and the most remote from Europe of the Turkish tribes, through whose territory Jean du Plan de Carpin, the earliest European traveller, took his way to the encampment of the Great Khakan of Tartary. The Naïmans possessed a very extensive country, of which Raschid-ed-din has marked out the geographical limits. It comprised in its extent the chain of the Great Altaï andthe mountains of Karakorúm, as well as the mountains of Elouy Lerass, the lake of Ardisch, supposed to be Lake Saïsan, the course of the river Ardisch and the mountains which traverse between that river and the country of the Kirghises. Their neighbours to the northward were the Kirghises, to the eastward the Keraites. On the south-west of their country were vast deserts, which separated them from the territory of the Ouigours. It was, as we have observed, on passing out of the country of the Naïmans towards the East that Jean du Plan de Carpin recorded his arrival in the country of the genuine Tatars or Mongolians. "It cost him three weeks of travel to arrive at Karakorúm or more properly at Ordou-balig or the imperial city of Qarâ-qaroum, so called because situated at

* Assemani Bibliothèq. Orientale.—Hist. Générale de l'établissement du Christianisme, par A. Bost, tom. 3, p. 100.

the feet of the mountains of Qarâ-qaroum, which were watered by the river Ourgoun."*

Between the country of the Naïmans who bordered, as we have seen, on the Ouigours and that of the Khitans, a region of no vast extent, we must consider the real Mongolian race to have been limited in the very age when their greatness was at its zenith, and when all nations from the mouth of the Hoang-ho to the banks of the Danube, and even St. Louis with his Christian chivalry, trembled at their name.

Paragraph 2.—Of the early history of the Mongoles before Tschingghis-khan.

Before Temutjin, the chieftain of a little band in High-Mongolia, rendered himself formidable among the neighbouring tribes and assumed the title of Tschingghis-khakan and gave to his troop the proud designation of the Golden Horde, the Mongolian race, as we have observed, was unknown to the world. The great barbaric nations whose national contests in early times had formed the principal events in the history of Northern Asia, as recorded in the annals of China, were, as far as can be discovered, of Turkish or of Tungusian origin. An obscure and indefinite notice of a people called Mokho is all that the learned in Chinese literature have been able as yet to discover and to refer with the slightest probability to the Mongolian race. The Mokho are said, between 860 and 873 of our era, to have inhabited the country of the later Mongolians in the same region where the Tha-tha are also placed. They were conquered by the Khitans. The Mokho and the Tha-tha are conjectured with probability to have been Mongols and Tatars, but as both these Chinese names are bestowed according to Abel-Rémusat both on Mongolian and Tungusian tribes, it is difficult to place any reliance on notices so indefinite and vague, for we can hardly venture to refer this apparent confusion to a knowledge of the real consanguinity of the Mongolian and Tungusian races. With these ex-

* D'Ohsson, ubi supra.

ceptions the existence of the Mongoles seems to have been without mention in history till the age of Tschingghis.*

The Great Khans, successors of Tschingghis, patronised literature. It is said that the conqueror himself ordered his Mongolian subjects to be taught the art of writing, and that for that purpose the Syro-Ougúrian alphabet was so modified as to be adapted to the use of the Mongolian language. Persian and Turkish historians within the empire of the Khans were employed to record the exploits of the Golden Horde, and a series of traditions was collected, of which Raschid-ed-din seems to have been the principal compiler: they have been hitherto known principally in the abstract of Raschid by the Turkish Abulghasi-khan. The Mohammedan author commences by a fabulous genealogy connecting the Mongoles with the Turks and deriving both stems from Oghuz-khan, a traditional ancestor of the Turkish race, which he traces up to Japhet. The early part of this genealogy is plainly fictitious: it is a pure invention in the style and manner assumed by the Mohammedan writers, who ever connect the origin of nations converted to their creed with patriarchal or pseudo-biblical pedigrees. A genuine Mongolian tradition seems to commence with the account of the escape of the Mongolian horde from the iron-bound valley of Irguéné-koun or Irgana-kón, an event which was recorded by an annual festival in the time of Tschingghis. Irguéné-koun,—the name signifies "Precipitous Rocks,"—was a fertile valley enclosed between chains of impassable mountains. Two individuals named Tékouz and Kayan had concealed themselves in that valley with their wives after a calamity, —a battle as it was believed,—which had destroyed the remainder of the race. There the family patiently remained for many generations, till at length their numbers being too great to find subsistence they resolved to attempt an escape, which they finally effected by accumulating fuel

* See M. Abel-Rémusat, Recherches, p. 240. On the accounts relating to the Moko, I beg also to refer my readers to Klaproth's "Rapport sur les ouvrages du P. Hyacinthe Bitschourinski, relatifs à l'Histoire des Mongoles" (Nouv. Journ. Asiatique, tom. 6, p. 24 et seqq); to Ritter's Erdkunde von Asien, ss. 249-254, Th. 1; and to Klaproth's As. Polyglott., p. 204.

in an iron mine and melting the side of a mountain by means of seventy pairs of bellows. Through this passage the Mongolians issued, and the memory of the event was recorded in a yearly assemblage of the whole tribe, when a mass of heated iron was beaten by the sovereign, and the people rendered thanks to heaven for their deliverance. Such was the mythological origin of the Mongoles, characteristic of the genius of the people. They had no golden age. Their patriarchal race were not the children of the sun or moon, or cradled in primitive happiness and nursed by goddesses, but rude black-smiths, the immemorial inhabitants of iron mines.

The leader of the Mongolians when they issued from Irguéné-koun was Bourte-Tchino, whose name means "Blue or Dun Wolf." From his clan were derived all the princes of the Mongolian hordes; but the noble name of "Niroun Mongoles" or pure Mongolians, while the rest of the nation were termed "Durlukin" or the common people, was given exclusively to the descendants of Alancova or Aloung-Goa, the widow of Dounboun-Bayan, the eighth or tenth descendant of Bourte-Tchino.* Alancova, after her widow-hood, had three sons, said to be the offspring of a miraculous apparition, and from them were descended the noble tribe of the Nirounes, and Temutjin or Tschingghis himself in the tenth generation. According to Raschid, Alancova lived in the time of the Abasside Khaliffs, and the issue of the Mongolian race from Irguéné-koun must have been in a period subsequent to the age of Mohammed.

The legend of this Bourte-Tchino and the issue of the Mongoles from Irguéné-koun must contain an allusion to some striking event in the early history of that people, since the memory of it was preserved by an annual festival with a significant representation. It made so deep an im-

* The eighth according to Raschid, who professed to write his history from the *Altan Defter* or Golden Register, which was kept in the archives of the Great Khans, containing the genealogies of the Mongolian race. In the history of this people, composed by Sanang-Setsen, in the Mongolian language, and lately published and translated by Schmidt, there are ten generations between Bourte-Tchino and Dounboun-Bayan.

pression that we find it pervading the traditions of the most widely-scattered tribes of the race in different times. Even in the collection of Mongolian traditions, made by Sanang-Setsen, prince of the tribe of Ordos, compiled long after the fall of the imperial house of Tschingghis, and since the Mongolian nation came under the Mandshurian dominion, and long after Buddhism was established among them, we still find the name of Bourte-Tchino given to the founder of the nation. In this compilation the whole series of legends is modified, as is all history among the Lamas, by the peculiar representations of the Buddhists. The author labours to trace the royal dynasty not from Oghuz-khan or any Turkish stem, or from the descendants of Japhet, as did Raschid and Abul-ghasi, after the manner of the Mohammedans, but from Maha-sammata, according to Buddhistical books the first sovereign of the world. The princes of Tibet came from India, and according to Sanang, from them in the fifth generation was descended Bourte-Tchino. He escaped into the mountains of the North and there became the patriarch of the race of Tschingghis. The whole story of Sanang is filled, as it might be expected, with the most absurd anachronisms, which have been exposed by Abel-Rémusat; but it is curious to observe some traces of the same events under representations widely different as are those of the Mohammedan historians and the Buddhistical fabulists, so remote from each other in time and country. Both tend to confirm the opinion, that the Mongolian nation was of recent appearance in the great theatre of the nomadic races of High Asia; and this agrees with the real smallness of their numbers, and explains the fact of the speedy disappearance of this people from the countries over which Tschingghis and his successors established their short-lived sway. When all these circumstances are taken into the account, nothing can be further from probability than the supposition, maintained by many late writers, that the Mongoles not only impressed their moral characteristics, for a time, but their physical type and that in perpetuity on a large part of the great Turkish

nation. We shall find that most of the nomadic Turkish tribes have at the present time a character of physiognomy very similar to that which is termed Mongolian. That they cannot have derived this from their Mongolian conquerors may be safely concluded, if we consider the disproportion of the numbers of the two nations and the shortness of the Mongolian dominion. But this is a subject on which we shall have occasion to enter more fully in the sequel.

SECTION VIII.—*Turkish Nations formed on the Subdivision of the Mongolian Empire.—Account of this Division.*

The empire of the Mongoles did not attain its complete extent till after the death of Tschingghis-khakan. His successors subdued all the countries lying between the Sea of Japan and Hungary. The territories conquered during his life were divided at the death of Tschingghis between his four sons. To Djoutchi, the eldest son, was given all the region which extends towards the north and west from the lake of Aral as far, in the words of a Mongolian historian, as the feet of a Tartar horse had ever trodden. The domain of Djoutchi was the nucleus of the celebrated khanate of Kiptschak, which comprehended a considerable portion of the Russian empire in Europe and in Asia. The dominion of Jagatai reached from the country of the Ouigours, in the region of Bish-balig or the Five Towns on the lake of Balkash, to the river Djihoun or Oxus. This was afterwards Middle or Central Turkistan, and comprehended the greater part of Mawara'l-nahar or Transoxiana and the present khanates of Independant Tartary. Ogotaï had the countries watered by the Imil, and Toulouï the youngest son, according to the ancient custom of the Tartars, retained the home and immediate sovereignty of his father in the East. Ogotaï was afterwards elected successor of Tschingghis and continued his conquests over the Kin and Song, the rival monarchies of northern and southern China, which ended in the establishment of the Yuan or Mongolian dynasty, over the whole of that great

empire. These partitions furnish the most suitable outlines for a division of the tribes and races of Turkistan, and I shall in the following sections enumerate the principal Turkish tribes which belong to each department. Western Turkistan or Kiptschak was named after the Kiptschak Turks or Komanians, who had been its previous masters. The Tartars of Kasan and other southern provinces of the Russian empire are descended from its inhabitants. To the eastward of Kiptschak is Jagataï Turkistan. The greater part of this region, as far eastward as the chain of Bolor, consists of extensive plains intersected in some places by low ranges of hills. It is a vast wilderness except where it is watered by the rivers which descend from the eastern highlands. These rivers take their course by two famous passes which lead from the low country into High Bokharia or Chinese Turkistan. On the banks of these rivers and in the oases of the desert are the remains of celebrated cities, the pomp and luxury of which are extolled by Persian and Turkish poets. Samarkand, Bokhara, and Balkh were, according to these writers, gems of oriental splendour and the wonders of the world. The inhabitants of the modern towns in Mawara'l-nahar or Transoxiana are, as we have before observed, chiefly Tájiks; the people of the country are pastoral or nomadic tribes of the Turkish race, and either of the Turkoman division of that people, who formerly occupied the whole country, or of that of the Uzbeks, who now possess the more northern districts. The Uzbeks are divided into several independant khanates, as those of Khiva the capital of Khavarezm, Ferghana, Khokan, Badakshan, Tashkent, and Hissar. As in the other remote conquests of the Mongoles, the number of that people bore in those regions so small a proportion to the Turks that they have scarcely left a trace of their language. The Jagataï Turkí, as M. Abel-Rémusat observes, has long been considered as one of the principal dialects of the Turkish speech. It is distinguished from the eastern Turkí or the Ouigourian by its greater polish, and by having adopted in some degree from Persian and Arabian models a more Western character, while the Ouigourian retains its ancient, truly oriental and Tartar construction.

As the immediate followers of Ogotaï became connected by their conquests with China, this part of the Mongolian empire has retained that connection, though the relations between the two nations have been reversed. After the fall of the Yuan, and under the dynasty which succeeded to their sway, the dominion of the Khakan in Great Tartary fell into the empire of China. Thus Eastern Turkistan, or the domain of Ogotaï in Turkistan, partly inhabited by Turks and in part by Mongoles, is now within the limits of the Chinese empire.

Section IX.—*Turkish Tribes in the Khanates of Kiptschak or Western Turkistan.*

The empire of Batu-khan, as we have observed, was termed Kiptschak, by which name the country had been known previously to the conquests of Tschingghis among the Turkish nations. The tribe of Kiptschaks or Komanian Turks had given it this designation. At the dismemberment of the empire of Batu several independent Turkish states were formed out of its ruins, as those of Kasan, Astrakhan, and the Krimea. I shall describe briefly the principal Turkish tribes now surviving in these countries. It may be observed that their languages are termed by Adelung, pure Tartar, that is Turkish dialects being free from intermixture with the Mongolian language, notwithstanding the temporary domination of the Mongolian khans.

The Nogay nation consists of several tribes: the Nogays of Boudjak inhabit Bessarabia near the mouths of the Danube, and from that river to the Dniester; the tribe of Yedzan or Yedisan are between the Dniester, the Bog and the Borysthenes, the Djamboïlouk or Djambulat between the Borysthenes and the Tanais, and in the Krimea beyond the Tanais and the Strait of Kaffa; the Kuban are greatly diminished since the Russian conquest.* Klaproth

* Adelung, Mithridat., T. 1

mentions other tribes to the northward of the Upper Kuban and the Kama, as the Kiptschak, Mangat, and others.*

The Nogay Tartars dwelt until the seventeenth century, according to the writer last cited, to the north-eastward of the Caspian, between the rivers Tobol and Jaik on the steppes which lie along the left bank of the Irtish, and which were called the steppes of the Nogays. From these their ancient abodes they were obliged to retreat by the encroaching Kalmuks towards Astrakhan. They were removed by Peter the Great to the Kuban and Kana to the northward of the Caucasus, and early in the eighteenth century crossed the Dniester and sought the protection of the Turkish Sultan. They are chiefly nomadic people, and dwell under movable tents of felt.

Klaproth assures us that the language of the Nogay race is pure Tartar, nearly free from intermixture with words of Mongolian derivation. The same account is given by Adelung.†

To the Nogay race are referred some other Tartar tribes in countries beyond the limits already mentioned, as the Basianic Turks or Tschek in the northern alps of Caucasus, and the Kumük an old Turkish tribe, speaking a peculiar dialect, near the Terek and between the coast of the Caspian and the Caucasus.

Tartars of Kasan, Oremburg, and Astrakhan.—In these parts of Russia the old Tartar population, subdued some centuries ago, still remains perfectly unmixed with the stock of the conquerors, and retaining the Mohammedan religion, which prevents intercourse between the two nations. The Tartars preserve their own language. The idiom of Kasan is the dialect which by the Russians is considered pure Tartar: it differs, as we are assured by Pallas, very little from the dialects spoken at Oremburg, Oufa, and by other Tartars of old European Russia; and the people resemble in their manners.

These Tartars of the towns and villages of Eastern European Russia were subject, as well as the Nogays, to

* Asia Polyglotta.

† Mithridates, Th. 1, s. 473.

the old kingdom of Kiptschaks. They are very different races both in physical and moral characters. The Nogays are either still nomadic, tent-inhabiting feeders of herds, or they have but very lately abandoned the habits of pastoral wanderers, while the Kasan and the Krimea and Oremburg Tartars have long been settled husbandmen or artisans. Both races are described by Pallas, who informs us, that the Nogays have a great resemblance to the Kalmuks. The same writer says, that the Tartars of Kasan, Oremburg, and Oufa, and other Tartars of old European Russia, have features like those of Europeans, though they are of darker complexion than the Russians: they have generally dark-brown or black hair, and very strong, thick beards.*

The English traveller, Dr. Clarke, was struck with this difference between people whom he supposed, correctly as it would seem, to be of the same race. He says "that the Nogay Tartars in Perecop are a very different people from the Tartars in the Krimea: they may be instantly distinguished by their diminutive form and the dark copper colour of their complexion, which is sometimes almost black." He adds, "they have a remarkable resemblance to the Lapplanders." Dr. Clarke had previously visited Lappland. We have observed that the Lappes, though of the Finnish race, have the Turanian or Mongolian physiognomy.† M. Klaproth, in the account of his travels in the Caucasian countries, observes, that of all Tartar nations the Nogays bear the greatest resemblance to the Mongoles. "This," he says "is a proof of their intermixture with that race."‡ It is admitted that there is no other ground for this opinion, and that evidence afforded by their language is against it.

The physical history of the Kasan Tartars in particular presents some interesting facts which deserve a more attentive consideration.

* Pallas's Travels into the southern countries of the Russian empire, vol. 2, p. 348. Translation.

† Clarke's Travels in the Russian empire.

‡ Klaproth's Travels in the Caucasian countries.

The Kasan Tartars, as F. H. Müller observes, are unquestionably the most civilised and cultivated people among the various tribes of the Tartar race who have advanced towards the western parts of the great continent of the Old World, from the distant seats of that people in the East.*

"They inhabit partly towns, where they carry on traffic in tea, Bokharian wares, clothes and European goods or manufactures chiefly in leather, and partly villages, where they devote themselves to agriculture, pasturage, and the rearing of bees.† The chief abodes of the Kasan Tartars are at no great distance from the junction of the Kama and the Wolga. Their villages consist of ten to one hundred farms, and generally the people of each village are acquainted with its history. These villages were at first movable camps of herdsmen, like the earlier Bulgarian hamlets, until narrow boundaries and increased population rendered fixed habitations necessary and agriculture the principal business." The present Tartars are excellent cultivators, but the feeding of bees is their chief delight, as it is that of their neighbours of the Ugrian race. Generally every village has its tanner, shoemaker, taylor, dyer, smith, and carpenter.‡ In their customs and dress the Tartars are still orientals, which is displayed at festivals, especially by the higher orders. They are in a remarkable degree cleanly in their houses, and sober and moderate in their habits. Their natural faculties are such as would lead them to a much higher degree of mental culture were that not impeded by the Mohammedan religion, to which, notwithstanding the efforts made by the Russians to convert them, they are zealously devoted. In their schools children are carefully taught to read the Koran and listen to its exposition. The head of their religion, the Mufti of Oufa, is paid by the Russian government as the chief instructor of the Mohammedans of the empire, an office established under Catharine the Second. "Their language, the dialect

* Müller's Ugrische Volkstamm, B. 2, s. 446.

† Ermann Reise um die Erde. B. 1, s. 79, u. s. w.

‡ Georgi.—Beschreibung aller Nationen &c.—Müller, ubi supra.

of Kasan, is the most cultivated and polished of all the idioms of Kiptschak."*

The character of the Kasan Tartars is open, hospitable, patient, and peaceable. Even by the Russians, who treat them with harshness as a conquered race, they are allowed to be an honest and high-minded people.

We must take note of the description of their physical characters and the changes which they appear to have undergone. These changes cannot be attributed to intermixture with the Russians, from which their Mohammedan religion keeps them entirely free. The old German traveller, Herberstein, thus describes them :—"Tartari sunt homines staturâ mediocri, latâ facie, obesâ, oculis intortis et concavis, solâ barbâ horridi, cætera rasi. Insigniores autem viri crines contortos eosque nigerrimos secundum aures habent."—"The Tartars are men of moderate stature, broad, full faces, oblique and hollow or deeply-set eyes, wearing rough beards but shaven heads. Men of distinction among them have bushy and very black hair about their ears." It is evident that this writer intended to describe what is called a strongly-marked Mongolian physiognomy or the head and countenance of the broad-faced Turanian races.† The Kasan Tartars, in the age of Herberstein, resembled their brethren the nomadic Nogays of the present time.

Herberstein lived about three centuries ago, and described the Tartars when they had still the habits of nomades or had hardly yet relinquished them. We must now observe how they had changed when visited by Mr. Ermann a few years since.

That writer has described the Tartars of Kasan as displaying "a noble and finely-cast type of the human species in which the Eastern Asiatic character has become scarcely perceptible." "The Tartars of Kasan," says Ermann, "are of middle stature and muscular but not fat. Their heads are of an oval shape; their countenances of fresh com-

* David's Grammar of the Turkish Language. London, 1832.—Müller, l. c.

† Herberstein, Rer. Moscovit. comment., p. 89.—Müller, Ugrische Volkstamm, B. 2, s. 447.—Karamsin, Hist. des Russes, 7, s. 186.

plexion and fine regular features; their eyes, mostly black, are small and lively; their noses arched and thin as well as their lips. Their hair is generally dark, and their teeth strong and white. Their stature is rather slender than stout; their gesture full of dignity and grace. The same remarks apply to the females, but the expression of their countenances is lost through their manner of life, and the natural attractiveness of their persons is lessened by ornament and paint."

Georgi, in his work describing the different nations of the Russian Empire, coincides with this account of Ermann.

Section X.—*Of the Turkish Nations of Jagataï Turkistan.*

Paragraph 1—Of the Seljúkiyan and Osmanli or Ottoman Turks.

The Turks who are principally known under that name in modern times as subjects of the Sultan of Constantinople, are termed Osmanli or Ottoman Turks, from Othman or Osman the founder of the imperial dynasty. They are for the most part descended from hordes of the Turkish race who at various times passed over the Oxus into Khorasan, and thence advanced gradually westward into the countries lying on the western side of the Euphrates and Mount Taurus. The greater part of these immigrant hordes appear to have passed from Mawera'l-nahar or Transoxiana towards the south-west during the ascendancy of the Turkish princes of the house of Seljúk in their four sovereignties of Roum or Lesser Assia, Iran, Kerman, and Aleppo or Syria.

The palmy days of the Khalifat were contemporary with the era when the empire of the Franks rose to the zenith of its power, and the East saw with wonder the singular spectacle of an Arab enthusiast preaching Islàm on a throne

of barbaric magnificence, while the sword of Charlemain spread the Catholic faith of Europe and of the civilised world among the Obotrites and Saxons of the North. Two centuries later the thrones of Charlemain and of Haroun-al-Raschid retained but a shadow of their power, which had been undermined or abridged by similar causes. The Normans had wasted or conquered the finest provinces of the European empire, and the Turks at the same time had begun to obtain an ascendency over the Arabian sovereigns of Asia. Just a thousand years after the Christian era, the first Turkish dynasty of Seljúkiyan princes was erected in the north of Persia, while at the same time Mahmoud of Ghazni, also a Turk, made his first inroads on the ancient empire of Hindústan, and carried Islàm and devastation among the feeble worshippers of Vishnu. In much earlier times contests had been waged between Turks and Persians on the long boundary line which runs from the Caspian to the Hindú-khúh and separates Iran from Turan. The Mohammedan historian Mirkhond identifies the Turks of Mawera'l-nahar with the old subjects of Afrasiab, who, in the time of the Kaianians or Achæmenidæ, and in the earlier and fabulous age of the Pishdadians, warred against the people of Djemshid; but it would seem probable, from the accounts handed down by Chinese historians, that the nomadic nations known under the name of Sacæ and Scythians, were of a race distinct from and in hostility with the Thú-kiú and Hiong-nú and the whole Turkish stock. The era when the Turks first really appeared on the borders of Persia seems to have been the later period of the reign of the Sassanidæ. The wars of the Khakan or Great Khan of the Turks, commence, in the history of these middle ages, with the invasion of the dominion of Bahram-júr, son of Yezdejird I, who began his reign A.D. 417.* The Turks make their appearance at this period as a people differing from the ancient inhabitants of Transoxiana. A second invasion of Persia by the Turks took place in the reign of Hormuzd, son of Khosrú Anushirvan.

* Texeira's Abstract of Mirkhond's History, p. 163.—Modern Universal Hist., vol. 4, p. 50.

But these aggressions were repulsed and produced little effect till shortly before the Mohammedan invasion, when all Persia was suddenly overrun by Turkish hordes, by whom its force was so weakened that it fell an easy prey to the Saracens who speedily followed. The Saracens drove the Turks out of Khorasan and Khavarezm, which remained under the dominion of the Arabs, at first under the Khalifat until 894, and afterwards under the descendants of Sammâni, who became independent sovereigns of Bokhara, till the death of the sixth prince of that dynasty in 997. This was the era of the rise of the famous Mahmoud Ghaznevi, the son of a Turkish slave, to the throne of Ghazni, to whom succeeded the Turkish and Affghan dynasties on the borders of India.* Ilek-khan was the contemporary of Mahmoud, as sovereign of Turkistan. In his reign a vast multitude of Turks passed the Oxus from Mawera'l-nahar, among whom the famous Seljúk and his horde seated themselves near Bokhara and Samarkand. This warlike clan gradually increased in power till 1034, when they invaded and conquered all Khorasan and established the empire of the Turks in Southern Asia.

After the Seljúkiyan Turks had acquired sovereign power and had founded royal dynasties in Persia, in Kerman, in Roum, and in Syria, it became an object of ambition among eastern writers to trace their genealogy and derive them from a noble origin. The various accounts that were furnished of their pedigree sufficiently prove that no authentic memorials of their history had been preserved. In the Lebtarikh, a Persian historical work often cited by D'Herbelôt,† the Sèljúkiyans are derived from Afrasiab and the old heroes of Turan, while by Mirkhond they are deduced, like many Turkish houses, from Alancova and the Niroun Mongoles, and by Abul-ghasi from the fabulous Oghuz-khan.‡ Greater reliance may be placed on the accounts which De Guignes obtained from his researches in Chinese history. The empire of the Thú-kiú, founded

* Ferishta's History of Hindústan,

† D'Herbelôt, Bibl. Orient.

‡ D'Ohsson. Hist. des Mongols.

by Thú-men in the middle of the sixth century, which reached from Korea to the Caspian, was divided, according to Chinese history, into two great khanates, those of Western and Eastern Turkistan. The former reached eastward to the Jaxartes, including Khavarezm and the western parts of Mawera'l-nahar. It was here that the Turkish dialect, called afterwards Jagataï-Turkí, prevailed, and it was the khans of this empire who waged war against the Sassanidæ. The khanate of Western Turkistan was overthrown and a new dynasty erected by the Turkish tribe of Whey-he or Hoeï-he, who were Eastern Turks, and from the Whey-he, according to De Guignes, it was that the Seljúkiyans descended.

The origin of that particular horde of Turks which, after one of its early chiefs, assumed the name of Ottoman or Osmanli, is involved in the deepest obscurity. Like the Seljúks they are derived by Turkish writers from the mythical patriarch of the race, Oghuz-khan, and through him the Ottomans are said to be related to the Seljúkiyans. By some writers they are derived from a distant horde which settled at Mukhán, near the Amu and the Caspian, in the time of Seljúk.* But it seems to be the real fact, that nothing at all is known about the Osmanli till the time of Suleiman, grandfather of Osman,† who from Mawara'l-nahar passed into Iran. The aggrandisement of the dynasty of Osmanli in Lesser Asia began about 1228. Its followers appear to have been hordes from all the various Turkish tribes who had settled after the earliest invasions of that people in the countries of Transoxiana and Khorasan.

Paragraph 2.—Of the present Inhabitants of Jagataï Turkistan.—Of the Uzbeks.

The Uzbeks are now masters of Bokhara, a city containing one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. Balkh and seven other provinces are subject to this khanate. They

* Saadi Effendi, cited in Mod. Hist., vol. 12, p. 5.

† Prince Cantemir's Hist. Othman.

possess also the khanates of Khokan, of Khavarezm or Khiva, and Ferghana. In the direction of the Belút-tagh the Uzbeks have gained possession of the hill states to the northward of Badakshan, where Uzbek chiefs now rule over Hissar, Kulak, Durwuz, Kunduz, and other districts. Nearly all the country from hence to the Caspian and the Oxus is subject to them. To the southward of that river are the deserts of the roving hordes of Turkomans.

It appears from the Turkish history of Abul-ghasi khan, who was himself a chieftain of this race, that the Uzbeks came from the northward and crossed the Jaxartes in the time of Baber.* They drove the descendants of the Mongol princes out of Mawara'l-nahar about the year 904 of the Hejira or 1498 of the Christian era. They gradually possessed themselves of the whole region to the northward of the Oxus. The Turkoman tribes from the desert parts were obliged to retire to the southward of the last-mentioned river, and the Uzbeks have been since that time, and now for three hundred years, the governing people in the extensive region named Great Bokharia, and, from its rulers, Uzbek Turkistan.

The name of Uzbeks, according to Abul-ghasi, was originally assumed by the Turkish tribes of Kiptschak in honour of one of their khans, a successor of Batu, who established Islàm among his subjects, and so improved their condition that they assumed his name. It was given at first, as it is said, to all the tribes of the khanate, but remained only with four, who were Ouigours, Naïmans, Durmans, and Konkorats. Yet this name was never applied, as far as we know, to the Turks of Krim or to those who remained in Kiptschak. The whole account delivered by Abul-ghasi is discredited by Klaproth, who supposed that the Uzbeks originated not from Kiptschak, but from Eastern or Chinese Turkistan, namely, from the countries about Khotan, Kashgar, Turfan, and Khamil, where they had dwelt previously to their descent into Bokharia. They are said by Klaproth to have descended from a mixture of Ouigours, and Hoei-he, with Naïman and other kindred

* Abul-ghasi, p. 200.—Mod. Univ. Hist., 5, 108-128.

tribes; but it does not appear from the account given of them by this writer, who has cited no authority for his assertion, that he had other ground than conjecture for any opinion concerning the particular races from which they sprang. The comparison of their dialects with that of other divisions of the same great family, is the chief and only recourse for elucidating their origin.

Sir Alexander Burnes in his travels in Bokharia became well acquainted with the Uzbeks, whom he has described.

"With respect to their physical character," he says, "they are fair and some of them handsome, but the great mass of the people otherwise. They are a grave, broad-faced, peaceable people, with a Tartar expression of countenance."

Adelung divides the Usbeks into the tribes inhabiting plains round the populous city of Taskkent, tribes near the eastern shore of lake Aral, the Balkhian or Bactrian tribes, and those subject to the khanate of Khiva.*

In manners and habits of life the Usbeks resemble other Turkish nomades. They wander about with their herds, living under tents of felt: some practice agriculture; others live in towns. They are not, like other Turkish hordes, in the habit of eating horse-flesh, or of drinking the intoxicating fluid prepared from the milk of mares.

The Uzbeks of Kunduz, near the Oxus, are described by Lieutenant Wood, who represents them as having all the qualities of the Turkish hordes, as brave and intelligent, but cruel and rapacious. He says, "that they have genuine Tartar features, meaning that they resemble the Kalmuks, though the physiognomy of the chiefs is becoming softened by intermixture with the Tajiks; a Tajik however is not permitted to marry the daughter of an Uzbek, and this prevents the intermixture of the two races."†

* Abel-Rémusat, Recherches, p. 308.

† The Uzbeks, as Lieutenant Wood was informed, in a comparatively modern era, crossed the Jaxartes and fixed themselves in Transoxiana, after driving out the descendants of Tschingghis-khan, who, under Baber, passed thence into India. The Turkomans are a part of the dispossessed people who retired across the Oxus. He says, that judging from physical characters, he should

Paragraph 3.—Of the Turkomans.

The Turkomans, termed also Turkmans, and Trukhmenes by the Russians, are nomadic Tartars who wander with their herds in the countries near the southern extremity of the Caspian. They cover with their tents all the plains in the interior of Asia Minor, and reach thence into the western parts of Armenia and through the South of Georgia and the countries of Shirwan and Daghestan, in all which districts they form a principal part of the population. Tribes belonging to this race are spread through Syria, on Mount Lebanon and even into the deserts of Arabia.* The Afschars in Persia are said to be of the same stock.†

In Khorasan there are several Turkoman tribes which are now subject to the Persians and live in the countries near the southern extremity of the Caspian and between that Sea and the river Oxus.

The history of the Turkomans may be traced in the middle ages. It seems from the authorities consulted by De Guignes that they are the descendants of the Euzi or Uzes, a Turkish race who were settled in Kiptschak and Transoxiana from an early period. Tribes of this nation had already spread themselves into Asia Minor and had invaded Syria, when the remainder, who had been left behind in Mawara'l-nahar, were attacked by the Khitans soon after the death of Mahmoud of Ghazni and forced to pass the Oxus. It was then that they became inhabitants of the region between that river and Khorasan, which has since been their chief abode. In Ferghana they are the predominant tribe.‡

suppose the Kalmuks and Kirghis, Uzbeks, and Turkomans, to be all branches of one stock, and that Tartar, Noghai, Uzbek, and Turkoman, or, as he writes, Turkiman, are only accidental distinctions."—Wood's Journey to the Sources of the Oxus, p. 219.

The inference to be drawn from these observations is, that the Uzbeks and Turkomans resemble the Kalmuks and other Mongolian races in their features and other physical characteristics.

* Adelung, 1, s. 457. † Klaproth, 217. ‡ De Guignes, vol. 1 and 2.

The desert of the independant Turkomans, or of the tribes in alliance with the Uzbeks, is a vast ocean of sand, flat or partly covered with mounds, such as are seen on the sea shore, which towards the Caspian rise from sixty to eighty feet on a basis of hard clay. This desert is inhabited by a people who boast that they neither rest under the shade of a tree nor the authority of a king. A garden is unknown to them: their desert is not enlivened by a single tree; nor have they any permanent ruler. The life of a Turkoman is passed in the most reckless plunder.

The Turkomans differ from the Uzbeks in being exclusively a nomadic race. Their name is of obscure origin. Their own tradition is, that they came from Mangusluk and the north-eastern shores of the Caspian, till they gradually overran the country of the Parthians. The whole race claims a common lineage. The eastern division consists of five tribes and one hundred and four thousand families; the western, including the Goklan and Yamúd, who will be further described, is less numerous. The Tukeh, Goklan, and Yamúd, are reckoned the most illustrious tribes.

Sir A. Burnes, in his expedition to Bokhara, traversed twice the whole country of the independant Turkomans, and had better opportunities of becoming acquainted with their character than any earlier traveller. He describes them as a bold and active race of warriors or rather of robbers. They speak Turkí, and not the least ground seems to have been noticed by Burnes for suspecting any intermixture of them with Mongolians, from whom they are removed at a great distance, precluding intercourse. These wandering people, with whom Sir. A. Burnes conversed freely in the Turkish language, were visited by him at Shuruks, between Bokhara and the Oxus. He says, "I never was so much struck with the Tartar features as in this assemblage. The Toorkman has a skull like a Chinese; his face is flat, his cheek-bones project, and his countenance tapers to the chin, which has a most scanty crop of hair. He is by no means ugly, and his

* Sir Alexander Burnes, 2, p. 258.

body and features are alike manly. Their women are remarkably fair and often handsome."*

The German travellers, M. M. Zwick and Schill, give a similar description of the Turkomans, whom they term, after the Russians, Trukhmenes. They say, "that the Trukhmenes have not less than the Kirghises the Mongolian physiognomy." These travellers had become well acquainted with the features of the Mongolian race in their previous and recent visit to the Kalmuk hordes near the Euxine.

That the Turanian physiognomy is pretty strongly apparent in the Turkish races to the northward of Khorasan, the Uzbeks and Turkomans, we collect from incidental remarks of Sir. A. Burnes. On entering Meshid he was struck with the different aspect of the people. He says, "we had left a desert and the wandering Toorkmans and now advanced in stately order through a crowded city, arresting the notice of the inhabitants. We had exchanged the broad face and broader turban of the Toork and Tartar for the slim and long-faced Kuzzilbash, with a fur cap on his head and his ringlets curling up behind, who now stood idly looking at us with his hands in his pockets."† In describing in another place the Tajiks of Badakshan‡ he says, "They are fair-complexioned and not unlike the Persians of modern times, while there is the most decided contrast between them and the Toorks and Uzbeks."§ "A physiognomist will not decide that a Toork of the Oxus differs from his countrymen of Yarkand and more to the eastward. The features of the Tartar have not

* Sir A. Burnes's Travels in Bokhara, vol. 2, page 61.

† Sir A. Burnes, vol. 2. p. 76.

‡ Badakshan, a high country in the upper course of the Oxus. Both natives and foreigners speak in raptures of its vales, its rivulets, romantic scenes and glens, its fruits, flowers, and nightingales. The inhabitants are Tajiks, that is of Persian origin, and speak the Persian language. They are Shiahs. Neither Uzbeks nor any Túrkí families have settled in the country.— Sir A. Burnes, vol. 2. p. 204.

Badakshan, since this was written, has become better known by the travels of Lieutenant Wood.

§ Sir A. Burnes, p. 217.

altogether disappeared from the natives of Toorkistan, and may yet be traced, notwithstanding the effect of intermarriage with Persians, in small eyes, a flattened forehead, and a scanty beard, though we see nothing of the hideous visages which are described in the history of their inroads."

The Turkoman tribes who wander to the northward of Persia and Khorasan have been more particularly described by Mr. Fraser. His account refers to those tribes who term themselves respectively Tukeh, Goklan, and Yamúd. It appears that, although a genuine Turkish race, if we may form this opinion from the purity of their dialects, these Turkomans display very frequently, though not universally, the physical characters which are looked upon as peculiar to the Mongolian race, while many instances occur of a truly European physiognomy. The following is Mr. Fraser's account of the people in the desert to the northward of the Elburz mountains and in the steppe of Khavarezm :—

"The general characteristic appearance of these tribes varies considerably; but there is also much individual variety among them. The Tuckehs have a great deal of the Tartar, *i. e.* of the Mongolian physiognomy; many of the men were tall, stout, and well made; with scanty beards, eyes small, and drawn up at the corners; high cheek-bones, and small flat noses: some, on the contrary, had handsome features, more resembling those of Europeans than Asiatics.

"The Gocklans also bore marks of Tartar origin in their countenances, but less than the Tuckehs, and even in the same family remarkable differences of feature were to be seen. Khallee Khan, the chief of an encampment, with whom I lodged, was a handsome man, not unlike a Persian, while his brother was strongly marked with the Tartar features. This, however, was more obvious in the women than the men; most of them were extremely ugly, haggard, and withered; the elder ones were particularly frightful, affording admirable representations of Hecate and her weird sisters. The mother of the Khan, who came out to welcome us, with her silver-white hair and her unearthly

yellow vissage, had she been in Scotland some years ago, or in many parts of India *now*, could never have escaped being burnt or drowned for a witch. Yet I observed some young women remarkably handsome, with piercing black eyes, a nut-brown ruddy tint, and sweet, regular, intelligent countenances; nor was it easy to believe that the withered hags beside them could have once been lovely, fresh, blooming like them; the children too were better looking than their mothers, and many of them quite beautiful.

"The Yamoot men have much less of the Tartar cast of countenance than those of either of the other tribes; there was, however, in most of them a peculiarity which distinguished them from the Persians, though it was not easy to decide whether it consisted in feature or in manner, or probably in both: their complexion was in general lighter and more sallow than that of the Persians; and many of them had eyes and hair so fair that I took them for Russians, whom they resemble in a certain harsh irregularity of feature: but by far the greater number that I saw would not have been distinguished by an indifferent observer from the villagers and peasantry about Astrabad."

Some additional observations on the physical characters of the Turkomans of the Goklan tribe are given by Mr. Fraser in the account of his late journey to Tehran, and other parts of Khorasan. He inform us, that the prevalent type of countenance among the Goklans is that termed Tartarian. "The prevalent Turkoman type is Tartarian, that is Mongolian. It is only when young that the females have delicate features and fine skins. Their complexion, though healthy, is yellow, and when old the women become absolutely frightful, both in form and features." So far is this traveller from suspecting that the Turanian physiognomy of the Goklans is owing to accidental intermixture with Mongolians, that he suggests a doubt whether the absence of these characters in some of the females may be owing to intercourse with Persian Kuzzilbashes. The Tukeh girls are also beautiful, and in this case the chance of such intermixture is very much less. This supposition is therefore discarded.*

* Fraser's Winter Journey to Tehran, 1838, vol. 2, p. 375.

Paragraph 4.—Tartars of Siberia.

There were several independant Tartar kingdoms or khanates in Siberia after the dismemberment of the empire of Tschingghis. The Russians, who conquered these tribes about the end of the sixteenth century, call them all Tartars, with a particular designation taken from the town or district where they were fixed, and thus we hear of the Tartars of Tobolsk, of Tomsk, of Krasnoyar, of Tschoulim.

Some of the Tartar tribes above mentioned have a degree of civilisation and are settled in towns, as those of Tobolsk. These are Mohammedans, and are nearly related in origin and language to the Tartars of Kasan and other places in European Russia. Other tribes further towards the south-east are very barbarous, and are still devoted to the original paganism of Siberia, termed Schamanism, though some have been baptized by the Russians. These are, doubtless, among the old inhabitants of Siberia, where they have probably remained since the earliest dispersions of the Turkish race. Their dialects vary considerably, and some tribes are said to have the broad Turanian countenance. They are scattered over the middle region of northern Asia, in the southern tracts of Siberia, and in the higher courses of the great rivers. The Barabintzi inhabit the steppes between the Irtish and the sources of the Obi; they are partly nomadic: in features they have a considerable resemblance to the Mongolians. The Katschinski, Iarintzi, Tubintzi, Beltyrs, Birjuses, Teleutes or Telingutes, are tribes in Southern Siberia, supposed by Adelung and Klaproth to be intermixed more or less with Kalmuks. This may be the fact, but the opinion seems rather to have been assumed as probable than proved by actual investigation.

Paragraph 5.—Turkish Tribes in the Countries to the Northward of the Caspian Sea.

1. The Baschkirs are considered by some writers as allied to the Ostiaks. They are termed by their neighbours, the Kirghises, *Istaki*, which is said to mean Ostiaks. In their manners, language, and complexion, they resemble the Tartars, and are, doubtless, of Turkish origin, though perhaps mixed with Ostiaks or other Uralian tribes.* Of the mixture of their race they exhibit, according to Klaproth, a proof in greater variety of features and bodily structure than other nations display. "Man sieht," he says, "grosse, fette, magere mit türkischen, mongolischen, russischen Gesichten. Die Meisten sind ansehnlich, von starkem Gliederbau; nie sieht man blonde; alle aber haben kleine Augen."†

The Bashkirs are considered by Pallas and other writers as aboriginal inhabitants of the Southern Ural and the countries on the river Jaik.‡ They term themselves Baschkurt, and under that name are mentioned by Ibn-Foslan, an Arabian writer in the tenth century. In Europe they were first described by Ruysbroek under the name of Pascatir.§ They consider themselves as descended from the Nogay Tartars, who were long masters of those countries, and this notion is in part correct. The tracts which are inhabited by them lying in the course pursued by many nomadic warlike nations who have entered Europe from Northern Asia, they became intermixed with other races.‖ At present they are divided into separate bands which take

* Georgi.—Beschreibung aller Nazionen der Russischen Reichs.—Müller's Ugrische Volkstamm, p. 143.

† Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, 1, 220.

‡ Pallas, Reisen durch verschiedenen Provinzen des Russ. Reichs., 2. 63.

§ Frähn de Bashkiris, in Mem. de l'Acad. de St. Peterbourg, tom. 8.—Müller's Ugrische Volkstamm, s. 141.

‖ According to Ibn-Foslan they were of Turkish origin. He terms them, as translated by M. Frähn, "Turcarum pessimi, potentissimique, et in edendis cædibus audacissimi."

different courses in their wanderings, and are termed the Noghaïan, the Siberian, the Kasanish, and Osaïsh roads or ways. In each of these divisions are comprehended many tribes.

Section XI.—*Races of Eastern Turkistan.*

To the eastward of the plains belonging to Middle Turkland or Jagataï-Turkistan is the empire which fell to the lot of Ogotaï, the third son of Tschingghis-kháakan. The capital of this empire was the celebrated eastern city of Karakorum* and its territory extended to the north of China. Eastern Turkistan, which is perhaps coëxtensive with the dominion of Ogotaï, lies above and beyond the great barrier of the Belút-tagh, which separates it as a wall from Low or Western Bokharia. This chain, as we have seen, forms the division of waters between the western and the eastern parts of Central Asia. Towards the West the Oxus and Jaxartes flow from its sides, affording, by the valleys which they open, the only passes from the lower to the higher regions of the Eastern Continent. To the eastward the land subsides in a less degree, and the streams which here take their rise pour their waters into mediterarnean lakes. The rivers of Kashgar, Yarkiang, Akson, and Khoten, discharge their waters by one channel into the basin of Lop-nór. The river Ili supplies the lake of Balkash or Tenghiz, while further eastward the great lake of Kho-kho-nór receives the waters which flow from the high mountains of Tangut. Where these high plains are fertilised by rivers and lakes the Turks have from old times

* Karakorum was situated on the banks of the river Orkhon. Its exact site is unknown. M. Abel-Rémusat has written a learned treatise on this subject in his "Memoires sur plusieurs questions relatives à la géographie de l'Asie Centrale." In this paper he cites a notice on the subject from the memoirs of the Thang dynasty. According to Visdelou and to D'Ohsson, who cites the Tarikh of Atta-melik Djouveini, ancient ruins and inscriptions, found in the time of Ogotaï, proved that Karakorum had been the principal seat of Báků, khan of the Ouigours, and of his successors, from the eighth century after Christ.

been induced to lay aside their wandering habits and to become settled inhabitants of towns. The Ouigours, instructed by Nestorian teachers, became the lettered people of Central Asia. In that country, Khoten, as Abel-Rémusat has shewn, had been one of the seats of internal commerce and was even embellished by arts and cultivation derived from India and Tibet, long before Islàm was introduced. The region of Turkistan now subject to China is termed by the Bokharians Alti-Chakan or "The Six Cities:" these cities, inhabited by people who speak the Turkish language and are Moslims, are garrisoned by Chinese soldiers. The six cities are Kasghar, Yarkiand, Khoten, Aksou, and the two towns named Ili, or the Great and Little Kouldja on the river Ili.

To the north-westward of Kashgar, in the high-mountains of Ala-tagh and from thence to the lofty table-land of Pamer, are the wandering-places of the great Turkish nation named Kirghises or Kirghis-Kasaks. Their country is on the borders of the Chinese empire. They are the principal race of truly nomadic people now remaining in Eastern Turkistan. Inhabiting for the most part wild and inaccessible tracts they have escaped the innovations in manners and habits to which all the Turkish Moslims have been exposed in regions more within reach of strangers, and they may be considered as the only representatives yet surviving of a large class of nations belonging to the Turkish family.

Of the Kirghises or Kirghis-Kasaks.—Some Russian authors who have written on the history of the Kirghises declare that the people long termed Kirghis-Kasaks have been erroneously so named, and that the Kirghises are in reality a race quite distinct from the Kasaks. M. Alexei Lewschin, in a work expressly devoted to the history of the Kirghises, assures us that there formerly existed, as Senkousky maintained, a Tartar nation named Kasak: that these Kasaks were distinguished by their wild predatory habits as well as by their use of long pikes. It came to pass at length that all people who adopted the habits of the Kasaks, or who bore similar weapons and addicted themselves to a roving

and predatory life, received the same designation, which became a common appellative rather than a national name.* Hence it was given to the Cosaks of the Don, who are only Pseudo-Kasaks. According to Senkousky this epithet was thus accidentally extended to people who were not Tartars, so that during the period of the Mongolian domination over Russia all peasants who were not confined to the soil as stationary serfs were termed Kasaks, and runaway Russians who betook themselves from time to time to the wild tracts on the Don and Dnieper assumed the name of Kasak or Cosaks, which denoted that they were independent people. The name of Kasak, which thus applied was no longer a national designation, was therefore given by mistake to the true Kirghises who have ever been an independent Tartar race.†

The genuine Kirghises, according to Klaproth's opinion, which is embraced by Lewschin, inhabited, in the time of Tschingghis, the country between the Yeniseï and the Tom, on the Black and the White Ijus, on the Abakan, and about the feet of the mountains of Sayan. They possessed the same countries at the time of the Russian conquest of Siberia. They were a wild and predatory nation and lived in continual contests with the Russian Cosaks and the neighbouring Songarians, till at length, about the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century, they were forced to give way to the overpowering forces of the Songarian Mongoles and entirely abandon their former abodes, whence they mi-

* Beschreibung der Horden und Steppen der Kirgis-kasaken oder Kirgis-Kaigsaken. Verf. von Alexei Lewschin. St. Petersburg, 1832, 3 Bd. 8.—Annalen der Erd-Völker-und Staaten-kunde von Dr. H. Berghaus. Dritt. Theil., s. 519.

† This is the opinion of Senkousky and Lewsky. Their account of the Cosaks of the Don and of the origin of the Russian Cosaks is no doubt correct. Yet I doubt whether the Kirghises are not themselves the ancient Tartar people with whom the name of Kasak originated, for we are assured by Meyendorff, who travelled in the country of the Kirghis, that the latter always term themselves not Kirghis but Kasaks, which signifies horseman or warrior, and that the Bashkirs give them the name of Kirghis, which however only belongs to the great horde.—Journey of the Russian mission from Oremburg to Bokhara, by Count Meyendorff, translated by Col. Monteith, 1840.

grated further towards the south-west and fixed themselves in their present country between High Bokharia and the dominion of the Khan of Kokan. In that neighbourhood they are known by the names of Kara-kirghis or Black Kirghis, Rock-Kirghises, Wild-Kirghis and Burutes. They inhabit a tract of mountainous country called by the Chinese, according to Lewsky, the Yarkiand or Kashgar Mountains, and by the Russian Tartars, the Ala-tau, Aktau or Kirghis-tau.

A variety of opinions have been maintained relative to the origin of the Kinghises. Some deduce them from the Nogays in the Krimea,* some from countries near the Chinese Wall, appealing to traditions said to be current among the people themselves.† A very obvious but an uncritical way of reconciling these different accounts has been adopted by writers who maintain that the Kirghises are a mixed people made up of tribes who came from opposite quarters. There seems to be nothing in their manners, language, or appearance, that favours such an opinion. A tolerably clear and probable history of this people has been given by M. d'Ohsson in an extract from Raschid-ed-din. As this seems to rest on the best authority that we can expect to find, I shall abstract it.

"In the year 1207," says M. d'Ohsson, "Tschingghis-khan sent officers to claim homage from the king of the Kirghises and of the Kem-Kemdjoutes. The Kirghises, a people of Turkish race, were masters of a vast country bounded towards the south by the chain of the Little Altaï, which separates it from the land of the Naïmans, and towards the south-east by the river Selinga: towards the north and east it extended as far as the Angara. In this country, chiefly inhabited by nomades, there were nevertheless many towns and villages. Raschid describes the land of the Kirghises and Kem-Kemdjoutes as adjoining countries. On one side, he says, this land borders on Mongolia; on another it is bounded by the Selinga, of which the banks are inhabited by Taïdjoutes; on a third it reaches to the

* Pallas, Reise durch Siberien.

† Erskine's Introductory Essay to the Life of Baber.

Angara, flowing on the boundaries of the country of Aber Sibir; on a fourth it touches on the regions and mountains which form the territory of the Naïmans." "About the middle of the seventh century," says M. d'Ohsson, who here cites Mailla and Visdelou, "the Kirghises had acknowledged the sovereignty of the Emperor of China. In 759 they were obliged to submit to the Ouigours, who were then the dominant people in Tartary, but a century later they revolted, defeated the Ouigours, and overturned their supremacy. The sovereign of the victorious people on that occasion received from the Chinese Emperor the title of khan, and the monarchy of the Kirghises superseded that of the Ouigours. It had not a long duration. In the age of Tschingghis the Kirghises and the Kemdjoutes had each their king who took equally the title of *Inal*. One of these princes was named *Ourouss-Inal*. Both submitted to the sovereignty of the Mongolian khakan."*

M. d'Ohsson has observed, that the name of the Kirghises appears in the history of the embassy of Zemarchus, who was sent, in 569, by the Emperor Justin, to the camp of Dizabulus, khagan of the Turks. That prince, as Menander says, presented the ambassador with a female slave of the nation called Χερχις.†

The Kirghises are at present divided into different hordes. Klaproth has given the following account of their dwellings or places of wandering pasturage:—

1. Eastern Kirghis.—They formerly wandered about on the Ijus, the Abakan and the Upper Yeniseï: they were once partially subject to Russia, but about the beginning of the last century abandoned Siberia and passed into Eastern or Chinese Turkistan, where they feed their flocks, together with the Kirghis of the Great Horde, in the countries to the eastward of Tashkend about Kashgar, Khodjand, Naimatschin, and Matlan: they bear the name of Búrút.

2. Western Kirghis or Kirghis-Kasak.—They are in

* D'Ohsson, Hist. des Mongoles, tom 1.

† Menander, in Excerptis de Legationibus.—D'Ohsson, Hist. des Mongols, tom. 1, p. 104.

part independant and partly subject to China and Russia. They are divided into three principal bodies termed the Great, the Middle, and the Little Hordes. The Great Horde, so called, though in reality the least numerous, termed also Koerger or People of the Wilderness, are subjects of the Chinese Empire, and wander over Turkistan and Tashkend and over the forests and mountains of Kashgar, Yarkiand, and Ushi. They live chiefly under tents of felt. The Middle Horde is the richest and most powerful, and consists of five tribes; they feed their flocks in the winter near Lake Balchan, and in summer roam as far westward as the source of the Tobol. The Little Horde of the Kirghis is nearest to the West: it consists of ten thousand families who feed their flocks between the river Jaik or Ural and the Lake Ak-sakal to the northward of the Caspian and Lake Aral, and in the sandy deserts of Kara-kum.

Of the Physical and Moral Characteristics of the Kirghis.

Count Meyendorff has given a lively and excellent description of the Kirghis who exemplify the character of nomadic nations in their simple state. He says that they never, but from necessity, cultivate the ground, having a tradition, that whenever they begin to live in houses they will lose their liberty, and a great dread of sharing the fate of their neighbours the Bashkirs. None therefore but the poorest Kirghis raise corn in a few spots near the Ilek, the Emba, the Irghis, and the On, in the valleys of the Moughodjar Mountains, and in other tracts spread over the wilderness of the Jaxartes. The countries watered by the Sir or Jaxartes are the paradise of the Kirghises: to pass the winter with their flocks on its banks is their greatest delight. They are fond of wandering amid the reeds on its margin. These wandering people are of a melancholy disposition, and the murmur of the waters of the Sir has a charm for their idle moments. They often pass half the night seated on a stone, gazing at the moon and singing plaintive airs. Besides these, which are impromptu, they celebrate in historical songs the great actions of their heroes. Their food is flesh, a kind of cheese

termed krout, and koumiss prepared from the milk of mares. They are governed by *begs* or heads of families, by behadis and khans. They are Sunnite Moslims. Among them is preserved the revenge of blood, which leads to acts of atrocious cruelty.

All accounts agree in ascribing to the Kirghis the broad Turanian form of countenance and the other physical characters erroneously considered as peculiar to the Mongolian race. Pallas says that, like the Kalmuks, they have crooked or bowed legs, which he attributes to their riding so much on horseback. Count Meyendorff says, that the Kirghis have not features so strongly marked with the traits of this physiognomy as the Kalmuks, who are well known to belong to the Mongolian nation. Nor are the Kirghis so corpulent as the Kalmuks. I shall cite the accounts of some other travellers who have lately visited the Kirghis.

The German travellers M. M. Zwick and Schill, in the account of their journey in the steppes, give a similar report. The idiom of the Kirghis is so analogous to that of the Kasan Tartars, that these writers could only perceive a dialectic difference between them. The physiognomy of the Kirghis however displayed a remarkable resemblance to that of the Mongoles.*

Lieutenant Wood has described from personal observation and in a very graphical manner the Kirghis hordes who inhabit the lofty region of Pamer. He says, that "although their features are Chinese, their complexions are fair and even rosy."† In stature the Kirghis are under the middle size. Of a kyl numbering seven men the tallest was five feet five inches and a half in height. Their countenance is disagreeable: the upper part of the nose sinks into the face, leaving the space between their deeply-seated and elongated eyes without the usual dividing ridge: the bone immediately above the eye is protuberant, but slants back more abruptly than in Europeans: their cheeks, large and bloated,

* Zwick und Schill, Journal of a Journey from Sarepta to the Kalmuk hordes in Astrakhan, 1823.

† Wood, Journey to the Sources of the Oxus, p. 242.

look as if pieces of flesh had been daubed upon them: a short beard covers the chin, and in those individuals who have more luxuriant hair the beard has a natural curl. Their persons are not muscular. Their complexions are darkened by exposure to all weathers rather than by the sun. The women are rather good-looking, are of a delicate form like the Hazaras and make good wives. He remarks in several places on the ruddy and healthy complexions of the Kirghis females. He says that "the Kirghis resemble the Uzbeks of Kunduz, but the difference between a temperate and a rigorous climate is observable in the well-proportioned frame of the Uzbek and in the stunted growth of the Kirghis. They profess to be related to the Uzbeks and speak nearly the same language."

Blumenbach in his Decades has given the figure of a skull of a Kirghis-Kasak, and he says that he has another cranium of the same race in his collection which is precisely similar to that which he has exhibited. Both confirm the statement of Klaproth, that the Kirghises resemble the Mongoles in the shape of their head and features. In both of these skulls the face is wide, by the lateral projection of the cheek-bones, the malar portion of the upper maxillary bone presenting a plane surface, and displaying no furrow or depression: the forehead is rather narrower and the orbits deeper than is generally the case in Mongolian skulls. Such are the characters noticed by Blumenbach.* He describes the head as having very strongly-marked characters of the Mongolian form and as differing not from the cranium of a Kalmuk. He considers it to be the skull of a Cosak of the Don, but as the Don Cosaks are of Slavonian origin and strongly resemble the Russians and Poles,† it is more probable that this skull, which Blumenbach terms Calvaria Casacci Donensis, is one belonging to the Kirghis Kasak

* Blumenbach has figured another cranium in his collection which he received from Von Asch, who has contributed many skulls to his museum from Siberia. —See Decades Craniorum, &c.

† See Dr. Clarke's Travels in Russia, vol. 1, p. 285.

race* At the time when Blumenbach's first Decade, in which this figure appears, was published,† the real distinction between the Kasaks of the Don and the Kirghis Kasak as well as the history of the latter people, was hardly known.

SECTION XII.—*Turks of the Lena and the Shores of the Icy Sea.—Sochalar or Yakútes.*

We have still to mention one Turkish tribe long since separated from the main body of the race and exiled almost in the extremity of Northern Asia on the banks of the Lena and the Icy Sea. The Yakútes or the Sochalar,‡ as they designate themselves, became a separate people before the era when Islàm was adopted as the national religion of the Turkish race, and thus they display a specimen of the ancient barbarism of the Pagan Turks. They will assist us in forming a conception of what the Turkish people were both in physical and moral qualities in remote ages, and before they became modified by intercourse with the civilised nations of Asia.

Beyond the country of the Samoiedes towards the East are vast regions inhabited by tribes termed in their own language Socha, and in that of their Russian conquerors Yakúti or Yakútes. They are spread over a cold and barren wilderness, abounding towards the North in morasses and pathless wastes, or in rocky mountains, and covered with forests in the somewhat milder climate of the southern parts. The Yakúti inhabit the tracts bordering on the Lena, principally towards the lower parts of its course; and they have wandered thence eastward over the vast pasture grounds between that river and the Jana and the Indigirka, and even so far as the valley of the remote

* Pallas says that the Kirghis accuse the Cosaks of having usurped their name.

† Blumenbach's first Decade was published in 1790.

‡ Lar is the plural termination in the Osmanli as well as in the other Turkish dialects.

Covima or Kolyma. To the southward they are spread along the river Aldan and over the mountains bearing the same name, where they border on the Tungusians. The country of the Yakutes thus includes a considerable part of Northern Siberia. This race is interposed between the Samoiedes to the westward and a people termed Yukagiri towards the north-east.*

The country inhabited by the Yakútes is one of the most inclement in the world. The mean temperature of the air at Yakutsk is six degrees of Reaumur below the freezing point, and quicksilver is there a solid body during one-sixth part of the whole year. From the depth of three feet beneath the surface the soil is perpetually hard with frost, and it is calculated that its frozen state probably reaches to six hundred feet, and that the temperature of the air is as low as would be found at the height of two thousand three hundred feet above the summit of St. Bernard in the Alps. Yet the country produces good crops of rye and of some other grains.

The Yakútes have been described by various writers, as by Ysbrandt Ides, by Strahlenberg, Gmelin, and other later travellers. Strahlenberg mentions them as a Pagan people, who lived along the river Lena and about the city of Yakutskoi. He says, "they are one of the most numerous Pagan nations in Siberia, and consist of the following tribes:—1, Boro-ganiska; 2, Baitungski; 3, Bady's; 4, Jock-Soyon; 5, Menga; 6, Kangalas; 7, Namin; 8, Bathruski; 9, Lukoi; 10, Bolugar; all of which together make about thirty thousand men, who pay scot and lot. They call themselves Zacha from one of their ancient princes."—"They do not worship Ballwans or idols carved in wood like the Ostiaks and Tungusii, but they offer sacrifices to an invisible God in Heaven: yet they have a type or image of that deity stuffed out, with a monstrous head, eyes of coral, and a body like a bag: this image they hang upon a tree and round it the furs of sables and other animals. Each tribe has one of these

* Compare Sauer in Billing's voyage.—Also Strahlenberg's Asia.—Gmelin's Reisen durch Sibe\ien.—Klaproth, Asia Polyglott.—Erman's Reise um die Erde.

images. Their priests, called Biuhns, make use of drums like the Lapplanders. They worship the invisible God under three denominations, those of Artoyon, Schugotoygon, and Sangara, which three names are called by them Samans,* *i.e.* sacred." "What Ysbrandt Ides relates concerning these people is all true, but the custom of burying alive or killing the oldest servants or favourites of a prince at his funeral is abolished"

It is remarkable that while the Yakútes recognise the existence of a supreme invisible deity, as do the Negro nations of Africa, they have likewise combined with this belief a superstition closely analogous to the religion of fetisses. Strahlenberg says, that "each tribe of these people looks upon some particular creature as sacred, *e. g.* a swan, a goose, a raven, and such is not eaten by that tribe though the others may eat it."† "They have many superstitious customs, which they celebrate about certain trees, looked upon as sacred. When they meet with a fine tree they presently hang up all manner of nick-nacks about it, as iron, brass, copper. Their priests or Biuhns when they perform their superstitious rites put on a garment trimmed with bits of iron, rattles, and bells, a custom which they have in common with the Samoiedes. As soon as the fields begin to be green, each generation gathers together at a place where there is a fine tree and a pleasant spot of ground. There they sacrifice horses and oxen, as a new year's gift, their year commencing in April, the heads of which they stick up round the trees. They then drink to each other of a liqour which they term Cumises, and dip a brush into it and sprinkle it in the

* He means "Shamans." This is the general designation given to the priests, who are always sorcerers or magicians, wizards and fetish-men, of the barbarous pagans of Siberia. It seems to be derived from *S'ramanah*, the well known designation of a Yati or devotee in Sanskrit, applied usually to the priests of the different sects.—See Wilson's Lexicon. It must have been taken from the Mongolians, or from some people who themselves profess Buddhism, and apply to the sorcerers of the barbarous nations the designation of their own priests.

† This is precisely after the manner of the Negro nations of Senegambia. Compare also the customs of different castes in ancient Egypt.

air and into the fire lighted on the occasion. At this festival they get wretchedly drunk and gorge themselves with meat, four persons, as it is said, eating a whole horse."*

The Yakúti, as we are assured by M. Erman, partake with the Tartars a fondness for horse-flesh, which they prefer to any other meat. Their greatest delicacies are the distilled liquor and the intoxicating butter which they prepare from the milk of mares. They serve up a horse's head as a great luxury at marriage feasts.†

The Yakúti, who wander in the lower tracts of the Kolyma and on the Greater and Lesser Aniuj, have been described by Baron Von Wrangell. According to this traveller, they are not the first inhabitants of the countries where they now feed their herds, but succeeded to tribes who have either wholly or entirely disappeared, as the races of the Omoki, the Schelagi, the Tungusi, and the Jukagiri. The Yakútes alone have not only not diminished in number, but have made great progress in agriculture and population. They have the great merit of having introduced the care of horses and cattle and other branches of rural industry into a region where the soil, and still more the climate, seemed to forbid the attempt; and they first rendered the inhospitable steppes of Northern Siberia accessible to the bold followers of Yermak, who have introduced Christianity and rescued an ignorant and superstitious people from Schamanism and its barbarous customs.‡ The Yakútes, according to Wrangell, are all now baptised, and they are visited once a year by priests of the Russian church. In the winter the Yakúti inhabit jurti or yourts, which are pyramidal huts made of boards and covered with grass and mud. Here they warm themselves by their Yakútian tschuwal or open hearth, drink their kumys, eat horse-flesh, and in everything but the Christian religion keep close to the manners of their

* Strahlenberg's History of Siberia. † Erman's Reise um die Erde., Th. 2.

‡ Among these barbarities was the custom of exposing newly-born female children in baskets suspended from trees, where they perished from cold and hunger.

forefathers.* In the summer they wander about with their *urossy* or high-circular tents in search of fresh pastures, which they find in *Albuty* amid the mountains of the Aniuj. These Albuty are dried-up lakes, where a rich alluvial soil bears, during the summer months, a luxuriant vegetation. In the fresh pastures of these valleys, which form one of the peculiar features of Northern Siberia, the Yakúti never fail to settle, so that most of their stations in the district are called Albuty. In these pastures, which are sheltered by surrounding hills and forests and abound with fresh milk and wholesome food, everything announces a prosperous condition associated with patriarchal simplicity, peace, and purity of manners.†

Though the Yakúti were spread over an extensive region in Siberia long before the era of the Russian conquest, they preserve, like their neighbours the Samoiedes, a tradition of their having come originally from the South. An old Yakút, eighty-two years of age, whom Baron Von Wrangell met in an Albuty, called Sul'gi Etar or Horse-pasture, assured that traveller that his countrymen possessed written characters and the means of intellectual cultivation before they separated from the kindred race of Tartars. "He maintained that his tribe had once inhabited far distant southern tracts, and in proof quoted popular sayings, in which gold and gems, lions and tigers, things now unknown to them, are mentioned." Their popular traditions have been in a great measure lost since Schamanism yielded to Christianity, and since the Russian missionaries have burnt and destroyed their idols and altars. Sauer long ago related that there was still a tribe among the nations inhabiting the territory of Krasnoiarsk on the upper part of the Yeniseï, who bore the name of Socha and spoke the language of the Yakútes. From these it is very probable that the Yakútes of the Lena descended. The name of the lake Baikal is significant in their language; but it must be observed that this lake is far from Krasnoiarsk. The precise point whence the Yakútes really emigrated is

* Wrangell, p. 21.

† Wrangell, p. 176.

uncertain, but their idiom affords sufficient evidence to confirm the prevalent tradition of their southern origin.

It has long been well known that the idiom of the Yakútes is a dialect of the language spoken by all the tribes of Turks. The relations of the Yakúti language have been recently illustrated by M. Erman, who has shewn that the differences between this and other Tartar dialects are not accidental but follow certain rules, particular consonants and vowels being regularly interchanged for each other.* The Yakúti affect labials and dentals where the western Tartars use palatines, just as some European nations differ from others in the same respects. The Yakútes preserve inflections of adjectives through case and gender, which the Ouigours and the other Turks entirely want. Erman compares the labialism of the Yakútian dialect with the idiom of children, and conjectures that this Tartar tribe has remained in its primitive condition, the race having been separated from the rest at an early period and driven into the inclement regions of the North. The habitual indolence of the Yakútes ought, as he observes, to be considered in connection with the unwieldy form of their language, the inflections of which are in other Tartar dialects abbreviated.

* The differences between the idioms of the Yakútes and of other Turkish races are very analogous to those which occur between the Celtic dialects. The particular changes of consonants and vowels, which either the Yakútes or the other tribes have made in their original speech, are illustrated by the following table :—

Idiom of the Tartars of Kasan.		*Idiom of the Yakúti.*
g	becomes	..... t
j	"	..... t
j	"	..... s
z	"	..... b
sch	"	..... s
ju	"	..... bju
a	"	..... ui
a	"	..... oe
e	"	..... ui
ui	"	..... je, *i. e.* ye
aimen.....	"	.....ubiun

The Ouigourian Turkish words *hetchig*, *ulug*, become in Yakúti, *Otschugui*, *uluchan*, but here it seems probable that the Yakútes have preserved the original form.

Notwithstanding the unquestionable relationship between the idioms of the Sochalar and the other Turkish dialects, a considerable obscurity hangs over the origin and history of the Yakútes. In the vocabulary of their language, given by Erman, consisting of two hundred and ninety-seven words, one hundred and fourteen, rather more than one-third, have no affinity with the synonymous terms in the other Turkish idioms, and among these words several belong to the most simple class of ideas and the most original stock of vocables, such as names for parts of the body, for visible objects of nature, and terms indicating relations of affinity. This is a greater difference than appears in a long vocabulary given by Klaproth, in which the numerals and most of the common vocables almost precisely resemble the words of the Ouigourian Turks and those of the Tartars of Kasan and Tobolsk. We find it moreover repeatedly asserted by travellers, that the Yakútes are intelligible in conversation to the Tartars of Kasan.* The idiom of the Sochalar must be considered as a form, and, as it would appear, a very old form, of the Turkish language. But whence is it likely to have derived its peculiar vocables? The notion entertained by some, that the Yakútes have been intermixed with Bouriæts, suggests the inquiry, whether the idiom of this people has supplied them. The Bouriæts speak a Mongolian dialect, and the Yakútes bear so much resemblance in their physical characters to the Mongoles, that many travellers, who were previously possessed with a notion that the type of features termed Mongolian is only found in the real descendants, either mixed or genuine, of that race, have hence assumed that the Sochalar descended wholly or in part from a Mongolian tribe. But of the nearly three hundred words collected by Erman only fourteen have been recognised in the Mongolian language by that writer, who cites the authority of Schmidt, author of the Mongolian dictionary. As the territory of the Bouriæts lies in the way of intercourse between the Yakútes and the western countries of Siberia, this proportional number of words is not greater

* Cochrane's Journey in Siberia.

than we may properly attribute to the result of traffic and accidental communication, and the communication between these tribes must have been very limited. It appears indeed that the Yakútes have not derived from the Mongoles or Bouriæts the more refined portion of their vocabulary, or that which is connected with the progress of mental developement.* They have purely Turkish words expressing such abstract ideas as they have attained, as that of duty, and for objects connected with arts, even for iron and other metals, except tin which they obtain from the Bouriæts, and for the implements of their fishery. Arak, the liqour distilled from milk, has its name *aruigui*, adopted by the Mongoles and Bouriæts, from an originally Yakúty word, *arui* meaning butter. It would appear that no intimate association can have subsisted between the Yakútes or any tribe of Mongolian origin. Neither is there any resemblance between the peculiar parts of their vocabulary and the dialects of the Tungusians, Ostiaks, or Yukagiri, who inhabit the adjoining countries.† Is it probable that the era of separation was so remote as to have given rise to the variety of speech through the lapse of time and the ordinary progress of developement? In the course of ages people widely spread and dispersed in small companies through vast wildernesses, where intercourse is prevented between different hordes and families, partially forget or corrupt their language and invent new words, which necessity and the changes of habit and modes of life require. By such gradual alteration and refinement it is probable that among the Yakútes themselves have originated those portions of their language which are not common to them with the other Tartar tribes. But these portions are perhaps supposed to be more extensive than they really are, owing to the want of a sufficient investigation.

It may be observed, that the differences between the Yakúty idiom and the other Turkish dialects is of such a nature as to indicate a regular and systematic deviation and a gradual developement of common principles, accord-

* Erman, Reise um die Erde.

† Klaproth, As. Polyglott.— See the Sprach-atlas.

ing to different methods of culture and inflection. It is not like that confusion and breaking down of the grammatical structure of languages which we discover as a constant result of the intermixture of different nations.*

In the manner of building and in some other arts, M. Erman was struck with a certain resemblance of the Yakútes to the Ostiaks of the Obi. They have a taste for poetry and romance and practice a sort of domestic music. In many of these arts and customs they display a resemblance to the older inhabitants of Northern Europe and Asia. Everything indicates that they are not of recent migration into the north-eastern parts of Siberia.

All writers who describe the Yakútes agree in the observation, that their features bear a considerable resemblance to the Mongolian, and hence has probably arisen the notion, contradicted by the history of their manners and language, that they are allied to that people in descent.† "Their complexion is a light copper colour: they are generally of low stature, with more regular and pleasing countenances than the Tungusians."‡ They are, generally, a hardy and vigorous race; their stature is very different; the affluent, who live on the south side of the Virchoganski chain are stout men, from five feet ten to six feet four inches high. The indigent inhabitants of the more northern parts are below the middle size, evidently stunted by the badness of food and severity of climate."§

Blumenbach has described, in his second decade of

* The differences, for example, between the Yakúty and the Ouigour Turkish is rather analogous to the difference between the Welch and Irish, or that between the German and Scandinavian, than to the difference between Anglo-Saxon and English, or that between Latin and French or Italián. The former are the results of change by regular developement, the latter of conquest and mixture of races.

† Klaproth says of the Yakútes, "Ihre Gesichts-bildung zeigt eine starke Mischung mit Mongolen an, obgleich die Sprache nur wenig Mongolisches aufgenommen hat."—As. Polyglott. 231.

‡ Captain Cochrane's Pedestrian Journey.

§ Sauer's Account of Billing's Voyage.

skulls, the cranium of a Yakúte in his collection, which he obtained from Kratzsch, a surveyor attached to the Russian army. He says, that its general configuration very nearly resembles that of a Kalmuk skull represented in the former decade, and chosen as a characteristic specimen of the Mongolian variety. The shape of the Yakúte skull is nearly square. The orbits are remarkably large, and separated from each other by a very extensive cribriform bone; the glabellæ very full and projecting; the nasal bones narrowed and at the upper part running together in a sharp point; the bones of the vertex on both sides rising into prominences. The sutures of the bones of the face, the maxillary, malar, and nasal bones are obliterated, probably the effect of old age.

This description of the cranium indicates that the Yakútes approximate in the shape of their skulls to the Mongoles and Kalmuks, and this is confirmed by Gmelin's account of two individuals of the same race seen by him at Tobolsk. Though young persons they had the features of Kalmuks strongly marked; they had round faces, with flat noses and narrow eyes and black hair.* Erman says, that the Yakútes reminded him of the Western Tartars, by their yellowish complexion,—*gelbliche Hautfarbe*,—"the sharp features of their countenances, which were yet expressive rather of pleasing indolence and good-nature than of thought or passion, and by the pitchy blackness of their hair, by the men worn short and cropped. The Yakúte females seemed more lively and sportive than their husbands: they are often finely formed, have regular features with fiery black eyes; but this applies to them when young, for, like the women of the Tartars, the Yakúte females have rather lean than full countenances, which soon become defaced with wrinkles."

The Yakútes appear to furnish one instance out of many in which races of Turkish descent display that type of features which has been thought characteristic of the

* In der Gestalt des Gesichts gleichen die Jakuten den Kalmucken. "Sie haben nämlich eine platte Nase, kleine Augen und ein fast rundes Angesicht." J. G. Gmelin's Reise. Allegem. Hist. der Reisen., Bd. 19, s. 99.

Mongolians, without any other indication amounting to proof or even probability, that the two races have been intermixed, and with strong presumptive evidence to the contrary.

SECTION XIII.—*Relations between the Languages of the Nomadic Nations of Great Tartary.*

After all that we have been able to collect relative to the Turkish, the Mongolian, and the Tungusian races, it still remains undetermined by historical evidence whether any real affinity exists between these families of men. We have good reason to conclude, that they all had their original abode, as nations, in the remote East, namely, in the high mountainous regions of Central Asia. Whether they were tribes mutually connected by ancient kindred or races historically distinct, that is, of whose descent from a common ancestry no indications are extant, is a question still undetermined. We learn from the Turkish historian, Abulghasi-khan, that a tradition prevalent among the Turks and Mongoles derived both these nations from one original stock, but the mention of a patriarch Turk, said to be a descendant of Japhet, as the ancestor of both nations, connecting this story with the biblical genealogies, leads us to surmise that this account is a fiction invented by some Mohammedan. Philological researches are alone calculated to throw satisfactory light upon this subject. A comparison of the languages of the Turkish, Mongolian, and Tungusian races is not an undertaking altogether new or unattempted. It has suggested itself to several writers since the time when Adelung and Vater first laid open and marked out the great field of philological research, but M. Abel-Rémusat, until very lately, was the only writer who had entered deeply into the subject. The philology and literature of the Turkish nations were the objects of his investigation. By exploring the history of the Ouigours or Eastern Turks, and of their curious language, the first of the dialects of Tartary that was reduced to writing, he

discovered an important link in the series of these languages, which connects the western Turkish with the idioms of the Mongoles and Mandschoos. Some later writers have followed up this investigation; among them the most distinguished is Dr. Schott, who has more fully explored the structure and affinities of the Tartar languages than any former philologist. As this inquiry affords the only probable way of discovering what original relations existed between the three great races of Central Asia, I shall endeavour to collect and lay before the readers in as short a compass as possible, the results of all the inquiries yet instituted in reference to it.*

Adelung considered the Turks, the Mongolians, and the Tungusians to be three distinct races of men, each having a peculiar and original language; and he supposed these languages to be quite unconnected with each other, and with all other human idioms. It is so much the more remarkable, in his opinion, that the Tungusian, though confined to the eastern border of the ancient continent, contains some words common to it with languages spoken in Europe, such are the following:—

Tungusian.	*European.*
Sengui	Sanguis (Latin).
Ura (hinder-part)	οὐρα (Greek).
Tschop (top of a hill)	Zopf, top, tuft (Germ. Eng.)
Non (virgin)	Nonne, nun (German).
Heren (master)	Herr, Herrn (German).
Kiesun (to talk)	Kosen (German).
Hife (oats)	Hafer (German).
Farsche	Part.
Fialhou	Foul.
Furu	Fury.
Fourdan (a way)	Fordh (Welsh).
Latu	Late.

* See Adelung, Mithridates, Th. 1.; Scherer in Fried. Adelung's Nachträge zum ersten Theil des Mithridates; Abel-Rémusat, Recherches sur les Langues Tártares; Julius von Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta; Dr. Schott, Versuch über den Tatarischen Sprachen; F. Ritter von Xylander, Das Sprachgeschlecht der Titanen; Gyarmathi, Affinitas Linguæ Hungaricæ, &c.

Malu	Malleus.
Morin (a horse)	Mähre (German).

In the time of Adelung there were no accessible sources of information respecting these languges that were sufficient for enabling him to form a correct opinion as to their affinity or diversity. Of late years materials have been acquired which lessen this deficiency, and an opinion has gained ground which is opposed to that maintained by Adelung. The first writer who appears to have been strongly impressed by the analogy which really exists between the different idioms of Tartary was Scherer, a librarian at Munich. He observed that a comparison of corresponding sentences in these languages indicates a striking resemblance both in the structure of phrases and in particular words. Scherer's remarks are founded on certain passages in versions of the Lord's Prayer in Turkish or Tartar dialects, in the Mandschú dialect of the Tungusian language, and in the Kalmuk dialect of the Mongolian, and they likewise contain one or two references to an extract from a Kalmuk romance in Bergmann's Nomadische Streifereyen. The following are Scherer's specimens:—

Octorgai-du, Kalmuk, *i. e. Heaven in.* In Turkish the same construction, *Tangri-de.*

Tani neretani, Kalm. *i. e. vestri nomen vestrum.* Turkish, Senin adin, *i. e. tui nomen tuum.**

Abga-de thege meni ama—Mandschú. Compare Goek-de degen benin atam—Turk. *i. e. Heaven-in dwelling my Father.*

The expressions, Bayassuk-sani dula, Kalm. *i. e. the rejoicing for*, and oengoeroel-duktu adali, *i. e. the forgiving like* (or *dem vergeben gleich*), also Kalmuk phrases, and eget-schi, *evil-from*, in Mandschú, are constructions completely analogous to those of the Turkish language.

Scherer subjoined a collection of words which strikingly resemble each other. In this point of view we shall presently compare the languages of the three nations. He

* This same construction holds in all genitives; as for "Cæsaris nomen" the Turks would say, "Cæsaris nomen ejus."

also first pointed out the analogy which is to be recognised in the elements and in the composition of words. These elements, especially the guttural and nasal consonants, are strikingly alike in the Mongolian, Mandschú, and Turkish. This correspondence is displayed in the fact that the same alphabet has been found well adapted to all these idioms. The Ouigours, as is well known, were the first Turkish nation who learned the art of writing. They were taught the use of letters by Nestorian or other Syrian missionaries, and by them the art was communicated to the Mongoles and the Mandschoos. These Ouigourian characters, says M. Abel-Rémusat, are found to express the vocables of the Mongolian, Mandschúrian, and Turkish languages, just as texts drawn from the Neskhi, Kufic, or Mauretanic, are spelled with nearly equal facility in the ordinary Arabic characters.*

Scherer also noticed in the structure of Mandschú and Mongolian words, and in the arrangement of the elements of which they are composed, that remarkable peculiarity which Viguier pointed out in his Turkish grammar as a characteristic of Turkish dialects, and which he termed the Quadruple Harmony of Vowels. It consists in the rule that a given vowel occurring in one syllable of a word, or in the root, requires an analogous vowel—that is, a vowel belonging to the same set, of which sets there are in the Turkish four—in the following syllables of the same word, or in the particles appended to it, which therefore alter their vowels accordingly.

* The letters of the Ouigours or Eastern Turks were used for writing the Mongolian language during the time of Tschingghis and his immediate successors. It was in the reign of Kubilai or Koublai-khan that the Mongolian alphabet was formed. It consisted of the old Ouigourian characters with the addition of a few letters from the Tibetan, which were found necessary for spelling Indian words found in the formularies of the Buddhistical liturgies and other sacred books used in the ritual of the Mongoles. For really Mongolian words the Turkish characters were sufficient.—See M. Abel-Rémusat, Recherches sur les Langues Tartares.

This remark of M. Abel-Rémusat is important. If it was for the expression of really Mongolian or Tungusian words that additional letters were found necessary and added in the formation of alphabets for these languages to the original Ouigourian letters, this fact would contradict M. Rémusat's general observation.

This law in the formation of words constitutes a very remarkable feature of analogy in the languages of Tartary or of Central Asia. The rule which exacts the harmony of vowels, as above described, pervades the original component materials of these dialects, and it therefore seems necessarily to carry us back to the age of their first developement as the period of its origination. The languages in which this law prevails are not only the Turkish, Mongolian, and Mandschú, but likewise some others, all of which have been observed to display, in various particulars, marks of relationship more or less decided with the same class of human idioms. The Magyar language, which belongs to the Ugrian groupe of dialects, displays the influence of this same principle of formation in the most extensive degree. In that language, the vowels of the primitive word or root have a predominant influence over the vowels of the adjunct or servile syllables.* In the other languages above mentioned, the vowels of the suffixes, or of the additional syllables which are appended to words and perform the office assigned in other languages to inflexions or the terminations of case and number, take different vowels, according to the vowels of the word to which they are appended. Thus *sza* and *ta*, which are signs of the plural in Mandschú, become *sze* and *te* when they are suffixed to words containing *e* or a vowel analogous to it. An attention to this harmony of vowels is likewise perceptible in the entire structure of polysyllabic words; such in the Mandschú are *sarapa*, *angara*, *ele*, *eme*. Words similar to ἀγκυρα, χαριζομαι, ἑλωρ, would not be discovered in this language.†

Another peculiarity prevails through the formation of words in the Turkish and Mongolian languages, in which certain consonants can only be pronounced in juxtaposition with certain vowels: some consonants require to be joined with *a*, *o*, *u*; others admit into connection with them only *e* or the analogous diphthongs *oe* and *ue*.

* Schott, Versuch über die Tatarischen Sprachen.

† F. Ritter von Xylander: Die Sprache der Titanen u. s. w.

These analogies in the structure of sentences, and still more such as are found in the composition of words, are very remarkable. It seems difficult to account for them satisfactorily, by referring them to accidental coincidence, or to admit the supposition that peculiarities so deeply inlaid in the component material of languages can have been acquired or adopted through the imitation of foreign idioms; and this leads us to inquire whether confirmatory proofs can be discovered of a common origin, either in the grammatical structure of these languages or in the primitive words of which they are composed.

On comparing the Mongolian, the Mandschú and the Turkish languages, in relation to their grammatical structure, a series of very remarkable analogies has been discovered. The resemblance of the Mongolian and the Mandschú is much closer than between either of them and the western dialects of the Turkish language. These dialects, especially that of the Osmanli, have been subjected to a foreign influence and culture, the result of intercourse with Persians and Arabians and of the introduction of Mohammedan literature among the Turks. But in the most essential points in which the western Turks differ in the grammatical forms of their anguage from the more remote nations of Tartary, the eastern Turks or the Ouigours, who have never emigrated and have therefore associated much less with people foreign to their race, actually differ from the Osmanli and approach to the Mongolians and Mandshoos. The Ouigours themselves have indeed cultivated a peculiar literature from a remote period, and it is therefore likely that their idiom should be found more improved, both by the developement of its native resources, and by embellishments from foreign intercourse, than the Mongolian or Mandschú. Yet it retains much of its apparently original simplicity, and certainly some very remarkable traits which are common to it and to those eastern languages. Some of these characteristics are also discovered in the idioms of the Finnish and Ugrian nations.*

* Dr. Schott, ubi supra.—See also Dobrowsky, Literärische Nachrichten, and Rask, über die Zend-sprache.—Zusätze.

The principal features of this grammatical resemblance may be comprised under the following heads:—

1. Words have in these languages no inflexions which can be so termed in the strictest sense; they admit no formative prefixes, allow no modification in the constituent elements of roots, nor any change, generally speaking, in their endings; they express the relations of nouns only by suffixed particles, of which they have a sufficient variety; the modifications of meaning in verbs are denoted likewise by suffixes; all these are joined for the most part to the unaltered root; they rather become adherent to it than really compounded with it. There is a juxtaposition or aggregation of words, and no real cohesion.

Thus the plural number of nouns is marked by additional particles which do not form a part of the words, and may sometimes be written separately. Separate words or syllables indicative of plurality or multitude, are added in the Mongolian and Mandschú, as also in the Chinese. Among the separate words indicative of plurality one is common, as Dr. Schott has observed, to the three principal languages of Tartary; *chamuk*, in Mongolian, is *qamuk*, or *qamu*, in Turkish; in Mandschú, *gemu*. Compare ὁμου and γεμει.

It is a peculiarity of the Mandschú that the only nouns which have plurals are significant of things which have life; all other substantives are indefinite as to number.* In the Ouigour dialect of the Turkish, the particle, which in other dialects denotes the plural, is never appended to nouns, which are therefore found in the same indefinite state; yet this particle exists in the Ouigour language, and is used for forming a plural in pronouns.

The derivation of these pluralising particles is unknown; but it is apparent, as Dr. Schott has observed, that those used in the different languages are of cognate origin. The

* An imperfect distinction of number or the use of nouns indefinite in this respect is characteristic of a rude state of languages. In Welsh there are nouns which in their primitive form are collective, as *Sŷr*, the stars. When it is necessary to discriminate and mention a particular star a singular is formed by an additional ending, as *Seren*, a star. The Mandshú displays a similar imperfection.

Mandschú and Mongolian particles have only what may be termed a dialectic difference, and even the Turkish and Finnish are plainly allied. Thus the Mandschú plural particles *sza, sze, szi, ta, te, ri,* are analogous to the Mongolian *sz, d, od, nar,* and the Mongolian *nar* to the *lar* or *ler,* which is the Turkish plural ending, since *n* and *l* are in these guages interchangeable consonants, as it has been abundantly proved by Dr. Schott. In the Finnish dialects, properly so termed, the plural is formed by adding *t,* which in the Lapponic, as well as in the Magyar, is replaced by *ch* or *k.**

Cases are likewise formed exclusively in these languages by appended syllables, or suffix particles, if they may be so termed. These particles display unequivocal marks of a common derivation in the several languages. Thus, the signs of the genitive case, or of possession, are as follows :—

Mandschú—ni, i. Turkish—ning, üñ. Mongol—ũn, ũ, yin.

The sign of the ablative is in Mandschú the particle ZI, that is TSCHI, postfixed; in Mongolian, ETZE : these are, as Schott remarks, nearly related and similar to the Finnish ST or STA. The Turkish has DEN, a form nearly resembling the Greek θεν, and used precisely in the same manner. The Turkish *den* is a modification of the locative and dative particle *de*—compare θί. It is remarkable that *da, de,* or *du,* is the particle answering to *in* in the Mandschú, Mongolian, and Turkish.†

M. Abel-Rémusat has remarked that the termination *tschi*

* Cnud Leem gives *k* as the Lappish plural, Ganander, *ch,* Professor Rask, *k.*—See Rasmus Rask, Ræsonneret Lappisk Sproglære.—Köbenhavn, 1832.—Dobrowsky, Literärische Nachrichten.—Adelung, Mithridates, 1, s. 748.

† It has been fully proved by Bopp and others that the cases of nouns in the Indo-European languages had the same origin; the endings were at first prepositions, as the *abus* of Latin datives and the *abhyas* of the same case in Sanskrit from the preposition *abhi.* The Greek φιν, θι, θεν, have been compared with the Mongolian particles, and indeed they much resemble them. But in the Indo-European languages the position of these particles, when used separately, is in general before the nouns. It would appear probable that at the time when cases were formed the laws of construction were more nearly those which prevail in the Tartar idioms.

after a verb, becomes the formative of the agent noun in each of the three great Tartar languages.

Another characteristic feature in all the High Asiatic languages, including the Mandshú, the Mongolian, and Tartar dialects, and the Finnish and Hungarian, as well as the Chinese, is, that the nouns, both substantive and adjective, have no gender; they are in form neither masculine nor feminine. When, in speaking of living creatures, it is necessary to distinguish sexes, this object is attained by appending words meaning male or female. These words are, in Mandschú, *khakha* and *khekhe;* in Mongolian, *ere* and *eme;* the Mongolian *ere* has been compared with the old Scythian word for *man*, *οἰορ*, and with the Greek *ἀῤῥην*. In the Turkish *er* and *erkhek*, meaning male, correspond to the Mongolian *ere*, and *kas* or *kys* to *eme* or *khekhe*.*

2. A want of inflection in the forms of words always renders it necessary to observe strict rules as to their collocation, in order that their mutual dependencies and relations may not be mistaken. But in the Tartar languages very peculiar laws prevail as to the precise order of words and their arrangement in sentences. Dr. Schott observes that every word which influences the meaning of another, and denotes any circumstance, or defines any mode in its relations, must always be prefixed to it. Thus, adjectives uniformly precede nouns, adverbs verbs, the possessive pronoun the thing possessed, and clauses dependent on a relative precede the relative: nouns affected by a preposition always precede the preposition or the word which has the force of a preposition. It is difficult to bring this last fact under the meaning of the rule above stated. The circumstance, however, that prepositions, or rather particles used instead of prepositions, always follow nouns, is one of the most striking characters of the Tartar languages. In all other instances, prepositions are appended or suffixed in a manner precisely analogous to that in which

* *Erkhek* includes both the masculine forms, *ere* and *khekhe*, one of which still subsists in the Mongolian and the other in the Mandschú. *Kys* is evidently analogous to *khekhe*, gutturals being interchangeable with sibilants.

they appear as substitutes for the terminations of cases, and it is indeed somewhat difficult to point out a distinction between these modes of using servile or subsidiary particles.

In the Turkish and Finnish dialects, although the same laws prevail in general, yet some occasional deviation takes place from the rigid law of collocation established in the other Tartar languages. This appears chiefly in the Osmanli and the Magyar, and is attributed to the influence of Persian and Arabic on the one, and of the European languages on the other. In general, however, the Turkish dialects have in this particular the same habitude which is characteristic of the other Northern Asiatic languages:—

"Un trait commun à tous les dialectes Turcs," says M. Abel-Rémusat, "sans excepter le Turc oriental (*i. e.* the Ouigour), c'est l'inversion perpetuelle si contraire à nos habitudes, il semble même qu'on peut dire, si contraire à la nature. Ici, comme en Mandschou et en Mongol, le mot qui régit se place toujours après celui qui est régi, et le verbe principal, auquel viennent ressortir directement ou indirectement tous les mots d'une phrase, doit toujours être mis à la fin. Les mots composés, les noms en rapport, les particules, les phrases incidentals, tout est soumis à la même règle; et si dans les textes Ouigours on trouve des cas où elle semble negligée, on s'apperçoit aisément que ces exceptions sont l'effet immédiat et palpable d'une influence étrangère."

3. The preceding observations relate chiefly, though not exclusively, to nouns and the method of collocation which the peculiarity of their structure makes necessary. The following remarks refer principally to verbs:—

Circumstances or modes in action which other languages express by means of adverbs, by separate pronouns, or by auxiliary verbs dependant on the principal verb, are expressed in the Tartar languages by means of particles or particular syllables brought into immediate connexion with the verbal root, and serving to denote all such modifications in its meaning.

With one single exception, which is that of the Osmanli

Turkish, a mixed dialect disguised by a peculiar culture under the influence of a foreign literature, all the languages that originated in Great Tartary display the greatest simplicity in the formation of verbs. The root of the verb is always the imperative. By the addition of particles to the root, all the modifications of which these verbs are susceptible are induced. It has even been proposed by some writers to characterise all these languages by a term derived from this circumstance. The Osmanli, as I have observed, forms an exception to the simplicity or poverty of the other dialects comprehended in the same class. It employs a verb substantive as an auxiliary verb, a thing unknown in the cognate idioms. It forms a great variety of compound tenses and moods, and has complex derivative conjugations, such as those called transitive, co-operative, reciprocal, and inceptive verbs. Of all these no vestiges have been discovered in the Ouigour or Eastern Turkish, which, on the contrary, has all the simplicity of the other Tartar languages. It employs no auxiliary verb, has no compound tenses. By means of post-fixed particles it forms a present and past tense, and it has been found to possess no other modification of the verb indicative of time.*

4. Most of these languages are scantily provided with conjunctions, but rich in gerunds, which virtually contain conjunctions and render separate and distinct particles unnecessary: even when the gerunds, or the participles which supply their place, are less numerous, they are still frequently used. Thus, as Dr Schott observes, are formed long-winded and singularly-involved periods, especially in the Turkish language, which it is quite impossible to translate, their construction being preserved.† From this want of conjunctions and tendency to form involved periods, the infinitives and participles assume the character of verbal nouns, and are brought more frequently and with greater boldness into connexion with pronominal

* Abel-Rémusat, Recherches sur les Langues Tartares.

† Versuch über die Tatarischen Sprachen.

suffixes, and with the terminations of cases belonging to nouns, than in any other language. Hence an apparent copiousness in verbal inflexion which is in fact a simplicity and poverty of structure. Some instances of this kind may be seen in the short citation above made from Scherer, in which the same construction appears in all the languages compared. Verbal nouns, which resemble in form the Greek θελημα, become in construction with pronouns real verbs.* With that form indeed the infinitive mood ending in *me* or *ma* in Mandschú, and in Turkish in *mek* or *mak* may be compared. In this want of analysis in construction, which is so striking a characteristic of the High Asiatic languages, the Turkish fully participates. It is remarkable that the Osmanli, which possesses a greater variety of forms than the pure Turkish or Ouigour, scarcely derives any advantage from them, as if it had not been able to shake off the yoke originally impressed upon it, and to accustom itself to the liberty which it has acquired.

"L'usage des temps simples et impersonnels," says M. Abel-Rémusat, "viennent souvent y obscurcir les idées, que les temps composés exprimeraient avec netteté et précision." "Les Ouigours ont évité les principaux inconvéniens de ce système, en suivant un marche simple et naturel, qui empêche d'être élégant, mais permet d'être clair. Les autres Turcs, qui, sans renoncer à l'emploi fréquent des participes, ont voulu porter dans leurs compositions un style plus orné, et construire leurs phrases d'après un plan plus compliqué, n'ont réussi qu'à rendre la construction embarrassée. Chez eux une longue periode, imparfaitement soutenue par le rétour fréquent du gérond ou du participe, conduit souvent le lecteur au bout d'une page, sans lui offrir le verbe d'où dépend le sens de la phrase entière. C'est de l'aveu des plus habiles dans ce genre de littérature, ce qui fait que la lecture des ouvrages Turcs est toujours difficile et fatigante."†

* F. Ritter, Von Xylander. Die Sprache der Titanen.

† Abel-Rémusat conjectures that the intercourse with nations of Indo-German race, some time after the Christian era, was the occasion of introducing into the Turkish language the use of auxiliary verbs, and of compound tenses

These general remarks are sufficient to point out the nature of that analogy in genius and structure which exists between the languages of the Tartarian nations. I shall now add some particular grammatical forms which exemplify their connexion.

There is no class of words in which the oldest forms of languages are so well preserved as in pronouns, as every one is aware who has any knowledge of the classical languages.

The personal pronouns are as follow :—

	I.	*Thou.*	*He.*
Mongolian	bi	tschi	tere
Mandschú	bi	si	tere, i
Turkish	ben	sen	ol, o
Ouigour	man	san	ol
Finnish	ma	sa	
Esthonian	ma, minna	sa, sinna	ta, temma
Lapponic	mon	don	son
Hungarian	en	te	oe
Genitive.	*Of me or mine.*	*Of thee or thine.*	*Of him, his.*
Mongolian	mini	tschini	ta
Mandschú	mini	sini	tereï
Turkish	benin	sening	aning
Ouigour	maning	sangge	aning
Dative.	*To me.*	*To thee.*	*To him.*
Mongolian	mendou	tschimdou	
Mandschú	minde	sinde	
Turkish	bangé	sange	ange
Ouigour	mangge	saning	angge
Plural.	*We.*	*Ye.*	*They.*
Mongolian	bida	ta	te-det
Mandschú	be	souwe	te-set
Turkish	biz	siz	an-lar

in conjugation. From the extremity of Asia, he says, the art of conjugating verbs is unknown: participles and gerunds supply the place in the language of the Mongoles and Tungusians, in which the distinction of persons does not exist. The Oriental Turks first offer some traces of these, but the very sparing use which they make of them seems to attest the pre-existence of a more simple method. Lastly, those Turkish tribes who, in the countries separating the Irtish and the Jaik, were perhaps formerly in contact with Gothic nations, have adopted conjugations by means of auxiliary verbs, though they still preserve much of the "mecanisme gèné" of idioms destitute of conjugations.—p. 306.

Ouigour	bis-lar	sis	o-lar
Finnish	me	te	
Esthonian	meie	teie	neet, nummad
Lapponic	mi, mige	ti, tiye	si
Hungarian	mi, miyuk	ti, tiyed	oe-k
Genitive Plural.	*Of us, our.*	*Of you, your.*	*Of them, their.*
Mongolian	minu	tschinu	
Mandschú	mini	sini	ini
Turkish	bizim	sizing	an-lar-ong
Ouigour			alar-din
Dative Plural.	*To us.*	*To you.*	*To them.*
Mongolian	mendou	tschendou	tedendou
Mandschú	mindeu	sinde	terede
Turkish	bize	size	anlare
Ouigour	bis-ke	sis-ke	alar-ke

It must here be observed that the pronoun of the third person is in many instances defective in several of these languages, and made up of demonstratives and of other substitutes. Hence there is great variety in the forms apparently belonging to this person. But those of the first and second display the most striking resemblances in all the above languages; the differences may be considered as merely dialectical, and the pronouns of the third person correspond when they are extant. Even the irregularities of one language correspond with those of another.

We must not omit to observe that the Mandschú has another form answering to the plural of the first person, namely, *mouse*, regularly formed as a plural, by addition of the pluralising particle, from *mou*. Compare the Lithuanian *més*, genitive *músû*, dat. *mús*. This word is used when the speaker includes the person whom he addresses together with himself in the same *we;* a variety in the number and conception of personal pronouns, which is well known in the languages of the Algonquins and other American nations, and has been considered as peculiar to them.

The Mandschú, Mongolian, and Turkish languages have, according to the peculiar genius of these idioms, syllables

which, suffixed to the attributes of the subject, form a sort of possessive or attributive participle or adjective, and answer the purpose of relatives governing clauses. This requires explanation.

In Mandschú, *aracha*-ngge means—"*written-having*," or "qui scripsit;" minde-buche-ngge,"—"to me given-having," "qui mihi dedit." The particle *ngge* means possession, *belonging to;* as nijalma-i-ngge, *i. e.* "what belongs to man," and it thence becomes the sign of the possessive case. This *ningge*, or *ngge*, of the Mandschú is likewise found in Turkish, in the particle indicative of the possessive case, which is *ning*. The Mongolians have a particle, *ki*, *gi*, and *kei*, which they use just as the Mandshoos use *ngge* for a sort of relative suffix. The Turkish alone has a separate relative pronoun, *kim* and *ki*, which is even found in the Ouigour or pure Eastern Turkish dialect, and this may be prefixed and used as is the relative pronoun in the European languages. The use of this is, as M. Abel-Rémusat observes, foreign to the grammatical structure of these languages, and the Ouigour, like the other idioms of Northern Asia, usually substitutes for it a suffixed particle.*

From the Mandschú *ningge*, or *ngge*, compounded with the possessive pronoun, or rather with the possessive case of the personal pronoun, and from corresponding words in the Mongolian and Turkish, arises a sort of abstract relative which is very remarkable from its singular resem-

* The Turkish relative or interrogative pronoun *kim*, *ki*, answers to the Sanskrit *kim* and the Latin *qui*, *quid*. It seems obvious to suspect that the Turks may have derived this from the Persian or Sanskrit, and that would be the most probable conclusion if corresponding forms did not occur in the cognate languages. In the first place, the Turkish *kim*, *ki*, resembles the Mongolian suffix *ki*, *kei*: the Mongolians have also a merely interrogative pronoun, *ken*. Similar words occur in the Finnish languages. For *quisnam*, Gyarmathi and Rask give, in the Esthonian, *kes*, *ke*; in Hungarian, *ki*; Finnish, *kuka*; Lapponic, *ki*, *kü* or *gi*. For *quidnam* and *quicunque*, Esthonian, *kegi*, *keäke*; Hungarian, *kiki*, *valaki*.* In the Eastern dialects of the same stock we have *kjo*, used by the Tscheremisses; *kin*, by the Votiaks. Even the Chinese have cognate pronouns, namely, *khi*,—*ille*, *jener*, and *ki*,—*ipse*.†

* Gyarmathi Affinitas Ling. Hungar., p. 130.—Mithridat. 2, p. 774.—Rask's Sproglære., 94.

† Abel-Remusat, 266.

blance to the German form, *das meinige*. Thus, *mini, sini*, &c., make in Mandschú, *miningge, siningge, iningge,—miningge*, literally "mine what is" or "mine being;"—in German, *das meinige, das deinige, das seinige*. In Mongolian the corresponding form is *minüge, tschinüge, ekonüge*; in Turkish, *miningki, seningki, ganingki*.

The verb substantive is another part of speech which in many languages retains very old forms. The Mandschú has two verbs used in the sense of "*to be;*" these are *bi*, meaning properly *to hold*, or abide, as in the infinitive *bime*, pres. indic. *bimbe;* this resembles, and *may be* cognate with, the Sanskrit *bhu*, Welsh. *bŭ, be, bin, buwain*, φυω, *fuo* of European languages.* Another verb, more strictly a verb substantive, in Mandschú, is *ome*, ἐμεν.† The Mongolian has *bü-kü*, φῦναι, in the present *bui* (*ich bin*), and *acho* (*esse*), *amui*, I am. The Turkish has only *ol-maq*, properly, *fieri*: with this we must compare the Finnish infinitive *olla*, Esthon. *ollema*; in the pres. tense, 1, *olek;* 2, *olet;* 3, *on:* pl. 1, *olemme;* 2, *olette;* 3, *owat:* and the Lapponic corresponding form, 1, *lem;* 2, *lek;* 3, *la:* pl. 1, *lep;* 2, *lepped;* 3, *lak*.

The preceding instances answer the double purpose of showing resemblances in vocabulary, and also in grammatical forms between the different Tartar languages. It is impossible to doubt of the original affinity of the pronouns in all these idioms, or of that of the verbs substantive. What is more surprising is the resemblance which displays itself, without being sought, between these Tartar forms and those of the Indo-European languages. The consideration of this last subject would be foreign to my

* Vater has given the conjugation of this verb in Bouriæt, which is a Mongolian dialect. *Sum, es, est, sumus*, is *bi bis, schi bis, ogon bis, bi-da bis, &c.; eras, eras, &c., bi yaba, schi yaba, &c.; fui, &c., bi bilei, schi bilei, &c.* Compare with this *bheil* and *fhuilh*, forms of the verb substantive in Erse, and *buile*, a form of the same verb in Russian.

† *Ome* is only in appearance like ἐμεν; *me* in one and μεν in the other being only formative terminations. In the old Greek infinitive τυπτεμεναι, τυπτεμεν, μεν may be compared with the Mandschú *me*, the Tartar *mek*, the Latin *men* in *crimen, semen*, &c. An initial *m* in Hebrew, Arabic, and Coptic, plays the same part as the final *me* in the Scythian languages.

present undertaking,* and I shall merely remark, with respect to it, that the resemblances in particular grammatical elements, as in the pronouns especially, and also those which may be pointed out in radical words,—of these a short specimen has already been given from Scherer, which has been greatly extended by Klaproth,—between even the most western European languages and the Mongolian and Mandschú, spoken in the extreme east of Asia, are certainly too strong and decided to be attributed to mere accidental coincidence, while, on the other hand, it is impossible to account for these phenomena by referring them to occasional intercourse, a thing which cannot be imagined between nations so widely remote from each other.

* I cannot however refrain observing, that the suffix pronouns connected with prepositions, as well as the suffixes of verbs, as used in the language of the Votiaks and in that of the Hungarians and in other Ugrian or Tschudish dialects, bear a striking analogy to the Welsh. For instance we have in

Votiak.	*Hungarian.*	*Latin.*	*Welsh.*
Dinjám	Bennem	In me	yn-ym
Dinjád	Benned	In te	yn-yt
Diné	Benne	In eo	yn-o
Urtzám	Mellém	Penes me	wrth-ym
Urtzád	Melléd	—— te	wrth-yt
Urtzin	Melléye	—— eos	wrth-ynt

Compare also with the Welsh two tenses of the verb substantive in the Votiak.

Votiak.	*Latin.*	*Welsh.*
Mon vui	fui	Mi a vûm or vuo
Ton vuid	fuisti	Ti a vûost
Szo vuiz	fuit	Eve a vû
Mi vuimi	fuimas	Ni a vûom
Ti vuidi	fuistis	Chwi a vûoch
Szojosz vuizi	fuerunt olim fuesunt	Hwynt a vûont
Mon vuo	fu-ero	bydhav and vydhav
Ton vuod	—-eris	vydhi
Szo vuosz	—-erit	vŷdh
Mi vuom	—-erimus	vydhwn
Ti vuodi	—-eritis	vydhwch
Szojosz vuozi	—-erint	vydhant

See Gyarmathi, ubi supra, pp. 185-187.

The same kind of analogy between the Finnish languages and the Welsh in grammatical construction may be recognised perhaps more strongly in the grammatical forms of the Morduan language, I must refer my readers to a learned paper by C. Von Gabelentz, in the second vol. of the "Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenl." "Versuch einer Mordwinischen Grammatik."

If we attempt to resort to the only explanation that remains, namely, the hypothesis of a common origin, we seem to be carried back beyond the period open to historical or even to ethnological research.

We come now to the inquiry whether, and to what extent, there is a connexion in regard to the vocabulary and the stock of primitive words between the Tartar languages. It may be observed that, if no such affinity is found, we shall consider them to be one class of languages, a class strongly marked, and the members of which are nearly related to each other by such analogies as constitute a class, but we shall not venture to declare that a family relation exists between them, unless it be allowed that resemblance in grammatical construction, where it amounts to a certain degree, constitutes by itself this relation. Many have thought so, and have reckoned the polysynthetic idioms of America, and the monosyllabic idioms of the Chinese and Indo-Chinese nations as languages respectively of kindred stock. If this were allowed, the languages of the Tartar nations might be considered as one family of languages, even if no roots should be found common to them.

Father Gerbillon, who travelled in Chinese Tartary, in the suite of an expedition commanded by the Emperor of China, and whose "Elementa Linguæ Tartaricæ" was the first work that appeared in Europe on the Mandschú language, was of opinion that only seven or eight words in that idiom were similar to the Mongolian. It has been generally supposed that there is an almost equal diversity between the latter and the Turkish, notwithstanding the tradition, recorded by Abulghasi-khan, of a common origin uniting the two races of people who speak these idioms. M. Abel-Rémusat says that Gerbillon was greatly mistaken; both he and Klaproth affirm that a large number of similar words exist in these languages, though they do not thence infer a common origin. M. Abel-Rémusat makes a distinction in reference to this point, which supports a very strong argument, and cannot easily be set aside if the fact is exactly as he considered it to be. He divides words into different classes; one class he terms words of the first necessity and simplicity and thinks common to all nations

springing from the same stock; another set are words of a merely secondary kind, such as rude nations often adopt from their neighbours; a third class consists of words denoting ideas which indicate refinement. The first class contains such expressions as those of kindred, father, mother, husband, wife, &c., and words denoting parts of the body, hand, head, &c., striking external objects, sun, moon, star, tree, river, and numbers up to ten. Secondary words are terms for domestic animals, metals, fruits, esculent plants, instruments of agriculture, of war, and other arts. The third class contains names for offices, dignities, complex relations, and abstract ideas. M. Abel-Rémusat says, that of words belonging to the second class a great proportion are common to the Mongolian and Mandschú particularly, but that the terms included in the first class are distinct in each of these idioms. He therefore considers the Tartar nations as separate and different races.

A late writer, who has investigated this subject with great accuracy, has called in question the inferences drawn by Abel-Rémusat, as well as the data from which they are deduced. His work, to which he has given the modest title of "Versuch über die Tatarischen Sprachen," indicates a deeper insight into the genius of the Scythian languages than any former writer has displayed. Dr. Schott begins by observing, that even in idioms between which a near affinity has been completely established and is universally allowed, a multitude of words radically distinct from each other may be found to express the most universal ideas and objects of the first necessity. What resemblance is there, for example, between our German word *sohn*, a son, and the Greek *υἱος*, or between *sohn* and *tochter* and *filius* and *filia?* Who would connect *bruder*, or brother, with *ἀδελφος*; sister with *ἀδελφη*; *frau* with woman, *femina*, or *γυνη*; man with *vir*; *gattin* or *gemahlin*, wife, with *uxor* and *ἀλοχος*? How is *himmel*, heaven, related to *cœlum*, *οὐρανος*, and the Russian *niebo?* How earth, *terra*, *γη*, and the Persian *zemin?* How moon, *luna*, and the Sanskrit *chandra?* our sun and the Persian *churshid*, *mihr*, and *afitāb? kopf*, head, and the Persian *szer?* hand, *manus*, *χειρ*, and *deszt? mund*, *os*, *dehān*, *στομα*, and the Russian *rott? baum*, tree, *arbor*,

δενδρον? *vogel*, bird, *avis*, ὀρνις, and the Russian *ptitza?* stone, *saxum*, πετρα, and the Russian *kamen?* All these, and very many other words, in languages known to belong to one family, express ideas of the most simple class, and are yet totally diverse. Similar instances are afforded by a comparison of the Semitic languages, whose relation to each other is in other respects scarcely more distant than that of dialects of one speech. The moon is in Hebrew, *yārēach*, in Arabic, *qamar;* a hill, Hebrew, *hōr*, Arabic, *jebel;* a tree, Hebrew, *ētz*, Arabic, *shedsher;* a stone, Hebrew, *ebhen*, Arabic, *hajar*. Even in the very same language, words are often found which, though exactly synonymous, are totally different in several provincial dialects.

These instances are quite sufficient to prove that a considerable number of different words, even though expressive of ideas of the first necessity, do not disprove a family relation between languages. In the Tartar languages, as in the Indo-European, the same roots are often discovered, with some deviation in their meaning. It must also be observed that words themselves undergo in the Tartar dialects modification from the interchanges of particular consonants and vowels. In this way many words derived certainly from the same origin are so disguised that, without attention to the laws which govern this interchange, and which Dr. Schott has been the first to explore with respect to the Tartar languages, their real affinity could hardly be recognised.

The following is a short selection of examples in which words of the same origin are found in several of these languages, expressive of ideas nearly related to each other:—

In Turkish *gol* or *goel* means a lake: in Mongolian *ghool*, a river: *golo* in Mandschú is the bed of a river. The sea is in Turkish, *dengiz* or *deñiz:* in the Magyar or Hungarian, *tenger:* *r* and *z* are shown to be frequently interchanged. In Mongolian, *tenggisz*, and in Mandschú, *tenggir*, mean a *great lake*. In Mandschú, *alin* (Mong. *aghola*, *oola*), a mountain: in Hungarian, *alom*, a hill. In Turkish, *qaya*, a rock: Hungarian, *koe*, *köv;* and in the Finnish

languages, *kü*, *ku*, a stone. The Mongolian *tsilagh-on*, a stone, resembles the Hungarian *szikla*, in the word *kö-szikla*, rocks, which seems to be compounded of two synonyms.

For *ice* the Finns have the word *yeg*, *yegna:* the Hungarians, *yég*. To this word the root of the Mongolian word *yik-ekün*, cold, frost, corresponds, while the Mandschú *juche* again means *ice*. With *juche* the Turkish *szuq*, or *saghouq*, cold, is closely connected.

The Mongolian *aldar*, and the Mandschú *elder*, mean shine, splendour: in Turkish we have *ilder-im*, or *yilder-im*, lightning, and *yeldiz* (for *yeldir*), star. The sun is in Mongolian *nar-an:* summer, the sunny season, is in Hungarian *nyâr:* in Turkish *yaz*, written for *yar*, by the interchange of consonants.

The Turkish for heaven, *gök*, *gökler*, pl., does not occur in that sense in the other languages, but in the meaning of *blue*, which it has not lost in Turkish, we recognise it in the Hungarian *kék*, the Mongolian *köke*, and the Mandschú *kuku*.

Boi, in Turkish, form, stature, is related to *beye* in Mongolian and Mandschú, meaning *bodies*. The Mandschú *udju*, head, seems isolated: but in Turkish, *üsz* or *üz*, means the upper part of anything, as in *uz-re*, upon, above. The root of the Turkish *qul-aq*, ear, is found in the Finnish *caul-en*, I hear: Hungarian, *halla-ni*, to hear. The Turkish *göz*, eye, is connected with the Mongolian *üze (üze-kü)*, to see, from which the Mongolian forms the word *üzel*, sight, and the Turkish *güzel*, *beautiful*, *spectabilis*.

These instances have been adduced by Dr. Schott as indicative of the fact, that, when the same roots are not detected in different Scythian languages in corresponding terms for the same objects or ideas, they are often to be found in use in a somewhat modified sense, in several of these idioms. There is also a considerable number of words bearing precisely the same meaning, both radical and derivative, which are either identical or very similar in the Turkish, Mongolian, and Mandschú languages. In some instances these words have been borrowed by one people from another. It is difficult to determine when

this is the fact, and when they are a part of the original stock of vocables belonging to each language; but sometimes this may be done by noticing the form of such words, and whether their formative terminations belong to one idiom or to another; whether such words are in one dialect isolated and in another derivable from known roots, and associated with cognate words. When words nearly similar or identical exist in several languages, connected with ideas of the first necessity, we ought not, without proof, to conclude that they were derived by one people from another. Several examples illustrative of these remarks are cited in the work to which I refer. They afford additional evidence in support of the conclusion already suggested.

The examples of analogy pointed out by Dr. Schott are not very numerous, but on comparing carefully the vocabularies of the Northern Asiatic languages given by Klaproth and others, I have found a correspondence equally decided extending to a large proportion of words belonging to that class which Abel-Rémusat designates as terms of the first necessity.

The following words serve as a sufficient specimen :—*

* The dialects are marked as follows :—

Under the Tartar or Turkish dialects are the following :—

1, The dialect of the Ouigours, 2, dialects of Tartar tribes in Russia and Siberia, of which that spoken at Kasan is the principal specimen; 3, the Turkoman, representing the dialects of independent Turkish tribes of Turkistan, &c.; 4, that of the Osmanli.

Under the Mongolian :—1, the idiom of the Mongoles near the Great Wall of China; 2, that of the Khalka Mongoles; 3, idiom of the Bouriæts; 4, that of the Oeloets or Eluths of Songaria: 5, Kalmuks on the Wolga.

Under the Tungusian :—1, The Mandschú, the language of the Tungusian conquerors of China; 2, dialects of the Eastern Tungusian tribes of Siberia,—the number 2 being that of a tribe on the Lower Tunguska; 3, that of the Lamutes; 4, dialect spoken at Ochotsk, on the shore of the Pacific Ocean; 5. of Tungusians near Yakutsk; 6, &c., Western Tungusian dialects which differ considerably from the preceding,—6 being that of the Upper Angara; 7, that of Bargusin; 8, of Nertchinsk; 9, of Mangaseya; 10, that of the Tchapogiri: 11, of Jeniseïsk.

With the preceding are compared words of the Tschude or Finno-Ugorian languages, numbered as follows :—1, Finnish proper; 2, Esthonian or Ehstlandish; 3, Lapponic; 4, Wolgian Tschudes, namely, Morduans, Mokshans, and Tscheremisses: 5, Permians and Votiaks; 6, Woguls; 7, Hungarians or Magyars; 8, Ostiaks of Northern Siberia.

English.	*Turkish.*	*Mongolian.*	*Tungusian.*	*Finno-Ugorian.*	*Samoiede.*
Father	1, ata ; 2, atai 3, baba ; 4, aba	etschige aba	ami aenni, anya	1, oeta ; 3, atte	oadi ima
Mother	1, ana ije, addja	ege		1, enne ; 2, anya	newan
Elder Sister	2, ege	achan, ere	aekim, akin	8, iggem	idja
Younger Sister	akka	ugim	nökim	ako	okois
Elder Brother	1, acha	aka	aki	neka	adje
Child	2, kichkinga (little)	köölrön	kuakakan, koakan		
Man	1, er ; 2, ere, erkhek	ere		kyschuo	tschutscha
Wife	chatun	chatuni			
Arm, shoulder		murun em	meiran, mayan		mude
Belly	itschi, essogo	jetghu	akyt, chukito	uim, oim	
Hand	gol, kol	gar, char	3, kal ; 1, gala	4, koht	ol, olol
Mouth	awus	1, am ; 4, aman	10, amga ; 5, hamun	lagel	namo, angda
Hair		3, nochon	6, inakta	3, wom ; 4, ummâ	gneepta
Cheeks	yangach, fangak	chalchai ; 4, galcha	10, changaï ; 4, yldijkin	2, tukat	
Bread, food	edmek, ekmek	odmoek			idpoek
Alike	sanki	sankoi			
Great	yak	yuka (heavy)			agga
Black	kara	chara	kara		sagar
Not, no	me	ume		nem	
Race, breed	barq		falga		

English.	*Turkish.*	*Mongolian.*	*Tungusian.*	*Finno-Ugorian.*	*Samoiede.*
Tree		2, modo	1, moo ; 11, mo		murch
Mountain	2, uba	5, oola ; 3, ula	11, urra ; 1, alin	ur	kurm
Lightning	1, oot-zachildy	1, zachilgan	1, tolkian ; 11, talinu	5, zilekjän ; 2, tuli	laukhuni
Springs of Water		2, chodük	3, choduk		
Earth	2, sir, djeir	1, chadsar ; 3, gasyr	11, dunda	4, mlanda ; 3, odnam	
Heaven	1, tangri	1 and 4, tengri, tägri	3, njanja	1, taimas ; 5, jenem	adjaan
Hill	2, tuba, oba	2, gube ; 1, dobo	10, uro	4, kuruk ; 7, domb	
Moon	1, ai	2, sara	11, bjega	6, jaukoba	butzi
Morning	1, arte	1, marchata, erte 5, manga	temgna	warchmedemega irgot	
Night	1, tun	1, suni	11, dolboni	jugun	gigod
Stone	tash	5, tscholou	9, djollo	8, kyue	4, gul
Clay	2, balschik	1, balschik		7, ajyag	
River	1, muran 2, idel	5, mura 1, muran chool	amar 11, birrja	6, jea ; 5, mor	nor
Sea	1, taloi 2, dengis	1, dalai 5, denggis	11, lamu ; 10, namu		yam
Water	1, suw ; 2, su	1, usu		4, inewaet	
Wind	4, sal ; 2, djeil	1, salkin	11, addun	1, wesi	tzuen
Lake	gol, goel	ghool (a river)	gol, golo (a river-bed)	taul	khuri goldt (a river)

The analogy between these words, and others that might be pointed out in the vocabularies of the different Tartar languages, is rendered more manifest and striking when we take account of the interchanges of consonants and vowels which are to be traced. The following are some of the principal instances:—

The final *n* in Mandschú nouns is frequently elided, and this is the only change produced in roots by grammatical construction: this consonant is in fact only a formal termination. *Morin*, a horse, makes *mori-sa* in the plural. The Mongolian also omits *n*, as for *khan-t*, plural of *Khan*, king, *khãt*. Both these languages often drop the *n*, *ad libitum*, even without construction. Turkish nouns never drop *n*, grammatically or in construction, but often want *n* or *un* in instances where the other languages have it as the usual ending. This syllable must therefore be cut off when we compare Turkish with Mongolian or Mandschú words. Examples:—

Mongolian, kütz-ün		Turkish,	gütsch (strength).
„	mesz-ün	„	muz, buz (ice).
„	toghoz-ün	„	toz (dust).

The Turkish avoids *n* at the beginning of words by omitting it or changing it for *j* or *d*, as,

Mongolian, neng		Turkish,	eng (very).
„	nasz-ün	„	jasz or jasch (age, period).
Mandschú, nasz'ch-ün (fortunate time),			
Mongolian, nogür		Turkish,	ögür (amicus, consuetus).
Mandschú nadan		„	jadi, jedi (seven).

In the Hungarian or Magyar, *ny* takes the place of *d*.

*Mongolian, neile-kü Hungarian, nyil-ni	} to open.	Turkish,	del-meq (to bore a hole).
„	nyelv	„	dil (tongue).
„	nyel-ni	„	dile-meq (to swallow).
„	negy (four)	Mandschú,	dechi (forty).
„	nyar	Turkish,	jaz for jar (summer).
Compare Mongolian, nar-an (sun).			
	nyol-ni	„	jal-maq (to lick).

The Turkish affects the medial or soft *mutes* and avoids aspirates and even *tenues* at the beginning of words. Thus

* *Kü* in Mongolian, *ni* in Magyar, and *meq* in Turkish, are the signs of the infinitive.

it changes all labials, including *f* and *v*, into *b*; it drops *f* entirely in some instances.

The Mandschoos, like the Chinese, avoid *r* by changing it for *l*. The Turkish often changes it into a soft, and scarcely audible, *z*. Examples of these changes :—

Mandschú,	falga	Turkish,	barq (a race).
Mongolian,	ghar	Mandschú, gala; Turkish, gol (hand).	
Hungarian,	tenger	Turkish,	dengiz (sea).
„	nyar	„	jaz (summer).
„	ökür	„	öküz (ox).
„	terd	„	tiz (knee)
Mongolian,	mörü	„	omuz (shoulder).
Mandschú, ara; Hungarian, îr		„	jaz (to write).

Words are in like manner disguised by the interchanges of gutturals and sibilants, and by the occasional omission of the former, phenomena which are observable in the dialects of most other languages.

The Turks and Mongoles change the hard *k* for *gh*, and the softer *k* for *g* and *j*. The Turkish final *k* or *q* is often a mere formative ending and is liable to be dropped: *qamuq*, Turkish, all, is in Osmanli, *qamu*, in Mongolian, *chamu*. The *maq* or *meq* of the infinitive in Turkish corresponds with *me* in Mandschú. *Gh* is dropped from the middle of words between two vowels, as *szighir*, a bullock in Osmanli Turkish, becomes *szir* in Eastern Turkish, *schir* in Mongolian. So also *taghosz-ün*, dropping also *ün* as above, *toz*, Turkish; *chaghorai*, Mongolian, *i. e. chōrai*, in Turkish, *qoru*, dry; *chabar*, Mongolian, a nose, the initial guttural being dropped and the mute being changed into its aspirate and a vowel added, which the Mandschú requires uniformly at the end of words, becomes very near the Mandschú *aforo*, in Turkish, *bur-un*. The common root is *var* or *vor*. *Olcho-me*, Mandschú, is *qorq-maq* in Turkish.

Omissions of the initial guttural and changes of *z* and *j* produce such differences as the following :—*göz*, eye, Turkish; *üze-kü (i. e. üze)*, Mongolian, to see; *üz-el*, sight, Mongolian; *güzel*, Turkish, *spectabilis; jasz-a*, Mandschú, an eye.

Mongolian,	zai	space, room	Turkish,	jai-maq (to extend).
„	zacha	border	„	jaqa.
„	zali	flame, cunning	„	jaling (flame) jalan (deceit).
„	zekü-kü	to draw	„	jük (a burden).
„	dschimesz	barley	„	jemisch.
„	zol-gha-cho	to meet	„	jol (a way).

Examples of the same interchange in other Turanian languages:—

Mandschú,	dsche-me	to eat	Turkish,	je-mek.
„	dschulergi	before	„	jileru or ilerü (ilergu).
„	dschaman	quarrel	„	jaman (bad).
„	tschala-me	to err	„	jalan (false).
„	botscho	colour	„	boja.
Hungarian,	szel	wind	„	jel.
Mandschú,	dschuche	ice	„	saghouq, sawouq (cold).
			Finnish,	jeg (ice).

By a similar comparison Dr. Schott has shown that although the numerals differ considerably in all these languages, a sufficient analogy is discoverable between them to indicate an ancient, though now obscure, relation.

On comparing the phenomena traced in the preceding pages, it appears unquestionably to result that an extensive analogy of structure prevails through the four principal groupes of languages compared, I mean the dialects belonging to the Turkish, the Mongolian, the Tungusian, and the Finnish or Finno-Ugorian families of languages, but I refer more particularly to the three former. They are all formed according to the same general laws. In the simplicity of their structure, and the want of real inflections, of which the place is supplied by juxta-position of particles, they approach in some degree to the character of the monosyllabic idioms spoken by nations who inhabit a contiguous region of the earth. They form a distinct class of languages, both from the Semitic, which inflects dissyllabic roots by internal variations and abounds in prepositions, and from the Indo-European idioms, which make so extensive an use both of inflection and composition. The languages of the families of nations last mentioned display

the influence of that active fancy which peopled the universe with sentient souls, and ascribed life to all the objects of nature. Groves and fountains, rivers and trees, even stocks and stones, are in all their idioms either male or female. But the rude inhabitant of cold and arid steppes, rendered dull and phlegmatic by the monotonous aspect of nature and the changeless manner of his existence, gave no play to his imagination; he affixed different terms to his bulls, cows, his horses, and mares, and to creatures of which he made different uses, but all other objects were to him of one sex; he never compared inanimate with living things. It is, however, impossible to explain the common construction of the Tartar nations by reference to physical or moral agencies; they display one type and method of formation; all questions on this point seem to be silenced by the discovery of so many particular grammatical forms as we have traced through them, by the almost sameness of their pronouns and verbs substantive, and of many particles. If we go still further back and examine the very structure of words, we find the inference confirmed; the law of harmonic vowels shows that the inventors of words themselves had their attention directed to one principle, or were governed by a similar habit. Even the idiom or style in the composition of sentences displays remarkable analogies, and this was the fact which struck the attention of Scherer, and perhaps first suggested a further examination. Lastly, in the vocabulary itself, or the material of the several languages, there is a considerable extent of analogy; perhaps this would be thought of itself scarcely sufficient to lead us further than it led Klaproth and Abel-Rémusat, namely, to the opinion, that frequent and ancient intercourse between the Mongolian, Tungusian, and Tartar tribes occasioned the adoption by each of common terms from the vocabulary of others. But such intercourse could only have produced an effect similar to that which the mixture of Normans and Saxons has effected in our own dialect; the adopted words would be distinguishable as entirely foreign; they would not be found naturalised by such interchanges of particular elements of articulation as we have traced.

On the whole, there seems to be sufficient evidence to constitute the languages of Great Tartary not only as a particular class of human dialects, but as belonging to one great family of languages, of which the different members, though more remote from each other than the idioms of the Indo-European nations, yet bear traits that cannot be mistaken of a very ancient affinity. That the different nations who speak these languages, though they have been separated and scattered over interminable wildernesses from immemorial times, were yet allied in origin, or sprang from one primitive stock, is a further inference which it would be difficult to avoid.

I shall now proceed to the consideration of the physical characters of these races.

SECTION XIV.—*Of the Physical and Moral Characteristics of the Nations of Great Tartary.*

Paragraph 1.—Of the Mongolian Race.

In the first volume of this work I have described the most remarkable features of the Mongoles and of the Kalmuks, who are a tribe of the Mongolian nation. It was there observed, that the people inhabiting the highlands of Central Asia display, in the conformation of their bodies and particularly in the shape of their skulls, some remarkable peculiarities, and that these peculiarities are strongly marked in the Mongoles, whence that tribe has been taken as a type or example of the whole class of nations who resemble them, and who have been termed, accordingly, the Mongolian race. This expression has led many to imagine, that all the nations to whom this description is applicable are descendants of the genuine Mongoles. Such an opinion, by those who adopted it, has been assumed without proof. It does not, indeed, appear that the characteristic form is more fully displayed by the Mongoles than by some other tribes in no way related to them. This form consists in a peculiar shape of the skull, in a remarkable structure of the skeleton, and in particular

qualities of the hair, skin, and complexion. With all of these are combined other less obvious peculiarities of organization which give rise to certain conditions of the faculties both sensorial and intellectual. The most peculiar characteristics of the Mongolian physiognomy are eyes far apart from each other, with the openings of the eyelids obliquely placed;* the large angle of the eyes slightly open and fleshy; the nasal bones flat and broad; the cheek-bones laterally projecting; and the face particularly broad and flat at the plane of the nostrils and the zygomatic arch, the breadth of the skull at this plane with the comparatively narrow summit of the forehead giving the countenance and the anterior part of the cranium an almost triangular figure, if measured from the cheek-bones upwards, and a lozenge-form when viewed together with the lower part of the face. The skulls of this race are of the figure which I have termed pyramidal, though that shape is perhaps not so strongly marked in them as in the heads of the Esquimaux. The greater proportional width of the head at the plane of the zygomas affords room for greater developement of several organs of sense, and in correspondence with this the pastoral tribes of Northern Asia display a remarkable perfection in the sensitive faculties. The Kalmuks especially, according to Pallas, have the finest sense of smelling, the most perfect hearing, and a singularly penetrating and extensive sight: they see objects on their steppes with a naked eye which are invisible to Europeans even with the aid of glasses, and they discover, by smell, fires or the scent of a camp, at a surprising distance; and by their hearing they recognise at remote spaces the movement of an enemy or of a herd of cattle. Their limbs seem formed for the exercise of riding: their crooked legs scarcely support them in a long walk, but are well fitted to the backs of horses or of dromedaries, and even children, as if by instinct, take to the habit of bestriding sheep or goats or sitting across saddles. The

* The reader will find some explanation of this appearance of obliquity in the opening of the eyelids in the remarks below on the physical characters of the Japanese.

adaptation of this peculiar structure to the manner of existence to which these people are destined from their cradles is fully obvious. The mode of agency, or the kind of influence exerted by external circumstances on the original stock, by which such peculiarities have been developed, is a question of great difficulty and still involved in obscurities. Some light will be thrown upon this subject if we should find evidence that races of men, of old differently constituted, acquired the peculiar structure of the Mongolian race after they became inhabitants of the steppes, or that the nomadic races have ever lost them and have become assimilated to Europeans or other Asiatics after a converse change in their habits and abodes and the other external conditions of their existence. Historical researches may afford information on the subject of these inquiries.

Paragraph 2.—Of the Tungusian Race.

There is no race more similar to the Mongoles in physical characters than the Tungusians. The following description of that people is extracted from Gmelin's account of them :—

" Les Tongouses ont le visage conformé à peu près comme les Kalmouckes ; cependant ils l'ont un peu moins large : il m'a semblé qu'en général leur taille étoit peu élevée. Leurs cheveux sont noirs, et la plupart les portent tressés comme les Chinois." " Il est très rare de voir un Tongouse qui ait de la barbe ; dès qu'il paroit, ils l'arrachent."

Pallas has drawn a very similar portrait of the Tungusians. He says, " their countenance is broader and more flattened than that of the Mongolians. In this respect they resemble the Samoyedes. They have little beard : many of them are quite destitute of it without having plucked it out. During my journey through Daouria I had taken with me an old Tungusian man with his son. Although seventy years of age he was very lively and had the skin of his face as soft as that of a youth. Their hair is black and long : they let it hang in its natural state

round their heads to an uniform length. They preserve a lock of hair longer on the tops of their heads, which they tie into a knot in order to fasten in it their bows and keep them dry when obliged on long journeys or in the chace to swim over deep rivers."*

Paragraph 3.—Of Variations which have been noted in the Physical Characters of these Races.

It is very important to my inquiry to determine whether the physical character of the races now described is one constant undeviating type of organization, or is liable to occasional variety and to transitions into a character resembling that of other human races.

With respect to the Mongolian nations, properly so termed, we are assured by Pallas, that there are many exceptions to the generally ugliness of their physiognomy. Pallas's description refers particularly to the Kalmuks. He says, that "from the accounts given of this people by many travellers, we might be led to believe that all the Kalmuks have an ugly and even hideous aspect. On the contrary, we find among them both men and women who have round and agreeable countenances: we even see females who have features so regular and beautiful that they would not fail to attract many admirers in any of the cities of Europe."

The complexion of the Mongoles and Kalmuks has been thought to be one of their most decided and undeviating characters, and their tawny hue and black hair have been represented as immutably distinguished from the xanthous or "blonde" complexion of the German and other Indo-European nations. Yet this character undergoes variation. Although Pallas did not happen to see any instance of exception to the general remark, that the children of the Kalmuks and Mongoles are born with black hair, he yet declares that such exceptions occur. "A little girl, aged five years, bore in her features the genuine Mongolian character, and had, notwithstanding, hair decidedly flaxen,

* Pallas, Voyages en diverses provinces, &c., tom. 6, p. 19.

or "blonde." He was also assured, that some had brown hair; and he saw an instance of this among the Bouriæts.*

Among the Tungusians, although from the description of that race by Pallas they appear to have the characteristics of the Mongolians almost in an exaggerated degree, we know from the most unquestionable authority, that many instances occur of a completely European or Iranian countenance, with finely-formed and prominent features, and even a xanthous and florid complexion like that of the modern Scandinavians or ancient Germans. The Mandshoos or Tungusians of the Chinese Empire resemble in general the Chinese, as do their brethren in the northern wildernesses of the Amûr and Aldan. "Among them," says Sir John Barrow, "we observed several, both men and women, who were extremely fair, and of florid complexion; some had light-blue eyes, straight or aquiline noses, brown hair, immense bushy beards, and had much more the appearance of Greeks than of Tartars."

Paragraph 4.—Of the Turkish Race.

Many late writers who have touched upon the history of human races, and who have considered that subject in a merely anatomical point of view, have distributed the nations of Asia in a manner which is completely at variance with the results of philological researches, and with the evidence of history as far as such evidence exists. These writers comprehend, for example, the Turks among Caucasian races, or consider them as belonging to a groupe of nations supposed by them to have had the original seat of their existence in the mountainous country which separates the Euxine from the Caspian Sea. The only ground for this opinion is the fact, that some Turkish tribes resemble in their physiognomy and the form of their skulls, and in their bodily structure in general, the natives of Europe and of Mount Caucasus. This, however, is but a hypothetical argument for the local origin of the race. Nor is the fact such as it is assumed to be. Many

* Pallas's Mongolische Volkerschaften.

Turkish tribes, as we have shewn, and shall further prove, bear the general type of the Tartar nations or resemble the Mongolians rather than the Europeans. It has been assumed that these tribes owe their resemblance to the Mongolian race to intermixture with people of that stock. But this is by no means ascertained to be the fact. If it were true that the Turks were in the early periods of their history locally connected with the European nations, that circumstance would afford a high degree of probability, though not a proof, that the European or Caucasian form was their primitive type. But we have, in point of fact, just that same degree of probability in favour of the opposite conclusion, since it has been proved on historical grounds that the Turkish race was aboriginal in the remote East; that they are descended from the Hiong-nú, who dwelt of old beyond the desert of Gobí, around In-shan, and between the Amúr and Hoang-ho, and on the borders of China, where they appear to have been a powerful nation a thousand years before their name had been heard in Europe or even in Western Asia. It would be a singular anomaly, though we are not prepared to pronounce it incredible, if the Turkish race, originating in Eastern Tartary, should be found to have possessed as their primitive type a form which, though generally prevalent among the natives of the West, is in no one instance known to belong to the races of Mount Altaï and the numerous tribes of Great Mongolia.

But the improbability of this supposition is greatly increased when we consider that the Turkish race is associated by resemblances of custom and habits, and what is still more important, by analogy of language, with the nations of Daouria, Mongolia, or the eastern region of Great Tartary, that their national religion was the same, and that their physical and mental character was in all respects similar to those of the other nomadic races of High Asia.

If we had no other means of elucidating the inquiry, what was the primitive type of the Turkish race, of which some tribes are found to resemble the Mongolian and others the European nations, the most probable conclu-

sion would be, that the latter have deviated from the original form, and that this form has been preserved by those divisions of the Turkish people who in physiognomy and other physical characters resemble the nations of the remote East.

Mongoles and Kalmuks are spread, though in comparatively small bands, over different parts of Northern Asia, where they are often found in the neighbourhood of nomadic tribes of the Turkish race. Though the numbers of these two races are very disproportionate, it has been asserted that the Turkish tribes so situated have, through intercourse with the neighbouring Mongoles, lost their European character, which is assumed to have been their original type, and have become assimilated in features and in the figure of their bodies to the Mongoles. To render this supposition less improbable it is alleged that the Mongolian type is indelible; that the offspring of a Mongolian or a Kalmuk retain the peculiarities of that race after many generations, though their immediate ancestors and all their parentage, with a single exception, have been of a different stock.

We have strong grounds for doubting the correctness of this observation, which is at variance with well-ascertained laws of the animal economy. In every known example of the propagation of mixed breeds in the human kind, they all become blended in a few generations; even the physiognomy and colour of the Negro becoming more diluted, if we may use the expression, at length cease to be perceptible in the race. In some tribes of animals, as we have already shewn from a sufficient collection of facts, even the effect produced by crossing the breed with different *species* is in like manner lost. With respect to the intermixture of Mongoles with Europeans, we are assured that the characters of both become immediately blended in the first generation. Pallas declares that the children born of Kalmuk and Russian parents are very different from those of the pure Kalmuk race.* There

* Pallas says, "Une chose fort rémarquable c'est que le mélange du sang Russe et Tartare avec le sang Kalmouk et Mongol produit les plus beaux enfans,

can be no room for doubt as to the effect of successive intermixtures. The Mongolian features would be softened in each successive generation, and in the course of no long period all traces of blending would vanish, as they are well known to do in the intermixture of other human varieties. In this instance, as in all others, it is probable that an intermediate character would not be permanently developed without a mixture of two races in nearly equal numbers. But this, as is well known, has never really taken place. "The Mongoles," says M. Abel-Rémusat, who had no attachment to any physiological theory, "formed a people of very inconsiderable numbers in comparison with the Turkish nations, by whom they were surrounded. After vanquishing the Turks they availed themselves of the assistance of that people in subduing the most distant of their possessions, so that their armies, continually increasing by their conquests, augmented, to use the expression of a contemporary writer, in advancing, like a snowball, and were found at length to be composed of a very small band of Mongoles and of great numbers of people of the Turkish race. The Turks had overspread the North and the central parts of Asia with numerous hordes long before the name of the Mongolians was heard in Europe, and before the Golden Horde appeared under Tschingghiskhakan and his successors. Subsequently to that period the Mongoles multiplied in the remote East, but the hordes which conquered the Turks and those which have been brought into any relation or intercourse with the tribes of that people were always too few to produce any physical impression on the vast bodies of the great nomadic Turkish nations. If ever their numbers had held any considerable proportion to the Turks the effect would have been perceptible in the corruption and intermixture of languages." M. Abel-Rémusat, whose profound researches into the relations of different idioms of Asia entitle his opinions to high regard, has given this as the result of

tandis que ceux d'origine Kalmouke et Mongole ont des figures très difformes jusqu'à l'âge de dix ans; ils sont même fort boursouflés et cacochymes; ce n'est qu'en grandissant que leurs traits prennent une forme plus régulière."

an attentive examination of the vocabularies of mixed nations:—That in spite of the many extraneous circumstances which may be taken into the account, the number of words derived from each particular source is generally to the sum total of words in any mixed language as the number of individuals belonging to each race at the period of their mixture was to the aggregate numbers of the mixed population.* But the same writer has observed, that an examination of the Turkish dialects spoken at Kasan, Astrakan, in the Krimea, in the country to the eastward of the Caspian, and wherever nominally Mongolian dynasties were established on the ruins of the empire of Tschingghis, affords a convincing proof that the Turkish race can scarcely be regarded as mixed with Mongolian blood. The same observation may be applied to the vast nomadic hordes of the Nogay, the Turkomans, and the Kirghises.

We shall advert separately to some of these nations in order to determine how far they bear out the general conclusion of Abel-Rémusat, and at the same time to collect from the facts which occur some ulterior conclusions.

In the West the first Turkish nation that offers itself, and that removed at the greatest distance from the Mongolians, are the Nogays, whose dwelling places and pastures are the plains lying to the northward of the Euxine from the mouth of the Danube eastward. Adelung, Klaproth, and other writers, have remarked, that the idiom of the Nogays is scarcely mixed with words of a foreign origin, and from more recent collections containing specimens of their language, by the Swiss traveller Schlatter, it appears that the Nogay Tartar, so termed, is a pure Turkish dialect.† Any intermixture of this people with Mongolians seems therefore to be disproved. Yet the Nogays, as Dr. Schott has observed, are noted "for broad faces, flat noses, pro-

* C'est-là une régle de statistique dont on pouvoit faire l'application au Français, à l'Anglais, et aux autres idiomes formés par la réunion de plusieurs langues primitivement differentes, et sur l'origine desquels l'histoire nous fournit des notions positives et des renseignements circonstanciés.

† S. Schlatter's Bruchstücke aus einigen Reisen nach den südlichen Rassland, s. 116.—Schott, Versuch über die Tatarischen Sprachen, s. 5.

jecting cheek-bones, and long narrow orbits of the eyes;" in short, for a true Mongolian physiognomy.

In a preceding section I have cited some descriptions of the Nogay Tartars given by eye-witnesses, who describe them as strongly resembling the Mongolians and even the nomadic Lappes.

The nomadic tribes of Turks who inhabit Mawerá'l-nahar and all the country between the Caspian and the Bolor Mountains are either Turkomans, who are the oldest Turkish tribe in that part of Asia, or Uzbeks, the people who invaded the Turkomans from the north, and are said to have driven them across the Oxus, and ultimately into the empire of Persia. Both these nations have been described from the accounts given by recent travellers. The Uzbeks are said to have broad faces, with a truly Tartar physiognomy; and the Turkomans to have the genuine Mongolian features, and to resemble, in almost every particular, the Kalmuks. It must be observed that the Turkomans not only inhabit a vast region to the east of the Caspian, but that they likewise reach over a great part of Asia Minor and stretch thence into Bokharia. They are a very numerous people and are divided into various hordes. Many of these hordes, as we have already shown, display strongly the features characteristic of the Kalmuks and Mongoles. Yet the dialect of the Turkomans is a pure Turkish, and we might look in vain for any proof of their descent from a Mongolian ancestry.

Similar accounts are given by travellers among the Turkish tribes of Eastern Turkistan.

M. Abel-Rémusat has indeed cited a passage from the celebrated Chinese historian Ma-tuanlin, in which it is stated that the inhabitants of the high-lands of Turkistan, to the westward of Túrfan, had "deep eyes and projecting noses." He infers that they had Caucasian features, so termed, and not Mongolian. This notice comes from the fifth century after the Christian era. The observation, as Dr. Schott observes, merits attention, but a different evidence is deducible from a Chinese work, published in 1778, entitled "Si-yü-wen-kiàn-lo," containing a description of

the whole of Chinese Turkistan. In this work the Turkish tribes of Hami or Chamil, and thence beyond Kashgar, are accurately described. Nothing is said about their physical characters, but presently afterwards, in describing the inhabitants of the country of Bolor, the Chinese author remarks, that these people have deep eyes and prominent noses, expressions which are repeated in the description of the Russians and the inhabitants of Kashmír. The people of Bolor here described, according to the same Chinese author, understand not the Turkish language and have quite different manners from the Turks. It is very probable that this was a tribe of the Siah-Pósh, or perhaps some Tajiks settled at no great distance from their country. It seems then that the Chinese authorities do not ascribe European or Caucasian features to the Turkish inhabitants of Eastern Turkistan. Europeans have rarely traversed that country.

The great nomadic nation of Eastern Turkistan, of Turkish race, are the Kirghises. They are a very numerous people, and probably exceed in their numerical strength the whole aggregate numbers of the Mongolian race, if these could be computed at various periods of their history. We have seen that the most authentic historical accounts deduce the Kirghis from the Hakas of the ninth century, who were Hoei-hou and spoke the pure Turkish or Ouigour language, and that in the present day they speak one of the purest Turkish dialects and the most free from admixture of Mongolian or other foreign words.

In the account given of the Kirghises in a former section of this chapter, the reader will find several descriptions of their physical characters, drawn by writers who have lived among them and have conversed with them. The unanimous testimony of these writers is, that the Kirghis have the Tartar or Mongolian characters in a high degree; and that they bear a very close resemblance to the Kalmuks.

In the northern extremities of Siberia there is a tribe, long ago, as it would appear, cut off and separated at a vast distance from the great body of the Turkish race.

I allude to the Sochalar or Yakútes on the lower course of the Lena, who have been described in a former section. The accounts which I have collected of the Sochalar indicate, as the reader may observe, that their physical type is precisely that common to the Mongoles and other nations of Eastern Asia.

On comparing all these accounts it appears to be the general result, that those tribes who speak pure Turkish dialects, spread over immense spaces in central Asia, have generally a conformation of body and features resembling the characteristics of the Mongolian race.

Very different are the Turks settled in European Turkey who occupy towns or lands in Thrace and Bessarabia, and the stationary inhabitants of the cultivated countries of the Krimea. In many of these districts the population is entirely Turkish. In the Russian provinces of Kasan, Oremburg, and Oufa, and the countries on the Wolga, the same observation may be made. In Anatolia the Osmanli divide the country between themselves and the Turkoman hordes. In all these countries it is well known that the Turks, or the Tartars as they are termed in Russia, have nearly the features and make of Europeans. How can this have been produced if we adhere to the supposition, that the Turks were originally a broad-faced Turanian race? Intermixture of the stock may have modified the Turkish physiognomy in the cities and towns of the Grecian empire, but in Kasan, Oremburg, and other parts of Russia, it is probable that the difference of religion and other circumstances always prevented intermarriages, and, on the whole, no such amalgamation of the Turkish and the old Christian inhabitants, either in Turkey or in Russia, can be imagined, as would be capable of transmuting the physical character of the whole Turkish nation in these countries. The practice of purchasing foreign women for the harems may have produced an effect, but this must have been always limited and confined to the richer orders; it could have no result on the great mass of the population. Is it probable that a change of climate and of the whole manner of life may have had greater influence? The no-

madic Turks who wander in the high steppes of Asia resemble the Kalmuks in their mode of existence: they are surrounded by all the same physical agencies; to these external agencies their organization and the constitution of their bodies are adapted and in close relation. When all external agencies are changed, the bodily constitution, if the race is still to subsist, must, as it would appear, accommodate itself to the new conditions of existence. The mild climate of European countries favours a different developement of the bodily structure from that which takes place in the snowy and frozen regions of Mongolia and the neighbourhood of Altaï or the high-lands of Eastern Turkistan. But, it may be asked, why the Nogays are still of the Turanian form? Perhaps the roaming life of nomades prevents them from undergoing the full impression of local influences and from acquiring that variety of type which the climate of Europe has a tendency to develope, and the circumstances under which the pastoral tribes live, even in Europe, require and may tend to preserve those peculiarities of structure for which the nomades of Asia are remarkable, and in which appears to consist their adaptation to their particular state of existence? These inquiries naturally suggest themselves as directing us to the only probable explanation of the problem.

The armies which invaded the eastern parts of Europe in the thirteenth century were, as we have observed, principally composed of Turks under the command of Mongolian chieftains. They grew in advancing westward, as it has been said, like snow-balls, by gathering around their banners hordes of the semi-barbarous inhabitants of the West, so that when they reached the limits of their progress the great aggregate consisted principally of Turkish bands. There is extant, in the work of a monkish historian, from which it was first cited in modern times by Blumenbach, a description of these people from the pen, as it appears, of an eye witness. It is in a letter written at Vienna, in 1243, by Ynon, a cleric of Narbonne, addressed to Giraldus, archbishop of Bordeaux, and inserted by his contemporary, the celebrated monk of St. Alban's,

Matthew Paris, in his greater history. The author treats "of the horrible devastation of that inhuman nation whom they call Tartars." After giving an account of their atrocious cruelties he goes on to describe their persons, and though written in the vague manner of composition prevalent in his time, his description agrees wonderfully with the portraiture of the broad-faced Eastern Asiatics. "The Tartars," he says, "had a robust breast, lean and pale countenances, stiff and erect shoulders, deformed and short noses, projecting and sharp chins, the upper jaw sunk and deep,—referring probably to the projecting cheeks,—long and few teeth, eyebrows reaching from their hair to their noses,—obliquely downwards from the temples to the nose, —rolling, black-eyes, their looks being awry and savage, bony and sinewy extremities, legs thick but short, their stature yet being altogether equal to ours, for what is wanting in their legs is compensated in the upper parts of their bodies."* Blumenbach thinks this description only applicable to the Mongoles, but as the genuine Mongoles were comparatively few, it may rather be a description of the people who constituted the great mass of the Mongolian armies. That these really were Turks we may conclude almost independently of historical evidence, from the fact that the Tartar or Turkish language remains the national idiom of the states founded by the successors of Tschingghis in Kasan and other parts of the empire of Kiptschak; and that this idiom is in those countries pure and without intermixture with Mongolian words, which could scarcely have happened if the invading host had been of the Mongolian race.

* Habent autem Tartari pectora dura et robusta, facies macras et pallidas,—nasos distortos et breves, menta proeminentia et acuta, superiorem mandibulam humilem et profundam, dentes longos et raros, palpebras a crinibus usque ad nasum protensas, oculos inconstantes et nigros, aspectus obliquos et torvos, extremitates ossosas et nervosas, crura quoque grossa, sed tibias breviores, statura tamen nobis æquales: quod enim in tibiis deficit, id in superiori corpore compensatur."—Matthew Paris, p. 330.—Blumenbach, Decad. Cran., 2, 7.

This is a striking and accurate description of the type called Mongolian, but, in reality, common to all the High-Asiatic Nomades.

On the whole I think we have reason to conclude, that the Turkish family, by its primitive type, belonged to the class of human races characterised by broad faces and pyramidal skulls, and resembled the other nations inhabiting the high regions of Northern Asia. Among these races we have seen that the Turks had their origin, or rather we here find them at the dawning of history, in the very heart of Mongolia, in the region lying eastward of the Altaï. It was here, in all probability, that they were first formed into a nation, and with the adjoining tribes, all bearing the same physical type, we find the Turks intimately associated by the structure and early developement of their language. If such was the original character of the Turkish nation, it is clear that they have in many countries deviated from it. Tribes who continue to follow a nomadic life in the high steppes have the ancient type, but where the Turks adopted, some centuries ago, in European climates, the habits of Europeans, they are not remarkably different in form and organization from the older inhabitants of the same countries.

Note.

Long since the preceding pages were written I have found some observations on the subject from the pen of a recent author, whose judgement is of the greatest weight in all questions relating to the East. As the opinion of Mr. Elphinstone affords a very strong confirmation of the inferences which I have been led to adopt, I shall cite his remarks on the general history of the Tartar nations.

Persia, at an early period conquered by the Arabs, was devided by the Oxus from a territory to which they gave the name of Mawera'l-nahar, *i. e.* "beyond the river," or Transoxiana. This tract was bounded on the north by the Jaxartes, on the west by the Caspian Sea, on the east by Mount Imaus. The larger portions of it are desert, others are capable of high cultivation, and it became, under the Arabian sway, the seat of populous and splendid cities. It was occupied partly by fixed inhabitants and partly by

pastoral tribes. "The fixed inhabitants were Persians," or, as they are termed, "Tajiks." "All the moving shepherds were Tartars. Such is the state of things at present, and probably has been from remote antiquity." "It would be an important step to ascertain to which of the three great nations, whom we include under the name of Tartars, these tribes of Transoxiana in the early time belonged; but although the Turks, Moguls, and Mandschoos are distinguished from each other by the test of language, and at present by other peculiarities, yet *there is a general resemblance in features and manners throughout the whole*, which renders it difficult for a person at a distance to draw the line between them; even their languages, though different as the Greek and Sanskrit, have the same degree of family likeness with these two." We derive little aid from their geographical positions. A tribe is at one moment mentioned on the banks of the Wolga, and at the next near the Great Wall of China; and a horde, which at first scarcely filled a valley in the mountains of Altaï, in a few years after cannot be contained in all Tartary. The Turks at present are distinguished from the rest by their having the Tartar features less marked as well as by fairer complexions and more civilised manners." The author expresses doubt whether this has always been the case. He says, "the Turks of Constantinople and Persia have so completely lost the Turkish features that some pronounce them of the Caucasian or European and not of the Tartar race." But "the Turks of Bokhára and all Transoxiana, though so long settled among Persians, and though greatly softened in appearance, retain their original features *sufficiently to be recognised at a glance as Tartars*." The Hunns of Attila's army who were, according to De Guignes, Klaproth and Abel-Rémusat, Hiong-nú or Turks, on their appearance in Europe struck as much terror from their hideous physiognomy and savage manners as from their victories. Attila himself was remarkable for these peculiarities. Another division of the same branch of the Hiong-nú had previously settled among the Persians of Transoxiana and obtained the name of White-Hunns from

their change of natural complexion." "The Uzbeks, who now possess Transoxiana, the Turcmans, both on the Oxus and in Asia-Minor, the wandering tribes of the north of Persia, and the Ottomans or Turks of Constantinople, are all Turks, as was the greater part of the army of Tamerlane."

It is evident that Mr. Elphinstone's remarks on the mitigated features of the Turkish tribes refer principally to the division of the race first mentioned. We have seen evidence in the preceding pages that the great nomadic hordes, particularly the tribes further towards the north and east, are scarcely less marked by the common characters of the Tartars than the Mongolians themselves. This is the case with the Kirghis and Kasaks. In the lately-published narrative of Lieutenant Wood's journey to the sources of the Oxus I find a remark by that intelligent traveller, that the Kirghis, Uzbeks, and Mongoles, closely resemble each other. Lieutenant Wood could perceive so little difference between them, that judging from aspect and manners alone he supposed them all to belong to one race.

The only question undetermined seems to be, whether the settled Turks owe their European aspect and Caucasian features to intermarriages with European women? I think I have shown reason to conclude, that the change is too general to be ascribed to any such accidental cause. It is not to be supposed that every Turkish boor in the whole empire of the Osmanli has a harem, or Greek or Circassian slaves, or that the Tartars who filled the southern provinces of the Russian empire, which their posterity still occupy, did not bring with them, as such roving tribes always do, the women and children of their horde, so that the great mass of the population continued to be propagated from the same stock. It is to altered habits of life, under a milder climate, that we may with the greatest probability ascribe the chief part of the difference observed between the civilised Osmanli or the Kasan Tartars and the Kirghis. It was observed by Lieutenant Wood, who has described the Hazara mountaineers of the Paropamisan Chain, that among individuals of the same tribe the mere differences

of locality produce a strong effect on the physiognomy, and that in low-lying plains the characteristic features of the race become "smoothened and tamed down, while in mountainous regions they are seen in their full strength and sharpness."* We might find a parallel in comparing the Scottish inhabitants of hill-countries with those of the sea coast, and particularly with the English, though of the same original race.

Paragraph 7.—On the Mental Developement and Moral Characters of the Nomadic Nations.

The nomadic races of Central Asia appear at the earliest period of history in a higher stage of society and of intellectual developement than the miserable hordes who inhabit the shores of the Frozen Ocean. We find them in all respects far above the Samoiedes and other fishing and hunting tribes, and in general above the people of the Finnish and Ugrian race; they were even superior to the proper Finns and Ehstlanders, who, though they practised agriculture, were destitute of political union and government and the principles of social order: they had all the improvements which properly belong to the pastoral and nomadic state. Perhaps the Finns had the advantage of them in the cultivation of poetry and mythology. But we cannot go back, except by a few historical notices, to the time when the nations of Great Tartary retained their old paganism. Nearly the whole Turkish race have long since adopted Islàm, and before the introduction of that system the religion of Buddha or that of the Lamas had prevailed, as we have seen, among the settled inhabitants of Eastern Turkistan, where there were populous cities and numerous Lamaitic monasteries. Attempts had been made, as it would appear, by Christian missionaries, to bring this people to a better doctrine, but the Nestorians only succeeded in introducing their art of writing among the

* Wood's Journey to the Oxus, page 204.

Ouigours,* who became thenceforward the scribes of Central Asia, and from whom this art and nearly the same alphabet were spread after the time of Tschingghis to the Mongoles,† and, at a still later period, to the Mandshoos. These steps in the progress of civilization were confined to the inhabitants of towns and plains: the nomadic Turks, including all the great nations belonging to that race, whether the Hiong-nú of earlier times, or the Cha-tho, the Thú-khiú, or the Hoei-hou of subsequent ages, used, according to Chinese writers, only notched sticks,—*khe-mou*,—instead of letters. These nations never received Buddhism.

"It would be easy," says M. Abel-Rémusat "to shew that the northern Turks, and especially those nomadic nations whom their warlike expeditions brought into relation with the people of Europe, were never Buddhists, but worshipped a supreme divinity, to whom tutelar as well as maleficent spirits were supposed to be subordinate agents." This observation applies particularly to the Hoei-hou, who appear to have adopted Islàm more readily than it can be supposed that the Búkharians attached to the worship of Buddha would have done. By the Hoei-hou Islàm was introduced into Tartary, and the Chinese now distinguish Mohammedans in general by the cognate term of Hoei-hou.

In the arts of life the pastoral nations were superior to the Tschudes. The latter, as it appears, worked mines in their

* It seems improbable that those Ouigours, who adopted the Syrian letters from the Nestorians, had previously the art of writing. Yet we are assured by Abel-Rémusat, that the people of "Yarkiyang," or Yarkiand, as well as those of Khoten, had, according to Chinese historians, during the three first centuries of our era, the sacred books and the letters of the Indian worshippers of Buddha. The Buddhist pilgrim, Fa Hian, who visited the Oui or Ouigours in A.D. 399, found among them four thousand monks or lamas.—(Foe Koui Ki.—Ritter's Erdkunde, V. p. 594). Abel-Rémusat cites a Chinese work, entitled "Pian-i-tian," in which it is asserted, that the people of Yarkiand at this era, or somewhat later, had two religions: one sect adored the Spirit of Heaven, —they still retained the worship of nature; the other had adopted the religion of Fo. This last system was probably never universally prevalent, otherwise the Syrian alphabet would have found no admission.

† According to Klaproth, the Mongoles adopted their modification of the Syro-Tartar alphabet considerably later than Tschingghis, namely, under Koubilai-khan.

hills in a rude manner in quest of gold, silver, and copper, but had no knowledge of iron. The Turks and Mongoles dug iron from the metalliferous hills in the Altaïc chain, and that this art was among the Mongoles of immemorial antiquity, we may infer from the traditional mythos concerning their origin, preserved by Abulghasi-khan.* Klaproth supposed that they first obtained iron and other metals from the Turks or Tungusians, because the terms for several metals are similar among the Turks and the Mongoles, and that of one, namely silver, among the Mongoles and Tungusians; but Dr. Schott has shewn that there is no sufficient ground for this opinion. Gold, in Turkish, *alt-un*, in Mongolian, *alt-an*, may be derived from the root *ald* or *eld*, to shine, a word common to all these languages. Iron, by the Turks, is termed *timus* and *demiŕ*; by the Mongoles, *temür*. The cognate names of this and of the other metals may be supposed to have descended to each race from a common ancestry, and this supposition is more probable than that they were derived from one nation by another, especially when we have reason for believing the metals to have been known both to the Turks and Mongoles from the earliest times. A similar observation applies to the domestic animals. Klaproth thought the Mongoles knew of old only the horse, *morin*, and the ox, *schar*, because these animals alone have names peculiar to their language. The term for sheep, *khonin* or *khoïn*, in Mongolian, is similar to the Turkish *qoi*. He supposed that this animal was obtained by

* Abulgasi, Histoire Généalogique des Tartares, ed. Leyde, 1726, p. 74, cf. Raschid-eddin in d'Ohsson's Hist. des Mongoles. T. 1, p. 20.—Ritter's Erdk. v. Asien, 1, s. 438. See also above, p. 337.

According to this tradition the Mongoles found themselves unable to cross the mountains which enclosed them in Irguéné-koun, when one of them, a smith, discovered that the hills consisted of iron. Having kindled a great fire, he set to work with seventy bellows, and at length the mountain melted and made a passage wide enough for a loaded camel. Every year this event was solemnly commemorated by the scattered Mongolian bands. They kindled a fire and heated a mass of iron, which the khan first of all struck, and then each leader of a horde and each individual. Irguéné-koun was a deep valley between mountains. Dr. Müller conjectures that the place was situate near the Arqua river, one of the sources of the Amúr, near which are many mines of various metals, in a country which various reasons indicate as the primitive abode of the Mongoles.—See Müller, Ugrische Volkstamm.

the Mongoles from the Turks It was remarked by Schott, that the words for bull and cow are cognate in Turkish and in Mongolian; therefore, according to this reasoning, the Mongoles must have had oxen without possessing either bulls or cows. But the names for all these animals are not identical in the two languages though plainly cognate, as are the corresponding terms in the Indo-European languages. In some instances indeed the Indo-European names of animals are akin to the Scythian names.* Pastoral habits were already established among the most ancient people of Asia previously to their migration over distant parts of the earth, and nomadic nations have preserved the terms by which they first learnt to distinguish their domestic animals.

* For example, horse is *mar* in the popular Chinese dialect and in the Mongolian, *mahre* in Old German, *march* in the old Celtic and Welsh: compare the English word *mare*.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE HYPERBOREAN NATIONS OF ASIA.

SECTION 1.—*General Survey.*

UNDER the above-written term I mean to describe several races of people who inhabit the northern and north-eastern extremities of Asia, reaching from the Uralian Mountains eastward to Behring's Straits and the Sea of Japan, and spread northwards in some parts almost from the feet of the great Altaïc mountain-chain to the shores of the Frozen Ocean. Most of these nations are nomades, like the tribes of Great Tartary who have been described in the preceding chapter, but instead of feeding herds of oxen and horses in the highest steppes of the habitable world, they live, for the most part, on the *tundras* or extensive low morasses of Northern Siberia, and wander with their rein-deers, and partly subsist by fishing, along the margin of the Icy Sea, or are drawn in sledges by dogs over ice-covered plains, or hunt the sable and other fur-clad animals in the forests which cover the more hilly tracts. There are several classes of these nations. The most distinct from all the rest are the aboriginal people of the region beyond the Lena. Before the encroachment of Tungusian tribes from Daouria and of the Turkish Sochalar or Yakútes, the tracts between the Lena and Behring's Straits appear to have been occupied by hordes allied to the Tschuktschi, or Tchaouk-thou, and the Koriaks, now driven further to the northward. These are people of larger stature, stronger, and more valiant than the other Siberian tribes. They appear to make a decided approximation in manners and physical character to the natives of North America. The

tribes living to the westward of the Lena are of shorter stature: they resemble, in many respects, the Ostiaks, a branch, as we have seen, of the Ugrian family. Some of them are known to have descended originally from parts of the high central region. Others, though marks of relationship to the western tribes are not wanting, must, in the present state of our knowledge, be regarded as the aboriginal inhabitants of the tracts on both sides of the Yeniseï

Section II.—*Of the Khasovo or Samoiedes.*

Paragraph 1.—History of the Samoiedes.

Obscure and unfortunate as the lot of the Finnish or Ugrian race has been when compared with the brighter destinies of more favoured nations, their condition has yet been more happy than that of another people almost as extensively spread, who have been for many centuries their neighbours. The race termed by the Russians Samoiedes give themselves the appellation of *Khasovo*, which means, in their language, "Men" or "Human Beings." Of all the nations of Europe and Asia they are the lowest in physical and moral cultivation. The origin of the name by which they are known to the Russians and other civilised nations is disputed and uncertain.*

* Samoiedes, says an old writer, who has communicated much information in a Memoir entitled, "Neue Nachricht von Samoïedien und den Samoïediern," says, that Samoiedes means "*Sebst-fresser*," which, as he thinks, may be "*Men-eaters.*" and a notion has prevailed, that this was the original sense of the term. But the people in question were never imagined to be cannibals. A more probable supposition is, that it is a name for the race so termed adopted by the Russians from the Finnish tribes, who must have known the Samoiedes long before they came into contact with the Russians. If derived from the Finnish word *Suoma* it may signify inhabitants of morasses or swamps, with which the country of the Samoiedes, not less than that of the Lappes,—likewise from a similar reason termed Samayadna,—abounds. This is Adelung's opinion, which, though contradicted by Klaproth, is probably correct.—See Mithridates, Th. 2, p. 55, 2.

The learned M. Lehrberg says, that Samoiedes means, in Russian, "*Salmon-eaters,*" He thinks that this name was given at first only to the tribe near the Obi, which abounds in salmon.—See Lehrberg's, Untersuchungen, cited before.

Piano Carpini, perhaps the first traveller who mentioned the Samoiedes, joined them with the Parossites. He thought they had dog's faces.

The present Samoiedes, though still widely dispersed, are probably but the small remains of one of the most ancient and extensively-spread races of the old continent. They are the inhabitants of the cold and barren coast of the Icy or Northern Sea, from the borders of Lappland eastward, and may be said to reach from the White Sea and almost from Archangel on the Dwina to the Lena in eastern Siberia. They consist of two principal tribes, the Laghe and the Vanuta, and these are divided into numerous hordes, who differ from each other in dialect. These lesser tribes are named principally from the countries where they dwell. The Samoiedes of the Mesene are found on the river so named, which falls into the White Sea: they live three or four hundred wersts from the river Dwina.* To this division belong the Samoiedes of Obdorsk, and those of the Petschora and the lake Pastosero, termed also Yugorian Samoiedes, as inhabiting old Ugoria. To the Siberian Samoiedes belong the Guarizi along the Straits of Waigatz, the Taugian Samoiedes, so termed from the gulph of the same name, who are spread through a vast extent of country as far as the Chatunga and the Lena and the shores of the Icy Sea. Between the Yeniseï and the Obi are the Samoiedes of the Tas and of Mangaseia, who term themselves Mokase, and are erroneously called by the Russians Ostiaks of the Tas. To the westward of the Tas, the tribe termed Laak Ostiaks are also Samoiedes. On the barren coast of the sea, reaching from the mouth of the Obi to that of the Yeniseï, termed Juraz, are the tribes called Yurazian. Their dialect is nearest to that of the Samoiedes of Obdorsk and Mangaseia. The Samoiedes are the sole inhabitants of the great northern promontory of the Siberian coast, which is sometimes termed the North Cape of Asia. They reach inland to the country about the lake of Pyäsino. Other numerous tribes of the same family there are in remote parts of the Russian Empire and beyond its southern boundaries. But the tribes now enumerated are those which

* Allgem., Hist. der Reisen., Th. 19, p. 448.

are generally known under the designation of Samoiedes. I shall distinguish them by the term Northern Samoiedes.

Specimens of the dialects spoken by many other tribes were published in the Petropolitan vocabularies. Other collections have been made by travellers, particularly by M.M. Schmidt, from whose works in MS. selections have been published by Klaproth, whose Sprach-Atlas contains the most extensive materials hitherto collected for the illustration of these languages.

It appears that the country of the Northern Samoiedes comprehends all the most inclement tracts of the ancient continent. It is not the original seat of the Samoiede nation, but it is one of which they have been for many centuries inhabitants, and with the local conditions or circumstances of which the physical and moral characteristics of the race are in relation. The name of the Samoiedes occurs in the Russian chronicles as early as 1096.* A century and a half later they are mentioned by Piano Carpini, who was sent on an embassy by the Pope to the Great Mongolian Khan. They were at that time in the country between the Parossites and the ocean, lived by the chace, and clothed themselves with skins.† They were reckoned by Carpini with "the Morduines, Torces, probably Turks, Gozares, Ruthenes or Russians, and Sarthi or Bokhchars, among the subjects of the Mongolian empire."‡ The Samoiedes were finally subjected to the Russian empire soon after the battle fought by Ivan Vassielievitsch, in 1499, for the subjugation of Ugoria, in consequence of which the Muscovite arms were carried beyond the Ural.§

In 1595 the Samoiedes were visited by the Dutch navigators in quest of a north-east passage near the Straits of Waigatz. They described these people as half savages,

* Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta.

† "Plus avant [after passing the Parossites] ils vinrent au pays du Samoyèdes, qui ne vivent que de la chasse et n'ont pour tout habit que les peaux des bêtes et des fourrures. De là ils vinrent jusqu'à la mer Océane."—Bergeron, p. 48. Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, p. 138.

‡ Klaproth, ibid, p. 58.

§ Lehrberg's Untersuchungen zur Erläuterung der alten Geschichte Russlands.—St. Petersburg, 1816.

clothed with rein-deer skins, and armed with bows and arrows. They are said to have had a chief who wore some ornament on his head. They had long hair, collected in a sort of knot, were of small stature, with a broad and flat countenance, small eyes, short legs, and knees turned outwards, were swift of foot and very suspicious of strangers.*

Le Bruyn described the Samoiedes, of whom he visited a horde in the woods on the Dwina, a few miles from Archangel, in 1701. They lived in tents and were clothed in the skins of the rein-deer. He says, "both men and women are very low in stature, and the latter remarkable for little feet: their complexion is of a sallow hue; they have long eyes and puffed cheeks. "The hair of the men, which is as black as jet, hangs about their ears in a loose disorderly manner, like that of real savages. They have a language peculiar to themselves."† The author of the "Neue Nachricht," above cited, says, that the Samoiedes only come in the winter into the vicinity of Archangel; and that their nearest fixed abodes are beyond the river Mesene. Their general characters are thus described by the last-mentioned writer:—

"These people are generally in stature below the mean average. I have, however, seen some who were below four feet, and some were above the middle height, and even as tall as six feet. They have hard and muscular bodies, of broad and square make, a thick head in proportion to their stature, a flat face, black and moderately-open eyes, a nose so depressed that the point of it is nearly even with the cheek-bones, which last are very projecting, a large mouth and small lips. Their hair, which is as black as jet, is everywhere stiff and strong, hanging over their shoulders and very glossy. Their complexion is very tawny,—gelb-braun,—their ears large and turned out. The men have little or no beard, either naturally or through art." This writer adds an observation which if correct is very remarkable in reference to a people living in so cold a climate. This is, that the females are often mothers at

* Allgem. Hist. der Reisen, B. 17.

† Le Bruyn's Travels, c. 2.

the age of ten or twelve years, and cease to bear children at thirty. The writer conjectures that very early marriages, joined to polygamy, have been the cause of the physical weakness of the race. If the statement of their extreme precosity is correct, the habit above alluded to may perhaps have given rise to it in the first place. "They have, even when young, pendulous breasts and nipples as black as a coal." This last character they partake with the Lapponic women, who never marry before their fifteenth year.

Their tents are made of pieces of bark covered with rein-deer skin, and are of a pyramidal form; their occupations are fishing and the chace.

The Samoiedes are, as the same writer observes, "not destitute of some notions of religion. They believe in the existence of a Supreme Being, who created and preserves all things, but offer him no worship because they suppose that he takes no notice of them and requires nothing of them. To another being, inferior to the supreme, but yet very powerful, eternal and invisible, but inclined to evil, they ascribe all misfortunes. They have about them idols or fetisses in obedience to the command of their *hoedesnicki* or soothsayers: these are supposed to give their aid in any misfortune and want of success in the chace. They believe also in a future state, or that the soul wanders forth from the grave, in which they accordingly inter the clothes and the bows and arrows of the deceased in order that they may be ready for the use of their owner when he stands in need of them."

M. Erman, in his lately-published travels in Siberia, has given some additional particulars respecting the religion of the Samoiedes. "Although entirely remote from the ideas of the Buddhists and Mohammedans, the Samoiedes partake with their neighbours, the Ostiaks, a belief in an eternal diety, to whom they give the appellation of *Num*,

* The same author declares, that a prevalent notion, according to which the female Samoiedes were not subject to the catamenia, is untrue. He says that he has made particular inquiries on this subject, and can venture to contradict the above assertion, but adds, "it is true that they are very scanty."

declaring that they do not know how to represent his form. Their invocations are, "*Num tad*" and "*Num arka*," that is "*God grant*" and "*God be thanked*," literally, "*is great*." Their "Tadebzïe," erroneously supposed to be demigods, are only intercessors or agents of the will of the Supreme. To the images of these Tadebzïe, on the shores of Waigatz, termed *Chaje*, they sacrifice rein-deers in order to obtain good fortune in the chace: hence the Samoiede name for the isle of Waigatz, "Chadoyeya" or Image-land. To the polar bear they pay a sort of veneration, as do the Ostiaks to his black congener. They swear by the vengeance of this powerful beast, yet they kill and eat him, but propitiate him immediately afterwards. Fumigation with the fat of this bear is supposed to afford protection against unfortunate accidents, which the evil wishes of an adversary or the presence of a woman may occasion.*

Like almost all other tribes of men in a similar stage of society, the Samoiedes have an order of priests, reputed mediators between men and the gods. With this institution and with the religion of spells or fetisses magical performances are as usual connected. The schamans or *tadebui*,—a name which bears some relation to that of the idols of the Samoiedes,—are also wizards, and support their spiritual supremacy, like the magicians of ancient Egypt, by juggling and mysterious performances.

Pallas has given an account of the western tribes of Samoiedes, drawn up by M. Souïef, who, in his journey to the north, had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with their habits. They appear from this account to be the most degraded of all human races. They hunt rein-deers or white foxes, and live on the produce of the chace, by fishing on the lakes and inlets of the sea, or upon the flesh of the white bears or whales, or other marine animals cast by the waters upon the shore. Their greatest delicacy is the raw and yet smoking brain of a rein-deer recently killed. They have likewise some flocks of these animals tamed. Their women are treated by them with the greatest harshness; they perform all works of drudgery and labour

* Erman's Reise, 1, p. 681.

and are looked upon as impure beings, carrying pollution by their approach. The Samoiedes are extremely timid, and subject to paroxysms of terror as well as of rage.*

Paragraph 2.—Physical Characters of the Samoiedes.

The Samoiedes have the broad-faced and pyramidal skull characteristic of the races whom I have termed Turanian nations. A Samoiede cranium figured and described by Blumenbach, bears, as that celebrated writer observes, a considerable resemblance to the Mongolian form, but a still more striking one to two skulls of native Greenlanders represented in the fourth decade of his series. It resembles these skulls in the broad, flat face, depressed or flattened nose, and general shape or conformation, as well as in lightness depending on thinness of the bony structure. Long, narrow nasal bones are conspicuous.

The resemblance between the Samoiedes and the natives of Greenland was noticed by an eye-witness, Adam Olearius, two centuries ago, and this observation agrees with the accounts given of both nations by old and by recent travellers. I shall cite the description of the Samoiedes by Pallas. He says, that the Samoiedes differ from the Ostiaks in their language and physical characters. "Les visages de ces derniers resemblent à ceux des Russes, et beaucoup

* The physical weakness of this race is illustrated by the following observations:—"Les Samoièdes sont les hommes les plus craintifs de la terre; tout évènement ou objet imprévu les jette dans une forte terreur. Une chose remarquable, c'est que les magiciens, et un grand nombre de Samoièdes ont quelque chose d'effrayant dans la figure; ceci provient de la sensibilité extraordinaire de leurs fibres, du climât qu'ils habitent, de leur imagination, et de leurs préjugés. Des personnes dignes de foi m'ont assuré, qu'on trouvoit de figures pareilles chez les Toungouses et les Kamtschadales." "Pour peu qu'on les touche dans quelque partie du corps sensible, un cri, ou un coup de sifflet imprévu, un réve, &c. mettent ces malheureux hors d'eux mêmes, et les font presque tomber dans une espèce de rage," "Lorsqu'ils ne peuvent assouvir leur fureur, ils frappent des pieds et des mains, poussent des hurlemens, se roulent par terre, &c. Les Samoièdes et les Ostiaks, pour guérir ces maniaques, allument un morceau de peau de renne, ou un petit tampon de poils de rennes, et ils leur en font respirer la fumée par les nez."—Pallas, tom. v, p. 180.

It seems that these wretched people have some notion of a future state.—Pallas, p. 178.

plus encore à ceux des Finois, tandis que les Samoièdes ont beaucoup de ressemblance avec les Toungouses. Ils ont le visage plât, rond, et large: ce qui rend les jeunes femmes très agréables. Ils ont de larges lèvres retroussées, le nez large et ouvert, peu de barbe, et les cheveux noirs et rudes. La plupart sont plutot petits que de taille mediocre, mais bien proportionnés, plus trapus et plus gras que les Ostiaks. Ils sont en revanche plus sauvages et plus rémuans que ce peuple."

We know as yet but a small part of the race of the Samoiedes, and cannot determine what varieties in complexion and form may be found among the tribes of this nation. Such varieties exist. According to the M.M. Schmidt, who travelled in Samoiedeland, the tribes near Beresow have long and slender bodies, while the people near the Tas, nearly ten degrees further eastward, are of short stature and very white complexions, and speak a different dialect.*

Paragraph 3.—Further Inquiries into the History of the Samoiedes.—Discovery of their Original Country.

Although the Khasovo have existed as a nation for many ages, perhaps eight centuries at least, in the northern tracts of Europe and Asia, they do not appear to be aborigines of that country.† Their earlier history has been traced by philological investigations.

Strahlenberg says, that he found people in southern Siberia whose languages bore some affinity to that of the

* M.M. Schmidt's Tagebuch.—Klaproth's As. P., 164.

† The whole of the region inhabited by the Samoiedes to the westward of the Ural is covered with traces left by a race of people who preceded them. In many places, on the shores of lakes, in swamps now covered with moss, and near rivers, caves are discovered in rocks and hills with openings resembling doorways. In these caves are found ovens, relics of iron, copper, and earthen vessels and instruments, and frequently human bones. In the opinion of the Samoiedes, these retreats belonged to invisible beings, to whom they give the name of *Sirte;* they are supposed to go unseen to the chace, and to be known only to the *Tadebui* or the magicians or priests.—Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, 165.

Samoiedes.* In his Polyglott table he has given a vocabulary of six dialects belonging to tribes, some of them in southern Siberia, and all belonging to this class. Most of these tribes have been confounded with the Ostiaks.

The Samoiedes found by Strahlenberg in the south of Siberia were not however the original stock of that nation, but only some scattered hordes still remaining in the wide regions which lie between the northern tracts on the Frozen Ocean, where the race is now established, and their primitive country in the mountains of Central Asia. It was known to the ethnographers, G. F. Müller and Pallas, that several tribes in that region, among whom Pallas enumerates the Koibals, the Kamaches, the Abotors, the Soïots, and the Karagasses, speak dialects allied to the Samoiede so closely as to afford the clearest proof of a common origin. These tribes, according to Pallas, resemble the Samoiedes in figure. This writer has given a vocabulary of fifty words, including numerals, in the dialects of these tribes, which affords evidence sufficient to establish his conclusion. This has since been done in a more extensive manner by Klaproth, who has added various particulars concerning the history of the race and the tribes into which it is divided.

The country from which the Samoiedes originally spread is, according to these researches, an extensive space lying to the eastward of the upper tract of the Yeniseï. They are the aboriginal inhabitants of the high region known in Europe under the name of the Snowy Mountains of Sayan, in reality an eastern continuation of the Lesser Altaï. From thence they appear to have spread themselves down the course of the great rivers towards the Northern Ocean.

1. The Soïots are the most southern of all the tribes of the Samoiede race. They live principally within the Chinese Empire, and are termed, by the Chinese, Uriang-chai. They inhabit the high country above the sources of the Irtish, the Obi, and the Yeniseï, between the mountains of Sayan, which form the southern frontier of Siberia

* Strahlenberg,—Introduction, p. 38.

and the chain of Changai and Altaï, the borders of the river Tes, which flows into lake Ubsa from the eastward, and the Bashkas, which runs through lake Altan or Telezkoi, and forms the Obi. According to Klaproth, who traced their early history in Chinese authors, they were under the dominion of the Dzongars until the reign of the Chinese emperor K'ianlung, by whom the nomadic tribes of this region, lying between the former domain of the Dzongars and the Kalkas, were conquered and rendered tributary to the city of Uliastai on the banks of the river Ilu, whither the Soïots now bring their yearly tribute of furs and sables to be transported to Pekin. The Uriang-chai or Chinese Soïots consist of four tribes. There are likewise some remains of the Soïots in the Russian territory near Tunkinsk and the south-western extremity of lake Baikal. Prior to the conquest of Siberia by the Russians they were a numerous, independent, and warlike people, and therefore very different from the present Samoiedes of the north. Their descendants, the Russian Soïots, are poor nomadic people, who possess nothing but a few rein-deer and hunting dogs.

2. The Motors are a small and poor tribe of pastoral people on the Tuba to the eastward of the Yeniseï, and to the northward of the snowy chain of Sayan. They were formerly subject to the Altyn-khan of the Mongoles, and inhabited the tract where Abakansk was since built, but in 1618 came under the Russian dominion and changed their abodes: they have likewise abandoned the Schamanist superstition and are baptized.

3. The Koibals are said to be Samoiedes of a mixed race, who live surrounded by Turkish or Tartar tribes on both sides of the Upper Yeniseï, but chiefly on the western side, where the steppes of the Koibals extend from Abakansk to the chain of Sayan, which, as we have seen, is the eastward continuation of the Altaï. Pallas and Pesterer have described them as inhabitants principally of the Mesopotamian steppes, between the rivers Abakan and Yeniseï, within the government of Krasnoiarsk. Their tribes, as enumerated by Pallas, are the Taragak, the Bol-

choi Baigatol, the Karnat, the Urges: to the eastward of the Yeniseï, the tribe Archapowa, the Syskowa, the Askosowa, the Kolskoi, the Angarowa, containing in all about one thousand four hundred individuals.

Pallas describes the Koibals as a people quite distinct from the neighbouring Tartar tribes, not only in their present dress and manners, but also in their origin, language, and bodily configuration. Their features, as he says, resemble those of the Tungusians, their faces are, like the countenances of that people, round, flat, but tolerably well bearded. This last character, in which it appears that the Samoiedes coincide with the most eastern Tungusians, would seem to be one of the principal physical distinctions between the Samoiedes and Tungusians on one side and the almost beardless Mongolians on the other. According to Pallas, the Koibals are now all baptized and have abandoned openly their heathenish customs, but yet retain the practice of witchcraft or enchantments. They now cultivate the ground and use the Russian plough: they have herds, of which they shelter the weakest animals during the winter, but these have suffered great destruction from want of food, as the people have been diminished by the small pox. Georgi says that some of their herds consisted of one hundred horses, with as many oxen and sheep, and even some camels. The Koibals are said to be a docile people, and to adopt readily the arts which are taught them, in which respect there is a remarkable distinction, constituting a characteristic difference between them and the Tartar or Turkish tribes.*

Klaproth collected during his stay in Siberia, by order of Count John Potoeki, a considerable vocabulary of the dialects of the Koibals and Motors, which is published in his "Asia Polyglotta." These dialects are nearly alike, and they contain a very small proportion of foreign words, either of Tartar or Mongolian extraction. Pallas informs us, that the people in their way of life are not very different from the Tartars, but that they are distinguished from

* Pallas, Voy. en Siberie, tom 3.—Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, p. 154 et seqq. —Ritter's Erdkunde von Asien, 1, s. 107.

the latter by their features and language, and consequently in their origin. "Ils ressemblent," he adds, "beaucoup aux Toungouses; ils ont le visage rond, plât, et assez garni de barbe. Leur langue a beaucoup d'affinité avec la Samoiède, quoiqu'elle soit très corrompue par la Tartare. Ce qui en a été conservé par les differentes hordes, prouve que ces tribus dispersés sont les restes des Samoièdes chassés de leurs habitations, et relègués dans les pays septentrionaux. Ces hordes sont les Karagasses, dont j'ai parlé, les Kamaches, les Motors, qui occupent la partie orientale de l'Enisséi, et les Soiotes, qui habitent les montagnes de Saian au-déla des confins de la Russie."

4. In the wild mountains which form a part of the chain of Sayan, near the source of the Uda, which flows through Udinsk into the Tunguska, to the eastward of the tribes before mentioned, live the Karakasses. Pallas says, "La tribu des Karakasses est le plus rémarquable, quoiqu'elle ne consiste qu'en 22 hommes propres à marier. Ils ont conservé la langue Samoiède, comme les Koïbals et les Motors de l'Enisséi, et la parlent même plus purement. Ils adorent le ciel et le soleil. Ils partagent la vénération de quelques autres peuples de la Sibérie pour les fleuves et les montagnes."

5. The Kamasches are a small nomadic tribe who live near Abakansk and Kansk. Their dialect nearly resembles that of the Koibals.

These tribes, whom I shall term, collectively, Southern Samoiedes, live in countries at no great distance from the great mountain-chain of Sayan, the border of Siberia and Chinese Mongolia. To the northward of the tracts above mentioned as their principal abodes, is a vast region now occupied by Tungusians, tribes of Tartars, and other nations who separate the southern and northern Samoiedes. The Samoiede race has entirely disappeared from all the middle course of the Yeniseï and the bordering territories on both sides. This region is now occupied by a nation, proved by their language to be a distinct race, who are termed by the Russians Ostiaks of the Yeniseï. To the northward of these nations, in a high latitude about the confluence

of the Lower Tunguska, which falls into the Yeniseï from the east, the tribes of Samoiedes are again found and continue thence to the Icy Sea. In western Siberia, on the Obi, the northern Samoiedes are cut off from their kindred tribes through a still greater distance of space, by the Tschudish or Finnish Ostiaks, as well as by the Tartar nations to the southward of them. But here in the intermediate region there is an offset of the same stock. The tribes of barbarous people, termed by the Russians Ostiaks of Narym and of Tomsk, are known by their dialect to be Samoiedes. The Tomskian Samoiedes live near the city of Tomsk, to the northward of the lower part of the river Tchulim. Further towards the north are those on the river Ket and Tym, which fall into the Obi to the northward and southward of Narym. This is the tribe of Samoiedes which is spread northward to the river Tas, between the Yeniseï and the Obi, for the idiom of the Samoiedes on the Tas is near to that of the Tomskian and Narymskian tribes there, and these are found to constitute an intermediate branch of the Samoiede dialects between those of the northern and southern nations of the same stock.

Paragraph 4.—General Observations on this race and on their languages.

It appears from the local distribution of the tribes belonging to this race, and from the circumstances of their history, as far as it is known, that they were a primitive people of the chain of Sayan or the eastern Altaï, and made their way from that high region along the courses of the great rivers which descend from it, particularly the Yeniseï and the Obi. These tribes have been subsequently separated by the intrusions of other races, particularly the Tschudish or Ugorian Ostiaks and the Tartars, and they are now scattered in divided groupes over the space of which they were once perhaps the sole occupants. They are still dispersed over a vast region in Siberia, reaching from the forty-eighth to the seventy-eighth degree of north latitude, namely, from the river Tes on the Ubsa Nor,

in Chinese Mongolia, to the Northern Asiatic Cape, and in longitude no less than eighty degrees, from the Mesene river to the Lena. They were perhaps the earliest inhabitants of the greatest part of Northern Asia.

An important question in ethnology may be solved by a comparison of the Samoiede language with the idioms of other nations. Some attempts have already been made to promote this inquiry by the collection of vocabularies, but a fuller acquaintance with the Samoiede idioms, and especially with their grammatical structure, is requisite before a satisfactory conclusion can be obtained. Yet the specimens of words prove that, although these idioms constitute a distinct family of languages, they contain a great number of primitive words common to them and the idioms of other nations. The principal of these comparisons have been made by Gyarmathi and by Klaproth.* The results, as far as the evidence extends, seem to indicate a general or remote connection between the language of the Samoiedes and those of other nations in Northern Asia. The analogies in words are so many and so striking that they cannot be referred to accidental resemblance. Neither can they have arisen from any recent intercourse.

Eye	sima, *Koib. and Motor.* seme, *Taugi-Samoied.*	szem, *Hungar.* silme, *Finn.*
Blood	kam, *Koib.* chem, *Obdorsk S.*	*αἱμα*
Heart	seo, sei, *Narym S.* sidje, *Tym. S.*	suë *Finn.* südda, *Esthon.*
Skin	choba kop,	kobashta *Tscheremiss*
Knee	pule, *Obdorsk and* puly, *Jaruz. S.*	pylwi, *Finn.* polwi, *Esth.*
Bone	luy, *Turuchansk S.*	lua, *Finn.*
Head	hollad, *Karasses S.*	killa, *Kurilian.*
Mouth	ak, *Narym S.* aiwa, *Obdorsk S.*	ayak, *Hungarian.* oaiwe, *Lapp.*
Nail	chada, *Samoiede*	kad, *Lapp. and Ostiak*
Ear	ko, ku,	kuw, *Kurd.* kus, *Ossete.*
Back	macha, magol,	mach, *Avar.* machol, *Andi.*

* Asia Polyglott.—Affinitas Linguæ Hungaricæ cum linguis Finnicæ originis grammatice demonstrata.—Gyarmathi, p. 214.

Father	essa, *Mangaseya S.* esse, *Turuchansk S.*	isä, *Finn.* isa, *Esthon.*
Mother	ewel, *Tomsk S.*	ewel, *Avar*
God	num, nom,	numen, *Lat.*
	nub, nob, *Karasses*	nebo, *Slav.* nêv, *Welsh.*

Section III.—*Yenisean Ostiaks.*

Several tribes of people having a peculiar language and forming a distinct race, inhabit, or rather wander about the shores of the river Yeniseï, along a great part of its winding course through Siberia towards the North. They have been termed, erroneously, Ostiaks of the Yeniseï, having no affinity with the proper Ostiaks. Although so termed, they have long been known as a peculiar people. Vocabularies of two dialects in their language were published by Strahlenberg. Adelung described them under the name of Yenisean Ostiaks. Klaproth has collected many particulars relating to their history from the manuscript journals of the Siberian travellers, M.M. Schmidt, and has given them the designation of Yeniseans.

The principal countries inhabited by the Yeniseans are some districts in the circle of Krasnoiarsk and both shores of the Yeniseï, from the confluence of the great river termed the Upper Tunguska down to Mangaseya or Turuchansk, where they border on the Northern Samoiedes. They likewise occupy the banks of many of the tributary rivers of the Yeniseï, as of the Uda, the Tunguska, the Ssym, and the smaller as well as larger streams on the left bank further towards the North. They reach westward to the Upper Ket, an eastern tributary of the Obi. All the tribes of this race lead a wandering and toilsome life. Their dwellings are movable huts made of poles and birchen-bark. They live by fishing, hunting, and have a few rein-deers. Their tribute is paid in peltry, partly in sables. They have long been known as excellent smiths, and make their domestic and hunting tools of iron which

they smelt. In their habits they resemble the Southern Samoiedes, and, like them, retain the schamanist superstition.

The principal tribes of this race are the following:—

1.—Hordes who term themselves "Koenniyueng" near Inbazk, Pampokolsk, and Turuchansk, who have two dialects, specimens of which are to be found in the Petropolitan vocabularies. 2.—The Arinzi, described by M.M. Schmidt in 1721, and of whom only two individuals survived who spoke their mother tongue when Siberia was visited by G. F. Müller in 1735. They lived to the northwestward of Krasnoiarsk, on the rivers Kacha, Iyus, Busima, westward of the Upper Yeniseï, scattered under the Katschinski Tartars. The tribe had been nearly exterminated in a war against the Kirghises and by the Russians soon after the conquest of Siberia.* The Arinzi, who were all warriors,—the name means in Tartar "wasps," buried their dead with all their arms, and killed on the tomb a favourite horse, of which they burnt the flesh and hung the skin upon a pole over the grave. The oath of the Arinzi is characteristic. The accused bites the muzzle of a bear's head, placed between a hound and a roe. The animals are let loose, and wherever they go the accused must betake himself and no longer drink the water of his former dwelling place. 3.—The Assanes live on the steppe on the rivers Ussolka and Ona, in the government of the Yeniseï. They name themselves Kotta. 4.—The Kotowzi, so termed by the Russians, are two tribes; one inhabits the banks of the Kan, the Poiam, and the Birussa, about the town of Kansk, to the eastward of Krasnoiarsk: the other tribe are the Kongroichi, near Abakansk and Sayansk, to the eastward of the Yeniseï: the Russians confound them under the same name with the Koibals, who are Southern Samoiedes. 5.—The Oedh-Ostiaks or Sable-Ostiaks, who call themselves Denka. They lived in the

* They sent ambassadors to the Russians after the taking of Tobolsk, who carried as tokens of friendship an arrow, a piece of red earth, and a black fox. The Russians understood this as a declaration of war.

time of M.M. Schmidt on the Oelugh and Yeniseï; many of them could only count as far as five.

The Yenisean Ostiaks, though a distinct race, seem to have followed a similar course in their migrations with the Samoiedes, and to have originated from a country bordering closely on the cradle of that family of nations, for it is probable that they gradually spread themselves down the great valley of the Yeniseï from the eastern arm of the Lesser Altaï, where some hordes of the tribe were till lately to be found. In manners they resemble the Samoiedes, from whom they are only discriminated by their distinct and peculiar speech. According to Erman, a prevalent opinion in Siberia connects them with the Ostiaks of the Obi, but this may be the result of the circumstance that they have long been confounded with that people under the same name. Erman has given a tradition which was related by one of the tribe as to their origin. "When our horde came from the setting of the sun towards the river Tas only four pairs remained alive. Even these expected to perish by hunger, but one being a Tshwotschibúikub or wizard, wings sprang upon his arms; he fled into the air, plunged into the Tas, and came up with fish. Then the others began to support themselves by fishing." Erman has referred to a tradition in the Odyssey, in which the practice of catching fish is attributed to the extremity of want.*

Section IV.—*Aboriginal Tribes of North-Eastern Siberia.*

Long before the adventurous followers of Yermak had opened a way for the European conquerors of Northern Asia, vast tracts on the Lena, the Jana, the Indijirka, the Kolyma, and the Anadyr were inhabited by tribes who had been driven out of a great part of their original country by the Yakutes or Sochalar and Tungusian tribes to the southward. The emigrant hordes sought refuge in places still further towards the north and east, and there

* Odyss. 4, 368.—12, 329.—Erman's Reise., 2, p. 39.

relics of them are now found. Numerous and powerful tribes were the Omoki, the Schelagi, and the Yukaghiri. The two former are extinct; the Yukaghiri still remain.

A few scattered hordes of this race inhabit the mountains between the Jana and the Indijirka and the tracts on the river Aniuy. The Omoki were not nomades, but lived in settlements along the rivers, and supported themselves by fishing and hunting. An obscure saying prevails in that country, that there were once more hearths of the Omoki on the shores of the Kolyma than there are stars in a clear sky: there are also remains of tumuli and of forts composed of trunks of trees.*

Baron Von Wrangell assures us that the Omoki possessed a degree of civilisation, and were acquainted with the use of iron before the Russian conquest; but as the Russians advanced and introduced among them the small-pox and other miseries which the aboriginal nations everywhere experienced from their progress, the Omoki determined to wander and abandoned the Kolyma with all their rein-deer. They left their name in the place called Omokskoye Yurtowischte, near the mouth of the river Indijirka. The Schelagi were a nomadic race who wandered over the *tundras* with their herds of rein-deers: they have so completely disappeared, that their name is now hardly remembered. On the disappearance of these two races from the country on the Kolyma, their place was occupied by tribes of Yukaghiri from the Indijirka, Tungusi from the Amúr, and Tschuwanzi from the Anadyr. These last have become nearly extinct in the wars carried on with the more powerful nomadic Tschuktschi. After these brief notices of the extinct races, I shall now describe more particularly the nations yet existing.

* Numerous tumuli near the Indijirka are supposed to have belonged to the exterminated Omoki, and on the Aniuy burial places are still seen, which are little wooden buildings, containing corpses armed with bows, arrows, and spears, and with the magic drum of the schamany enchanters.

Paragraph 2.—The Andon Domni or Yukaghiri.

The tribe of people who are termed by the Russians Yukaghiri, and call themselves Andon Domni, live to the eastward of the Yakuti, along the coast of the Icy Sea, beyond the Lena, and chiefly between the rivers Jana, Indijirka, the greater and lesser Aniuy, and as far as the Kolyma. The Koriaks call them Atal, that is *spotted*, because they clothe themselves in the skins of spotted rein-deers. We have an account of them in Sauer's narrative of Billing's voyage, with a copious vocabulary of their language.* Klaproth, who has compared it with other languages, says, that it displays very little connection with the dialects of the neighbouring nations. In their manners the Yukaghiri resemble the Samoiedes, and, like that people, live by fishing, hunting, and have a few rein-deers.†

The Yukaghiri of the present day are but the small remnant of a once powerful and numerous people. In the year 1739 it is reported that their numbers were very great. Sauer says, that the tribes on the Omolon were called Tscheltiere; those of the Alasey, Omoki, and on the Anadyr and Aniuy, Tschuvantsi and Kudinsi. Wars with the Tschuktschi and Koriaks have almost extirpated the race. There was once a numerous tribe on the Kolyma called Konghini, the ruins of whose villages, with stone hatchets and arrows, are still found.

Some particulars respecting this nation have been given by Captain Cochrane. He says, "the descendants of the Yukagiri inhabit the banks of the two rivers Aniuy. They were formerly a formidable and warlike people, and it cost the Russians much trouble to subjugate them."—"They

* Vater says, that he knew of no other source of information respecting the language of the Yukaghiri (not Yukajiri as some wrote it), than the dictionary of Dr. Merk, who accompanied Billing in his voyage.—See Vater's Nachtraege zu dem ersten Theil des Mithridates, s. 561. This was published in the Russian edition of Sarätschew's account of Billing's Voyage.

† Sauer's account of Billing's Voyage.—Adelung, Mithridates, 2, 561.—Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, p. 3, 15.

are now all but extinct as a pure race. They are certainly the finest race of people I have seen in Siberia; the men well-proportioned, and with open and manly countenances; the women are extremely beautiful." Yet in another passage the same traveller assures us, that the Yukaghiri have the Tartar or Asiatic features; and he remarks, that they are not very unlike the Yakuti.

Cochrane informs us, that the *Chuansi* or *Chodynsi*, a tributary nation inhabiting the country between the two Aniuys and the Anadyr, have also Asiatic features.

These are the Yukaghirian tribes mentioned by Sauer in a different orthography.

Paragraph 3.—Of the Kamtschatkans or Kamschadales.

Strahlenberg says, that Kamtschatka was discovered by the Dutch in 1643;* but it is stated by G. F. Müller, in his history of discoveries made from Russia along the coast of the Icy Sea, that the earliest accounts of that peninsula go not further back than 1696. Ysbrandt Ides, who travelled through Siberia on his mission to China in 1693, heard indeed of Kamtschatka, but supposed it to be a town or great village resorted to on account of the Russian fisheries. In a few years after this time the Russians took possession of the country. The first naval expedition of importance to Kamtschatka was that under the celebrated Behring and his lieutenants Spangenberg and Tschirikow, whose names are for ever connected with the history of North-eastern discoveries. These navigators were sent out by Peter the Great in 1725, and returned after a five years' voyage.† A second expedition, also under Behring, was accompanied by several academicans, among whom were Müller, Gmelin, and the botanist Krascheninnikow. The latter of these reached Kamtschatka, and gave an account of his discoveries, but it was to the celebrated naturalist Steller, who was sent to that country by Gmelin, that we are

* Historical and Geographical Description of the Northern and Eastern parts of Europe and Asia, by Count von Strahlenberg, p. 392.

† Allgem. Hist. der Reisen, 19, 73.

indebted for the fullest description of its natural productions, as well as of the Kamtschatkan people before they were reduced and almost exterminated by the wars and disasters that were consequent on the discovery of their land by a *Christian* nation.*

The Kamtschatkans are a race of people distinct from the neighbouring nations; they inhabit the southern parts of the peninsula named after them. Their northern neighbours are the Koriaks, and the southern promontory of the same land is possessed by the Aino, a different people, who will be described in the next section. They call themselves *Itelmen* or "natives" of the land in which they suppose themselves to have been made.† Steller conjectured that they came originally from Mongolia. His argument for this opinion is not very conclusive. Many words in their language terminate in *ong*, *ing*, *tschin*, *tscha*, *tschin*, *tschang*, as in Chinese, or, as he terms it, the language of the Chinese Mongoles. In confirmation he added, that the Kamschadales resemble the Mongoles in person. They are, he says, small and of a dark brown,—schwarz-braun,—complexion like the Mongoles, have black hair, little beard, a broad and flat face, a depressed or flattened nose, like the Kalmuks. Their *irregular* (*i.e.* unlike the European) features, eyes sunk deep in the head, their legs and hanging bellies, joined to a resemblance in their dispositions, persuaded Steller, that they were descended from one of these nations. But their separation must have taken place, as he says, before the separation of Japan from China. A proof that it was very ancient is, that the Kamschadales were ignorant of the use of iron, which had been known to the Mongoles two thousand years ago. They were very numerous before the Russians discovered them, although wars with neighbouring tribes, suicides, storms, and other calamities must have diminished their numbers.‡ It has been observed, that the natives of Kamschatka resemble the other natives of Siberia in many respects; but that they

* Steller's account is given in the 20th vol of the Allgemeine Historie der Reisen, s. 289, u. s. w.

† Allgem. Hist., 20, 289.

‡ Ibid., 2, 290.

have not that distant and perfect sight for which the inhabitants of the steppes are celebrated. Their personal ugliness has been attributed whimsically to the huge monsters on which they feed, and in the pursuit of which they pass their lives.*

Blumenbach was long desirous of adding the skull of a Kamschadale to his collection, which, as he says, contains the relics of several races of men already rooted out from the face of the earth; among these are the Red Caribs and the Guanches. He obtained one at length, and has figured it in his last decade. It coincides, as he says, in corformation with the accounts given by Krascheninnikow of the physical character of this race. The skull resembles that of many other nations of Siberia in the flatness of its broad face, but is remarkable for the great projection of the cheek-bones.†

The Kamschadales are described by late voyagers as a people of short stature, swarthy complexion, black hair, little beard, broad faces, short and flat noses, small and sunk eyes, small eye-brows, protuberant bellies, and small legs.‡

According to Steller, the Kamtschatkans have no idea of a Supreme Being, but this must have been true only in some peculiar sense of the expression, for he adds an account of their mythology, which in part contradicts the above statement. They believe, as he says, in the immortality of souls. All creatures, even to the smallest fly, are destined, as they believe, to another eternal life under the earth, where they are to meet with similar adventures to those of their present state of existence, but never to suffer hunger. In that world there is no punishment of crimes, which, in the opinion of the Kamschadales, meet their chastisement in the present life, but the rich are des-

* Ibid.

† Blumenbach observes that the figure of a female Kamschadale given in the continuation of Cook's last voyage, is the best representation of the national physiognomy, as exemplified by this cranium.—King's continuation to Cook's last voyage, vol. 3, tab. 70.

‡ King's continuation to Cook's voyage.—Lesseps's Travels.

tined to become poor and the poor here are to be enriched. The sky and stars existed before the earth, which was made by Katchu, or, as others say, brought by Katchu and his sister Katligith with them from heaven and fastened upon the sea. After Katchu had made the earth he left heaven and came to dwell in Kamtschatka. He had a son, Tigil, and a daughter, Sidanka, who married and became parents of offspring: the latter clothed themselves with the leaves of trees and fed upon the bark, for beasts were not yet made, and the gods knew not how to catch fish. When Katchu went to drink, the hills and valleys were formed under his feet, for the earth had till then been a flat surface. Tigil finding his family increase invented nets and betook himself to fishing. The Kamtschatkans have, like other pagans, images of their gods.*

The Russian Navigator Konsenskow, who touched at Kamtschatka, informs us, that at present the native race is on the point of becoming extinct.

Considerable collections of words in the Kamtschatkan language have been made, of which Klaproth has given a large specimen in his "Sprach-Atlas." It is evident that their language is peculiar to them: the vocabulary differs from that of all the neighbouring nations; it appears to have little or nothing in common with the Mongolian language. The greatest number of coincidences pointed out by Klaproth are with the Samoiede dialects. According to the observations of Erman, it has likewise some words derived from the dialect of the Ostiaks, or rather common to it and to the idiom of that Siberian nation.†

Paragraph 4.—Of the Ainos, aboriginal inhabitants of the country on both sides of the Lower Amúr, and of the Kurilian Islands.

The eastern coast of Asia, to the southward of the Koriaks and Kamtschatkans, is inhabited by Lamutian or maritime Tungusians, a tribe of that race who hunt in

* Steller, ubi supra.

† Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, p. 300.—Erman's Reise um die Erde.

the forests of Aldan and live by fishing along the shore of the Gulph of Okhotsk. The Tungusians are probably not the aboriginal inhabitants of this country, but of the mountainous region of the interior. What tribes dwelt on the coast of the Gulph of Okhotsk originally we have no information, but the southern promontory, near which the river Amúr discharges its waters into that gulph, and the great island of Sagalien, which projects into it from the south, as well as the long chain of Kurilian islands, forming a boundary line on its eastern side and almost giving it the form of an inland lake, are the abodes of a very peculiar race of people whose national appellation is *Aino*. Besides the isle of Sagalien or Tarakai, the Aino also inhabit Jesso or Jesa or Matmai, where they are subjects of the Japanese empire. How far they extend on the continent is unknown, but several tribes are mentioned in the geographical and statistical accounts of the population of the Chinese empire, which do not belong to the Chinese or Mandschú races, and of these some are probably of the race of Aino. This is asserted particularly of the Kileng or Kelerzi, through whose country the Amúr river takes its course.* The Kileng inhabit the valley of the river Hinggoi, which flows into the Amúr from the northward, and thence to the sea coast. According to Witsans these people ride upon bears,† which the female Ainos are said to render tame by suckling them when young. The same race occupies the southern extremity of the peninsula of Kamtschatka. They are also called Kurilians, from *kur* or *guru*, which, in their language, means "man or men."‡ In their manners they resemble the Kamtschatkans, but differ from that people in language and in their physical characters.

The most ample account of this race of people is to be found in the narrative of Krusenstern's voyage round the world, in which the description of Matmai and its inha-

* Timkouski's Journey, Atlas Explicat., p. 25, 1.--Ritter's Erdkunde, 1, 603. —3, 444.

† Ritter, 3, 446.

‡ Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, p. 300

bitants in particular is very interesting and satisfactory. Some valuable notices were given by Broughton in his voyage of discovery to the Pacific Ocean, and those accounts agree, as Dr. Vater has observed, with the older statements of the Dutch voyager Herdrik Cornelius Shaep, who visited the seas of Japan, in the Company's ship *Breskes*, in the year 1643. La Peyrouse has also described the same people. Professor Vater had in his possession a vocabulary of seven thousand words in the dialect of Sagalian, collected by Lieutenant von Chwastow, as well as a dictionary of several of the dialects of the Ainos obtain from Langsdorf.

Matmai or Matsumai, one of the greatest of the southern Kurilian islands, obtained this name from the Japanese who have settlements there. The Ainos, the aboriginal inhabitants, call themselves Jesso: they are a tribe now reduced by wars and oppression, but distinguished, as Vater observes, by excellent moral qualities. They differ considerably from the other tribes of Ainos. The great island of Tschoka, of which La Peyrouse explored the coasts, is also inhabited by Ainos, among whom some Tartars and Japanese are settled. This island is also called Sachalian or "Sag'chaliän ula chata," which means in the Mandschú language, "Island of the Black River," namely of the Amúr, at the mouth of which it is situated.*

The vocabularies of the dialects of the Ainos, of which Klaproth has given a considerable specimen, display some few coincidences with other Northern Asiatic languages, but on the whole a great singularity. Many of the words are long and polysyllabic: the numerals appear to be quite peculiar.

The Ainos are described as a people much more approaching to the European type of features than most of the neighbouring nations, and they are of darker complexion and much more hairy and bearded than the Northern Asiatics in general, and than the Tungusians, who themselves in this respect differ somewhat from the Mongolians. La Peyrouse declares "that they are a race very superior to

* Vater, 4, Th., s. 247.

the Chinese, Japanese, and Mandschoos; that their countenances are more regular and more similar to those of Europeans." "The inhabitants of the Bay of Crillon were particularly beautiful and regular in their features."* "The Ainos in general," according to Krusenstern, "are rather below the middle stature, being at most five feet two or four inches high." "They have a thick, bushy beard, black, rough hair, hanging straight down, and, excepting in the beard, they have the appearance of the Kamschadales, only that their countenance is much more regular,"—that is, European. But this regularity, as it is termed, seems not to be constant, for the same writer adds, that the "women of the Ainos are ugly enough: their colour, which is dark, their coal-black hair combed over their faces, their blue-painted lips and tattowed hands, allow them no pretensions to beauty. The younger females at Aniwa Bay, whose eyes had not lost their sprightliness, were, on this account, not quite so ugly, but the impression made even by them was very unfavourable."†

With respect to the colour of the Ainos, and the hairiness of their bodies, there is some variety in the accounts. Krusenstern declares that they are nearly black; but Broughton, probably with more accuracy, says, that they are of a light copper colour. La Peyrouse agrees nearly with this: he says that their skin is nearly as dark as that of the Algerines.

The early accounts of the island of Jesso represent the inhabitants as covered with hair. The Chinese described it as a large country full of wild people, whose whole body was covered with hair, with beards so enormous that they were obliged to hold them in order to drink. The Dutch voyagers in 1643, and the Russians under Spanberg, in 1739, confirmed this description.

Broughton reported that the bodies of the Ainos were almost universally covered with long, black hair; and that he observed the same appearance even in some young children. La Peyrouse partly coincided in this statement.

* La Peyrouse's Voyage, chap. 20.

† Krusenstern's Voyage Round the World, vol. 2, chap. 2.

He says, "their beards hang long upon their breasts, and their arms, necks, and *backs*, are covered with hair. But he adds, that he observes only that this character was more general than elsewhere. "It is easy," he says, "to find individuals equally hairy in Europe." Their hairiness cannot then be so great as his expression would at first lead us to suppose. Krusenstern says that a Jesuit missionary who resided among the Ainos some time, in 1620, merely mentions their bushy beards. He adds, that in the north of Jesso he examined some people, and found that, except in their bushy beards and hair on their faces, they were as smooth as other nations. In Aniwa he ininduced several of them to uncover their bodies, which are generally clothed in skins of dogs and seals, and here, he says, "we were convinced to a certainty that the greater part of the Ainos have not more hair on their bodies than is to be found on those of many Europeans." However, he adds, that in Mordwinoff Bay a child eight years old had his body entirely covered with hair: his parents, and several other adult persons in the same place, were not more hairy than Europeans.* It seems, then, that this excessive hairiness is only a variety which occasionally appears in the race.

All the voyagers who have described the Ainos, agree in representing them to be people of mild and simple character. Krusenstern says, the characteristic quality of an Aino is goodness of heart, which is expressed in the strongest manner on his countenance. The women are very modest and bashful.

Klaproth has translated an account of the islands of Jesso and Tarakai, called by the Japanese Karafuto, from a work entitled "Survey of the three kingdoms," in the Japono-Chinese, by a Japanese author, Rinsifée, in which the inhabitants of these islands are described, under the name of Omi Katta Jeso. But this work contains no account of their origin or early history. On the other hand, we are given to understand that the Chinese have accounts

* Krusenstern, ibid.

of them which reach back as far as the times of the celebrated Han dynasty.*

A late memoir, by M. de Siebold, contains a variety of particulars relating to the Aino, which may serve to complete the ethnography of that race.

The isle of Jesso, the greater part of Karafto or Tarakai, and most of the Kurilian isles near the southern extremity of Kamtschatka, are, according to Siebold, the dwellings of this race, who inhabited the shore of a sea abounding in fish and valleys traversed by frequent streams. They call themselves Aino or Men, adding the names of particular places, as Kemoun-Aino, Men of Kemoun &c. They are termed, by the Japanese, Morin, meaning, according to Klaproth, " Hairy bodies."

The Ainos dwell under cabins composed of reeds or grass and covering excavations in the earth, like the poorer class of Japanese, among whom are found caverns which formerly served for habitations. The furniture of these dwellings is of the simplest kind, some pots and fishing tackle and mats, seated on which is seen the single wife of the owner, having her face tinged with blue round the mouth, which is a badge distinguishing dames of superior rank. She is occupied in making garments for her husband with the bark of a tree, or in nursing the young bear torn by him in the mountains from its enraged mother, or in drying the fat salmon caught by her family in the neighbouring streams and bays, or in collecting the " fucus saccharinus" on the shore : the husband hunts seals and otters and brings up his children to the chace.

The sun, the moon, the sea, and other striking objects of nature, are the divinities of the Aino: they represent them under rude symbols and offer sacrifices to them. The men of Karafto burn upon the shore the heads of animals which they have caught, as a gift to the sea. Daily the Aino addresses the following words to the divinity who

* Ritter's Erdkunde von Asien., Th. 3. In the first "Abschnitt," of the second " Abtheilung" of this great work, the learned author has collected every thing that has been written, or at least known, of any importance, in the works of European as well as of Asiatic writers, on the history of the race of Ainos.

protects his cabin :—" We thank thee, Kamoï, for having dwelt here in our coast and watched for us," and he repeats after the prayer, " Kamoï ever take care of us." They believe likewise that there is a God of heaven and of hell; this is the residence of Nitsul Kamoï. They have also little wooden temples containing images of their idols carved in wood. Yearly they have a festival termed Omsia, when all the family regale themselves with *saké* and bear's flesh. In their marriages the Aino are careful to avoid too near relationship. In Karafto, the inhabitants of the north take wives from the southern part. The chief of the village confirms the marriage, which is concluded on the dowry or price being paid to the father of the betrothed. The women are free, and in Karafto rule their husbands.

Before funerals the Aino puts on a new coat made of fine bark. The Smerenkow burns the body and collects the ashes which are kept in a little chapel, makes offerings to the presiding idol, and covers with branches the spot where the body was consumed. They erect stakes in honour of the defunct, from the wood of the house, which is always pulled down. Bodies of the rich receive honours of a different kind : they are embalmed, filled with odoriferous herbs, and dried during a year, then placed in a sepulchre, where they are annually visited by their relatives. Yet the Aino have no calendar and reckon time by the fall of the leaf. They have neither letters nor money. They apply to two remedies in case of all sickness, a " *boletus laricis*" and the root *ikeme*, supposed to be a sort of *asclepias*.

Siebold understood by report that the Aino are somewhat taller than the Japanese. The skin is browner, perhaps from their being more exposed, but the iris of their eye is of a lighter hue. They are timid and afraid of the Japanese, who agree in commending them for their honesty and candour. The monks and priests of Buddhism, sent by the Japanese government, have not been able to introduce among the Aino their tenets, but the so-termed *new doctrine of Sioodoo* has existed some centuries among them."*

* Mœurs et usages des Aïnos, par M. de Sieboïd, Nouv. Journ. Asiatiq, t. 7.

SECTION V. *Of the tribes of people inhabiting the region beyond the Kolyma, — Tschuktschi, Koriaks, Namollos, Aleutians.*

These races are distinguished in many respects from the other inhabitants of Northern Asia and make a perceptible approach in their characters, both physical and moral, to the natives of America. The Tschuktschi inhabit the north-eastern part of Asia extending from Tschaon Bay to Behring's Straits in longitude, and in latitude from the upper country on the Aniuy to the Polar Sea. Their neighbours towards the west are the Tschuvanzi and the Yukaghiri of the Aniuy. Baron von Wrangell says, that they formerly occupied a more extensive territory, before the Cossaks from the Lena subdued the districts on the Kolyma. This is proved by the names of the Greater and Lesser Tschuktschye rivers, and by numerous traditionary stories respecting their conflicts with the first Russian settlers on the *western* banks of the Kolyma. Pogrownoye and Ubiennoye Pole, the Valley of Desolation, and the Valley of Death, derive their names from these encounters. The Tschuktschi, though still in a great measure a nomadic race, have less of the characteristics of such a mode of life than the wandering Tungusi: they are less cheerful and more careful: they lay up stores for the future, and do not remove their dwellings without an object, but only for the necessity of fresh pasture. They are more covetous and saving than the genuine nomadic races. Their dress differs greatly from that of the Tungusi, which is light and close-fitting, and well adapted to an active roving life, whereas the clothing of the Tschuktschi is large, loose, and cumbrous. They wear long, wide trowsers made of fur and an ample *kuchlanka*. Baron von Wrangell, who has made these observations, has remarked in another place that the Tschuktschi are a very peculiar race and but little known: they have preserved their nationality more than any other race in Northern Asia: they regard with contempt the nations who are content to live under the dominion of

Russia. Of late, intercourse with Russians has in some degree mitigated their fierce character. Polygamy is general among them: the women, though slaves, are better treated than among many savage races. They kill all deformed children, and their old people when infirm are put to death by their own desire. There is a stern and grave sedateness in their character which strongly distinguishes the Tschuktschi from the other nomades of Northern Asia. They are under the influence of schamans, but their superstition has a peculiar character.

The Tschuktschi are not less strongly distinguished from other Siberian races by their physical characters. "The Northern Asiatics in general," says Baron von Wrangell, "are short in stature, but broad-shouldered and muscular. Their hands and feet are very small, their heads are large in proportion to their bodies, their face is broad and flat, and the wide cheeks seem to press the mouth together and give it a roundish form. Their hair is black and coarse, and their small, deep-seated eyes are dull and inanimate. Their whole outward form seems contracted by the severity of the climate and the constant conflict with cold and hunger, and from the same causes their moral and intellectual faculties appear as if but imperfectly developed." Baron von Wrangell, on the other hand, thought the Tschuktschi very similar to the natives of North America. The same observation occurred to Captain Cochrane, who travelled to the country of the Tschuktschi, and met, at their great fair beyond the Kolyma, individuals from various tribes. At the same fair were two natives of North America, who had come over the straits for the purpose of trade. He thought them more like the Tschuktschi than the natives of Behring's Straits, though of a browner colour. Of the Tschuktschi themselves he gives the following account:—

"The Tschuktschi know nothing of their origin or first settlement in their country, nor of the Tartar nations subject to Russia, nor do they understand any Tartar words. Their language bears no affinity to any of the Tartar idioms, but it is understood by the Koriaks." "The features of the Tschuktschi, their manners and customs," in the opinion

of Cochrane, "pronounce them to be of American origin, of which the shaving of the head, the puncturing of their bodies, their wearing long ear-rings, their independent and swaggering way of walking, their dress and superstitious ideas, are also evident proofs." This traveller conjectures that other tribes of Polar Americans may have descended from them. "Their dress is perfectly similar, and several words of their languages are alike."

Sauer informs us, that the Tschuktschi are tall and stout people, and hold little men in the utmost contempt. Cochrane says, that "the persons of the Tschuktschi are not peculiarly large, though their dress, which is of enormous size, gives them almost a gigantic appearance. They have fair or clear skins, but ordinary though masculine features. In conduct they are wild and rude. They have no diseases, and live to a great age."*

The Koriaks or Koræki are a branch of the same race to which the Tschuktschi belong. The country of the Koriaks is between the Gulph of Anadyr and the river Omolon. They border on the Yukaghiri towards the west, and to the southward on the Kamtschatkans. *Kora*, in their language, means a rein-deer, and their national designation is said to be taken from this term, and to mean feeders of rein-deer herds.

The Koriaks, according to Lesseps, speak the same language as the Tschuktschi, and resemble them in every respect. The latter, according to this writer, and the description seems to include the Tschuktschi, are taller than the Kamtschatkans, and have features with little or nothing of what is termed the Asiatic character, but very swarthy complexions.†

It seems that the Koriaks and the Tschuktschi are only subdivisions of one race of people and not two distinct nations, but there is another tribe who have been termed "Fishing or Stationary Tschuktschi," and supposed to belong to the race of the nomadic or "Rein-deer-feeding" Tschuktschi. They are, however a distinct people: their

* Sauer, in Billing's expedition to the Polar Seas.

† Lesseps's Travels from Kamtschatka.

national appellation is Namollos: by the Tschuktschi, as it appears, they are termed "Onkilou," meaning People of the Sea.

The Namollos were first described by the Russian lieutenant Koschelew, who mentioned two tribes, one at the promontory of Tschukotskoi Nos, the other on the coast at the mouth of the Anadyr. The language of these Namollos differs from that of the Tschuktschi and resembles the dialect of the Aleutian islanders of Kodiak and the general idiom of the tribes belonging to the race of the Esquimaux. The Namollos are evidently a tribe of Esquimaux, and probably came originally from the American continent. If we suppose that the course of migration was from the extremity of Asia to the New World, which is very probably true if we refer to the first ages and to the primitive dispersion of the American race, still the small and insignificant horde now inhabiting the extremity of the Asiatic coast can hardly be regarded as the original stock of the great and widely-dispersed race of the Esquimaux. According, however, to the traditions collected in the country by Admiral von Wrangell, the Onkilou or Namollos formerly reached much further on the coast of Asia than their present abode. They are said to have occupied all the coast from lake Schelagskoi eastward to Behring's Straits. It is said in the land of the Tschuktschi, that they were driven out by that people and retired to a country to the northward, the mountains of which are sometimes seen from Cape Jakan.

Some further particulars relating to the history of the Tschuktschi and the Namollos have been given by the Russian Captain Lutké. According to this writer, the proper appellation of the people termed by the Russians Tschuktschi is Tscha-úk-thú: they are, as he says, a nomadic race, whereas the Namollos are a settled, fishing tribe, resembling the Esquimaux in manners. They are probably a tribe of the race inhabiting the Aleutian or Fox Islands, and understand the dialect of the natives of Kodiak. The Tschu-úk-thú inhabit the northern part of the great north-eastern peninsula of Asia, of which Kamts-

chatka is a southern prolongation or promontory. The river Anadyr, which flows from west to east and falls into the Gulph of Anadyr, is said to be their southern boundary. The Koriaks are divided from the Tschuktschi, if the two nations are really distinguishable, by the same river. They inhabit the country on the higher course of the Kolyma, the Omolon, and the Anadyr, and reach southward to the mountains of the Lamúti Tungusians. The Tschuktschi now extend westward scarcely further than Cape Schelágskoi: they formerly reached, as we have seen, beyond, that is, to the westward of the Kolyma.

We are assured by Captain Lutké, that there is a great difference in stature between the Tscha-úk-thú and the Namollos. The Namollos are almost all, like other Esquimaux, below the middle stature. Among the Tscha-úk-thú the majority are, as he says, above the middle stature, and some are real giants. Both races have flat faces, with projecting cheek-bones, eyes small without being compressed, but almost always in a straight line, thereby differing from the neighbouring Asiatic races: their eye-brows are high. The Tschu-úk-thú differ from the Namollos in having a more oval outline of countenance, so that the projection of the cheek-bones is not so striking as among the Namollos, whose faces are more rounded and *sometimes* have the corners of the eyes raised towards the temples. The portraits made by Mr. Postels describe well their national character. The figure of the nomadic or rein-deer Tschuktschi is proud and independent. They appear corpulent; this is owing to their dress. Among the Namollos the Mongolian form of their features is most remarkable in the women and children. The former have, without exception, a flat face with noses *scarcely visible.* The young girls are pretty: the Kalmuk form of their face is palliated by fatness and freshness of complexion, but the exterior of the old is always repulsive by wrinkles, pendent lips, and eyes full of "rheum."

The Tschuktschi are dressed with articles manufactured for their use by the Russians at Kolyma The men cut their hair round, and on the vertex, leaving a circle of

longer hair round the space. They carry bows and arrows, and knives,

The Tschuktschi live, winter and summer, in tents of rein-deer skins tanned. The Namollos winter in " baragais."

The Namollo race inhabit the shore of the sea from the bay of Koulioutschinskoï to the river Anadyr, that is, round the whole north-eastern promontory of Asia. Their villages, of six or seven huts or fewer, are dispersed at considerable distances. Lutké conjectured the number of adults to be about one thousand. The sea is their only source of subsistence: they eat seals, fish, dead whales cast on shore: they have dogs resembling the Kamtschatkan dog. They are a quiet timid race.

Both nations practice polygamy; they buy their wives, who perform hard work, but are much trusted and consulted by their husbands.

The national dances of the Tschuktschi are most disagreeable and indecent.

The Tschuktschi, like other Siberian nations, have the religion termed *shamanism.* The shamans cure diseases. Private persons, however, are allowed to sacrifice. The Tschuktschi sacrifice rein-deers and the Namollos dogs. "The only reason they gave for this practice is, that it was done with the same view as our signs of the cross and our aves." It was impossible to get any account of their ideas on religion, and probably they have no consistent system. They say that there are spirits in the heaven and in the water: that men go to heaven after death, and that the good are there more happy than the bad.

The Namollos have constant communication with the Americans on the opposite coast, whom they call Enkarngaoulé. The Tschuktschi go to fairs in the winter, where they trade with the Russians.

The Koriaks have the same language as the Tschuktschi, and are precisely the same people, except that they are more dirty.*

The Tschuktschi and the Koriaks, according to inter-

* From Voy. Autour du Monde, executé par ordre de l'Emp. Nich. I., par F. Lutké, Paris, 1835.

preters, speak exactly the same language, except that the former have a harsher and more rapid utterance. This language is not disagreeable. It has few guttural sounds, but abounds in *krl*, *tschl*, *tschkh*, in which it resembles the language of the Kolushi. We have as yet too little acquaintance with the idioms of the north-western American nations and the language of the Tschuktschi to form any decided opinion as to their affinity. It seems, indeed, from Klaproth's collection, that the Tschuktschi have many words in their language of Asiatic, and principally of Ugrian or Finnish origin.

On the whole it appears that the Namollos are of the same stock with the Esquimaux, and it is not improbable that they may be a remnant of the parent stock of that widely-extended race. The nomadic Tscha-úk-thú and Koriaks so nearly resemble some of the other American races as to render it very desirable to pursue further this comparison. It seems not improbable that some of the Kolushian or Ugalyachmutzian tribes may thus be traced to an Asiatic origin. Perhaps M. Erman will throw some light upon this subject when the remaining parts of his interesting "Reise um die Erde" shall be published. He seems to have been struck with many analogies in characteristic traits between some of the nations of north-eastern Asia and the tribes of people whom he afterwards saw about Sitka and the Russian settlements in north-western America.

Paragraph 2.—Of the Aleutian Islanders.

The natives of the long chain of islands which traverse the ocean to the southward of Behring's Straits and almost unite the two continents, may be described either in connection with the inhabitants of Asia or with those of the New World. In the latter relation they are more interesting, as the inquiry into their history may seem likely to throw some light on the population of America. I shall at present touch but briefly upon this subject.

These islands, often termed the Eastern Islands, are

represented by Sablowsky, the geographer of the Russian empire, as consisting of the following five groupes :—

1.—The Aleutian Islands, properly so named, including Behring's and Copper Islands and the three other Aleutian Islands. 2.—The Rat Islands or Krüssii Ostrowa. 3.—The Andreanovkian Islands, fourteen in number. 4.—The Fox Islands or Lissii Ostrowa, twelve, including Kodyak and Unalashka. 5.—The Pribülowümi Islands, lying northward of the two last-mentioned groupes.

Vater had in his possession many collections illustrative of the language of these islands of which he has given an account in his additions to the "Mithridates." "The whole results of a comparison of these different languages," says Professor Vater, "must be reserved for another occasion; but I must not omit to observe, that the variation between them is not so great as to prevent our tracing the extension of one and the same race of people through all these islands along the American coast, and even among the Greenlanders and Esquimaux, a ramification of which the commencement is to be sought among the Tschuktschi." In confirmation of this opinion he adds a comparative vocabulary collected from the most authentic sources, in the language of the Tschuktschi, or rather that of the Namollos, the Aleutian islanders properly so termed, that of Kodyak, of the Tschugazzi on the north-western coast of America, the Kolushi further southward, a people who, as we shall hereafter observe, differ much from the Esquimaux, and display marks of relationship to the Aztecan or Mexican race, lastly, those of the Esquimaux and Greenlanders. These observations, as Vater remarks, tend considerably to detract from the evidence of that opinion which severs so completely the languages and races of the two great continents.*

I shall not enter into any further account of this race. Suffice it to say for the present that they resemble in most points the Namollos, already described, and that their physical type does not appear to deviate much from that character which we have found to prevail extensively among the nations of the northern Asiatic coast.

* Nachtraege zu dem ersten Theil des Mithridates, s. 250.

A Chinese

CHAPTER XVIII.

HISTORY OF THE CHINESE AND INDO-CHINESE NATIONS.

SECTION I.—*General Survey.—Countries inhabited by these nations.*

IN the south-eastern border of the Old Continent beyond the reach of Indian arts and literature, beyond the utmost verge on which the light of Indo-European science and philosophy diffused its rays, is the cradle and immemorial abode of a peculiar groupe of nations, who boast a civilisation of their own, a developement and cultivation of intellect according to their own singular and remarkable method, a growth of arts and knowledge and religion independent and indigenous, deriving nothing from the aid of foreigners, either in the earlier or later ages of the world. Almost as separate from the central countries of Asia, though cut off by no intervening sea, as were the civilised nations of Anahuac and Peru, the Chinese lived under the patriarchal rule of great and powerful emperors long before the name of their land or people had been heard in Europe, and for centuries afterwards they were only known as the possessors of the country which produced the most splendid of the manufactures of the East. The Seres of Greek and Roman poets were a people of almost fabulous existence who, otherwise barbarians, disdained the clothing of wool and skins, and wrought from flowers of the earth the admired fabrick of silk. They are thus described by the poetical geographer :—

——— ἔθνεα βάρβαρα Σηρῶν
οὔτε βόας μὲν ἀναίνονται καὶ ἴφια μῆλα,
ἀιόλα δὲ ξαίνοντες ἐρήμης ἄνθεα γαίης,
εἵματα τεύχουσιν πολυδαίδαλα, τιμήεντα,
εἰδόμενα χροιῇ λειμωνίδος ἄνθεσι ποίης.
κείνοις οὐτι κεν ἔργον ἀραχνάων ἐρίσειεν.

Perieg. 755.

——— The barbarous tribes of Seres use
Nor oxen hides, nor wool of fatted ewes;
They weave sweet flow'rets of the desert-earth
Of finest texture and of richest worth,—
Robes bright of hue as flowers which deck the mead,
Of finer texture than the spider's thread.

There are many common characteristics which serve as connecting bonds between all the races belonging to the groupe which we term Chinese and Indo-Chinese nations. There is a certain conformity in their manners and moral disposition, the result perhaps of their long mutual intercourse, and of the circumstance that they all partake more or less of the same system of culture and moral developement. There is a like analogy in their bodily conformation: the physical character of the people of High Asia seems in them softened down and modified, though not passing, except in individual examples,—of which, however, there are many,—into the European type. But above all, they are united by their languages, which, if not all cognate in the fullest sence of the term, belong at least to a single groupe, and that one very strongly marked: these dialects constitute the family of monosyllabic languages. All these circumstances justify our bringing together the Chinese and Indo-Chinese nations under one head, and we shall describe them as one class, but must first survey the geographical limits and nature of the region which gives them birth.

Striking features in the physical geography of Asia mark the region which is inhabited by these nations. They may be said to possess the south-eastern corner of the great plateau of High Asia as well as the lower regions spread out below and beyond it into the southern and eastern seas. Into these lower regions they may be conjectured to have made their way from an earlier abode in the high plains or

in the mountainous terrasses which surround it, since there is a common point of departure, whence the channels of great rivers and the paths afforded by long vallies lead out in all these directions, while the national resemblance of the several races indicates their probable dispersion from some common point. The great south-eastern angle of the Himálaya is the principal mountainous elevation of the whole central Upland of Asia. The system of mountains which stretches to the northward of Hindústan is supposed to widen as it tends towards the East. At the place where it is pierced by the channel of the Indus the breadth of the mountain-chain is computed to be five degrees.* Further eastward, in the meridian of H'Lassa, it is estimated at ten degrees. Its extreme corner towards the south-east touches upon the Gulph of Tunquin, and under that meridian the breadth of the mountain-land reaches, according to Ritter's computation, fifteen degrees.

In order to obtain some idea of the connection of this system of mountains with the physical geography of China we must follow Ritter in his analysis of the notices obtained by Klaproth from Chinese works on the rivers and mountains of that empire. According to Ritter's view it seems that the three branches into which the Himálaya is represented as divided in Tibet, unite themselves near the eastern limits of that country into a connected and almost unbroken aggregate of mountains, which towards the south-east covers a great part of the province of Yunnan, and further northward, from the hilly tracts of the Si-fan, sends numerous branches into the central provinces of

* This is the result which Professor Ritter obtained from a most careful comparison of the geographical information obtained by Klaproth from Chinese geographers, compared with notices furnished by Humboldt from different sources. According to this representation the Himálayan chain divides, in Western Tibet, into three branches, the Khor-chain, which runs northwards to Tengri-Nor and connects itself with the Kuenlun,—this appears to be the chain termed Karakorum by Moorcroft; and secondly, the Dzang, which runs along the northern bank of the Dzang-bú or Brahmaputra, and finally sends its extreme branches into the Chinese province of Yunnan; and thirdly, the proper Himálaya.—See Ritter's Erdk. v As., 2, p. 414.

China, namely those of Su-tschuan and Kansu. From the mountainous centre of Si-fan issues also, according to Klaproth, the chain of Pe-ling or the Northern Mountains, from the southern declivity of which the river Ta-Kiang or Yang-tsi-kiang is represented as taking its rise.

The most interesting part of Chinese geography, in an historical point of view, is that of the north-western provinces of Schensi and Schansi and the tract reaching thence westward to the Blue Lake or Khú-khú-nór, in which is Ning-hia, where the Great Wall joins the Hoang-ho, and where is situated Si-ning, a place celebrated in ancient times as the frontier town between China and Tibet. The river Si-ning, flowing from the Blue Lake, joins here the stream of the Hoang-ho coming from the south, and here begins the great sinuous bending of that river which encircles the whole territory of the Ordos Mongoles. Through Si-ning is the great path of communication between China and Tibet, and likewise the only way into Turkistan or the countries of Hami and Turfan. By this path many a barbarous invader has assailed the empire before the time of Tschingghis-khan, in the history of whose wars this is an important position. This, according to Ritter, is the region described by Marco Polo under the name of Ten-duch, through which that traveller entered China, and through the same quarter it may be conjectured that the Chinese race first made their way into the provinces immediately subjacent, and which were the original nucleus of the empire, and the province where the people first attained civilisation and superiority over the barbarous tribes whom in later periods they subdued.

The Khú-khú-nór or Blue Lake lies to the north-east of Tibet, to the westward of the Chinese province of Kansu, in 37° north latitude. The land of Katschi, as yet little known, or Khor-katchi, so termed from the Mongolians who inhabited it, called in Tibet Khor, lies to the west of the Khú-kúh-nór, between the boundaries of Northern Tibet and Southern Turkistan. Here the Kuenlun divides both the countries and the races of people, and under the name of

Nomkhan-Ubaschi penetrates as a vast mass of snowy mountains eastward into the Chinese province of Schensi, separating the domain of the Hoang-ho from that of the Ta-Kiang or the Great Kiang, the middle river of China. This system of mountains has also here the name of Kúlkún. Near to it, northward, is the parallel chain of Nau-schan, and to the southward that of Bayan-Khara or the Snowy Mountains of Si-fan. The whole of this mountainous tract is known under the name of the Land of the Thirteen Patriarchs and that of the Blue Lake. It is an important position in the geography of these countries, as being the point of connection between Si-fan, Tibet, Tangut, and China. The eastern part of it is the chain of Nan-shan, extending northward to form the high desert of Gobi, which has Turkistan to the west and Mongolia to the east, and reaches as far as Hami and Turfan.

The two great rivers of China, the Hoang-ho or Yellow River and the Ta-Kiang or Yang-tsi-kiang, which last traverses all the middle region of the empire, have both their origin not far from the mountains above named, which separate their contributory streams. Both are very important features in the geographical history of China. The Ta-Kiang was for many ages the southern boundary of the empire, which began in the north-western part and did not extend beyond the middle river for many ages.

The Indo-Chinese Peninsula, commonly termed India beyond the Ganges, is in its structure unlike the Peninsula of India, properly so termed, or the Dekhan. In the former no independent system of mountains forms the foundation of the land. The Indo-Chinese countries are a series of parallel mountain-chains and vallies which appear like a southern branching off from the Great Himálaya, and the great rivers, the Irawadi, the Mekon, and the Menam, flow down from the southern margin of the central Asiatic Upland. The whole region may be represented as a root springing from the Himálaya and advancing between the Bay of Bengal and the Gulph of Tunquin, and spreading southwards into the Indian Ocean in three separate parts, which terminate in promontories.

The divergence of its three principal tracts gives to the whole Peninsula a form which has been compared to a tripetalous flower. The exact geographical positions of the headlands belonging to each of these three sections have been but lately determined. The western division projecting into the Sea of Bengal, terminates in Cape Negrais or Pagoda Point, under the 15° 58′ north latitude: the long series of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands is the continuation of its principal mountain-chain. The easternmost section is much broader and reaches further towards the south, terminating in the Cape of Camboja, under the 8° 40′ north latitude, with the little projacent isle of Pulo Ubi. The middle part is prolonged into the peninsula of Malacca. The island of Sinkapore, lying before its headland, appears to form its proper termination, so that Cape Baros, the extremity of Sinkapore, situated (in 1° 15′ north latitude) scarcely more than one degree from the equator, may be considered as belonging to the continent of Asia, and as forming its extreme point towards the south; for Cape Baros is much nearer to the equator than Cape Comorin, which lies under the 8° 5′ north latitude, nearly in the same parallel with the headland of Camboja. The three sections of the Peninsula above described, terminated by the three headlands scarcely eight degrees in longitude distant from each other, are spread out in breadth, as we survey them from the north, both on the eastern and western side, so that the most advancing tract towards the east in the whole Peninsula, namely, the lofty Aravella, on the Cochin-Chinese coast, which presents to the Sea of China a front two thousand feet in height, lies nearly twenty degrees to the eastward of the coast of Arakan. The entire length of the great projecting land, which we may term the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, from the clusters of mountains or snow-covered chains which form its northern barrier to the southern point of Sinkapore, is estimated at four hundred geographical miles. The whole region has been considered as equal in extent to the entire west of Europe, cut off by a line passing from the bottom of the Adriatic to the south-western corner of the

Baltic, near Travemund, and containing all those nations who for two thousand years have swayed the destinies of the world.

Four great gulphs, penetrating from the Indian Ocean northwards far into the southern coast of the Asiatic Continent, separate the great Indo-Chinese Peninsula from the adjacent regions, and partially divide from each other its three departments. The Gulph of Tunquin and the Bay of Bengal cut off the whole from China and from western India: the Gulph of Siam and that of Martaban separate the two outermost sections of the land from the long middle promontory of Malacca.

The longitudinal form of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula is supported by nearly parallel chains of mountains which run, occasionally diverging, from north to south, and contain between them wide vallies and rivers equally long and flowing in nearly straight courses and in the same direction. The chains of hills and the rivers situated between them issue towards the south from a great transverse mountainous barrier, which crosses the back of the whole Peninsula, and is a part of the elevated margin of High Central Asia, and the last continuation of the Himálaya towards its fall into the Gulph of Tunquin. The chains we have described separate the entire territory of the Peninsula into parallel bands of low and habitable country. Each of these is found to have been the primitive abode of a particular race of men, and natural barriers thus mark out the limits of various languages and nations. As these chains, though of great extent and sometimes of considerable elevation, have no celebrated names, which are at least known in Europe, we must distinguish them by description and by the regions of which they form the boundaries.

1. The easternmost of these long mountain-chains runs from the north-west towards the south-east, behind and nearly parallel to the coast of Cochin China. It separates that country and Tunquin, which lies on its eastern side, from the countries of Laos and Camboja on the west. Its source is probably in the Alpine land of Yunnan, between

the fountains of the Song-ka or Tunquin River on the east, and the upper course of the Mae-khaün or Me-kong, which, flowing to the westward of this chain towards the south in a nearly straight direction, waters first the country of Laos, and lower down traverses the extensive plains of Camboja. From the cultivated valley of Tunquin the traveller must pass westward, a journey of many days, over the wild mountainous tracts of this chain, before he reaches the country of the Laos. This chain of mountains which takes its rise in Yunnan, and which may be termed the Cochin-Chinese Mountains, has scarcely been seen by Europeans on its eastern side: the western declivity is a vast wilderness inhabited by a particular race termed Moi or Ke-moi. Beyond them towards the valley of the Me-kong, we find, in the northern parts, the race of Laos or Laú, and in the southern plains of Camboja the race of Khòh-men or Cambojans.

2. The second chain of mountains which runs down southwards from the snowy heights of Yunnan, nearly parallel to the former chain, separates the wide valley of the Cambojan river Mae-khaün or Me-kong from that of the Siamese river Menam. It has on one side the countries of Laos and Camboja, and on the other the valley or kingdom of Siam. In the middle parts of this mountain-chain are the wildernesses inhabited by the barbarous Kas or Penongs, and further southward the territories of the equally uncivilised Tschong. Still further towards the south this mountain-chain sinks into the low country of Martaban and the Gulph of Siam.

3. The Siamese mountain-chain, or that which lies to the westward of Siam and between that country and Ava, and separates the valley of the Menam from that of the river of Martaban, is the third great southward-running chain of the Peninsula. It rises from the northward in Yunnan, runs almost directly southward towards the peninsula of Malacca, where it sinks about the eleventh degree of north latitude near the isthmus of Krah, and there the peninsula of Malacca, or rather the Malayan mountain-chain, is considered to take its rise.

4. The Malayan mountain-chain is in some sort a continuation of the Siamese chain, though it assumes a different direction and runs somewhat more to the south-east rather than from north to south. This chain supports the peninsula, or rather promontory, of Malacca.

The Siamese mountain-chain already mentioned has on its western side the valley of the river Saluaen which flows into the Gulph of Martaban. Beyond this river to the westward is

6. The mountain-chain which separates the valley of the Saluaen from that of the Irawadi: it is the boundary-chain of the empires of Siam and of Burmah. To the westward of this chain, through the country of Ava, flows the river Irawadi, one of the principal streams of the Peninsula; it is supposed to take its rise in the border of Tibet, but its upper course is unknown: to the southward of Ava it flows through Pegu, is said to form many junctions with other rivers of inferior extent, and enters the sea by a delta to the eastward of the Gulph of Martaban. In its middle course this river flows through the cultivated plains of Ava and Umerapura.

7. Further to the westward is the mountain-chain of Arakan, which extends behind the coast bearing that name, nearly parallel to the sea-border, and terminates to the southward in Cape Negrais. It runs northwards to the mountainous countries of Manipur, from the southern branches of which flows the river of Arakan, the Koladyng, the seventh and last of the great parallel streams of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula.

Section II.—*On the sources of Chinese history.*

The Chinese, as it is well known, lay claim, like other eastern nations, to an almost unfathomable antiquity. These extravagant pretensions have been proved by European critics to rest on no solid foundation, and they have even been discarded by some of the Chinese writers. But the real antiquity of the Chinese history is generally

allowed by the best informed persons to reach as far back as that of most other national records of the ancient world. The art of printing is of early date in China. Duhalde placed its origin during the reigns of the dynasty of the later Thang, between 926 and 933 of the Christian era, Mr. Morrison in 935. M. Abel-Rémusat, who maintained that Morrison used an erroneous calculation in his chronological table of Chinese history,* says, that the text of the Chinese annals assigns the year answering to A.D. 952 as the true epoch of the invention of typography in China, and of the printing of the first edition of the "Nine Kings" or "Scriptures" by means of wooden types. During the reign of the Yuan or the Mongolian dynasty over China in the thirteenth century some famous Chinese historians flourished, among whom was Ma-touan-lin, compiler of the "Wen hian thoung k'hao,"† an encyclopædia of history, politics, antiquities, and literature. The author is said to have spent twenty years in composing this great work, which contained a compendium of all that had been done and acquired in China from the foundation of the monarchy to the year 1224 of the Christian era. To this collection M. Abel-Rémusat and Klaproth refer as their principal guide in Chinese history. But many more ancient works exist, and the original annals of the Han dynasty, who began to reign more than two centuries before the Christian era, have been lately translated into an European language,

* Sur l'inexactitude des dates de la table de M. Morrison, Journal des Savans, Nov. 1818,—Abel-Rémusat, Nouv. Mélanges Hist., tom. 1, p. 208.

† Meaning "Recherche approfondie des anciens monumens." In the second volume of Abel-Rémusat's "Mélanges Historiques" the author has given biographical sketches, with critical comments, on the works of the principal Chinese historians, Sse-ma-thsian, Ma-touanlin, and others. The "Wen kian thoung k'hao" was known to the learned Visdelou, the first of the Jesuit missionaries who made himself acquainted with Chinese literature; and it was his principal source of information in the composition of his great work on the history of Tartary. This work, consisting of four volumes quarto, after it was sent to Europe, remained unknown in manuscript for many years, in which state Abel-Rémusat supposes that it was consulted by De Guignes, and was his guide in exploring the history of the Hiong-nú. It was published in the later edition of the "Bibliothèque Orientale" of D'Herbelot.—Mélange Hist., 2, p. 248.

namely, the Russian, by the archimandrite Hyacinth. The contemporary annals of China commence with the "Tschan-tseu" of Confucius, or the "Records of his own times." The oldest documents are brief and meagre, and contain texts scarcely intelligible. They have been elucidated and commented upon by various annotators of later times. The commentaries of Koung-chi are among the most famous; still more celebrated are those of Sse-ma-thsian, who has been styled the Chinese Herodotus.* Sse-ma-thsian lived about ninety-four years before the Christian era. He collected all that remained of the early Chinese history in his time, which is said to have been but fragments, the first emperor of all China, Shi-hoang-ti, who reigned before Christ two hundred and thirteen years, having purposely destroyed all the previously-existing documents that came within his reach.

Since the contemporary annals of China begin not more than five centuries and a half before the Christian era, it is plain that for the history of earlier times we must rely on oral traditions. An attempt has been made to give the earlier portions a more authentic appearance by connecting them with a series of astronomical observations. Duhalde declared that the ancient Chinese annals recorded thirty-six eclipses of the sun in times antecedent to the death of Confucius. Of these, he says, only two have been found to be erroneous. One of the observations recorded was made, according to Gaubil, two thousand one hundred and fifty-five years before Christ. The younger De Guignes called in question these accounts. According to him, the supposed astronomical records are merely certain texts of Confucius misunderstood or wilfully misrepresented by later commentators.† But De Guignes himself allows that eclipses were observed and the observation handed down with some degree of precision, from seven

* Mémoire sur l'état politique et réligieuse de la China, 2300 ans avant notre ère, selon le Chou king, par M. Kurz, Nouv. Journ. Asiatique, p. 402, et suiv.

† Reflexions sur les anciennes observations astronomiques des Chinois et sur l'état de leur empire dans les temps les plus réculés, par M. de Guignes, fils. Lues à l'Institut de France.—Malte-Brun, Ann. des Voyages, tom. 8.

hundred and twenty-two years before our era, or nearly two centuries before Confucius. De Guignes brought forward a series of strong objections against the credibility of the early Chinese history. He has been however powerfully opposed and, according to M. Abel-Rémusat, fully refuted by Klaproth, who supported the opinions maintained by the Abbé Grosier, in the preliminary discourse prefixed to his "Description Générale de la Chine." Klaproth endeavoured to prove that De Guignes mistook the meaning of the texts which he cited from the Shu-king and other ancient books. But before these writers, Father Amiot had, in the opinion of Rémusat, "*victoriously replied to all the difficulties brought forward against the ancient history of the Chinese empire*, which were chiefly founded on the reported destruction of historical records by Shi-hoang-ti, the rarity of monuments, the chronology of the Shu-king, and the condition of China in the time of the patriarch Yao."* However improbable it may seem that the Chinese had historical accounts worthy of credit, reaching back twenty-two centuries before our era, that opinion has been firmly maintained, not only by older writers, such as Gaubil, Frêret, the fathers Mailla, Amiot, and the elder De Guignes, but even by later writers, men of sound judgement and great critical sagacity, such as Klaproth, Abel-Rémusat, and Neumann. By the last-mentioned of these writers, who is professor of Chinese literature at Munich, and well known as a man deeply versed in many parts of eastern literature, Yao, the eighth in the series of Chinese emperors, recorded in the traditionary tables of the monarchy, is considered as a really historical personage. Yao is the first monarch mentioned in the Shu-king. His reign is computed by M. Neumann to have commenced two thousand three hundred and fifty-seven years before Christ.† Abel-Rémusat says, without hesitation, that the Chinese history goes back *with certainty* to the twenty-

* Mélanges Historiques, l. cit.

† Coup d'œil Historique, &c., par M. le Professeur Neumann à Munich.—Nouv. Jour. Asiat., tom. 14, p. 50.

second century before our era, and that traditions,—"qui n'ont rien de méprisable,"—allow us to date its commencement four centuries earlier, in the year 2637 before Christ, in the sixty-first year of the emperor Hoang-ti.* In this M. de Rémusat follows Sse-ma-thsian, who reckons Hoang-ti as the first real sovereign. He is, however, only the third in the collections of Duhalde, in which Fohi stands as the first.

It seems from all that has been said, that there is a nearly uniform consent among the best informed students of Chinese literature favourable to the authenticity of Chinese history as far back as twenty-two or twenty-three centuries before the Christian era. This must be considered as implying merely the real existence of the personages whose names have been handed down and the reality of the principal events recorded. Accuracy of details or any correct account of the lapse of time can hardly be thought compatible with the preservation of merely oral traditions during fifteen centuries, for written contemporary archives begin with Confucius, between five and six centuries before our era. The highest degree of credit that the early relations can deserve is nearly of the same kind as that which we give to the primitive history of the Greeks a thousand or fifteen hundred years before the commencement of written documents. It does not appear however that China possessed a series of national poems comparable to the Homeric and other heroic poems of Greece, which supply in some degree the want of written archives, and in so far the history of China is less credible than that of Greece.

Section III.—*Of the History of the Chinese.*

Paragraph 1—Primitive Traditions of China.

The primitive history of China, contained in the earliest records of that country, commences with a series of legends or mythical tales, but mythical tales of a particular kind,

* Mélanges Historiques, tom. 1, p. 66.

forming a chapter in the history of human fictions, and, in that point of view, not without interest. The primitive legends of China turn not on heroic atchievements or war-like exploits like those of Hercules or of Jason, nor do they display the romantic and highly imaginative style in which the Hindoos delighted. The Chinese appear ever the same plodding, utilitarian people as they now are, and that even in their primitive mythos. The people emerge from barbarism by the express order of their mighty emperors. One of these early patriarchs is said to have discovered the use of fire by rubbing two sticks together. One emperor teaches his subjects the use of iron and invents for them the artifice of the *Koua* or knotted cords, by means of which, as in Mexico, the memory of events was kept alive during ages that preceded the knowledge of hieroglyphics. Monarchs discourse with their ministers of state about the expediency of discovering the art of fishing and fowling, or issue to their courtiers commands for the first making of ploughs and tilling the earth. Yao laments before his ministers the calamities occasioned by a deluge, and asks their advice in appointing engineers to restrain the inundation of waters.*

Notwithstanding the absurd style of representation with which the poetical archives of China are decorated, a careful analysis of their contents seems to bring out facts which bear the appearance of truth, and carry with them the evidence of their authenticity. The historical import of the early legends of the Chinese represents that people as a tribe of barbarous nomades, destitute of the most simple arts of life, and roving about in the forests of Shensi, at

* Chinese scholars remark a peculiar grace and simplicity in the ancient stories contained in the "Shu-king." M. Abel-Rémusat has remarked on the beauty of the passage here referred to, and M. Kurz has translated it into German. The following is the exact sense of M. Kurz's version :—

> The monarch said, Alas for you! from hills
> All over-flowing, high the waters rise,
> On all sides ruin bringing. Rolling themselves away,
> They rush round the mountains, they over-flow the hills :
> Higher and higher raging, they storm against the sky.
> The unhappy people bewail.
>
> M. H. Kurz, Nouv. Jour. Asiatique, tom. 5, p. 412.

the feet of the high mountains of the Tibetan border, without settled dwellings, clothed in skins, ignorant even of fire, and feeding on insects and roots, in a state hardly less abject than that of Bushmen and Australian savages.* Yao, the first monarch with whom the improvement of China began, resided in a north-western district of the present empire, at Phing-yang-fou, in the province of Shansi.† His kingdom extended but to a very small part of the present empire. Its inhabitants carried on wars against the Yen, in Pĕ-chĕ-li, and the Tsi, in Shan-tong, and after a long period succeeded in extending their power over Honan. Even in the time of Confucius, five centuries and a half before Christ, the "vangs" or princes of the Chinese, as the sovereigns were called during the dynasty of the Tcheou (instead of "hoang-ti" or emperor), had not extended their power to the southward of the Ta-kiang, and all the region beyond that great river, including more than half the Chinese empire, was still inhabited by barbarous races. The "Tschan-tseu" of Confucius, or annals of his own times, with which contemporary records commence, relate the wars of the northern states among themselves, or with the barbarians to the southward of the Ta-kiang and in the province of Su-chuan.‡ In these contests the kings of Tsin at length prevailed, and, having in a long course of wars reduced six other nations under their power, established the dynasty which bears their name, and is in fact the first of the Chinese empire properly so termed. Shi-hoang-ti, or the first emperor, as his name seems to import,§ laid the foundation of the Great Wall of China, sent a colony to Japan, and conquered the barbarous mountaineers of the country of Nan-king. Under the following dynasty, which was that of the powerful and celebrated Han, the wild nations who

* Duhalde, tom. 1.

† Coup d'œil Hist., ubi supra.

‡ Mr. Davis's Memoir concerning the Chinese. Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. 1.

§ Davis, ibid.

threatened the northern frontier of China, particularly the Hiong-nú, were reduced to submission, and the emperors of China asserted that supremacy among the nations of Eastern Asia which they have ever since maintained, rather by policy and the vast extent of domain and population than by valour or fortune in arms.

Paragraph 2.—Of the History of the Chinese, Origin, Language, and Moral Characteristics of the people.

The Chinese race claim no national appellation serving to distinguish them from people of foreign blood. China is generally named either from the ruling dynasty or by some significant epithet, as by that of Kue-shin, the Middle Kingdom. The Chinese race appears to have originally descended along the valley of the Hoang-ho, from the high countries situated to the northward of Shensi, in the plains of which province we first discover them in the dawning of history wandering with their herds and similar in their habits to the nomadic nations of high central Asia. As the Hindoos, who perhaps descended from the borders of the Himálaya into the lower countries of Hindústan, regard Maha Meru as the original centre of the world and the abode of heroes and demigods, so the Chinese point to the countries beyond their western frontier for the region of fable and romance, the cradle of mankind, and the abode of gods and heroes. The land of paradise of the Chinese is, according to Klaproth, the high region above the mountains of Kuenlun, called by the Mongolians Kúlkún, a region peopled, in the extravagant cosmography of the Chinese, with fabulous monsters of every shape, with birds and fishes having human heads, with winged men having the claws of birds and tails, or the feet of horses or oxen, with bodies headless having faces on their breasts.* Here dwelt the Centaurs and the Arimaspians of the Chinese. It was in this region that the patriarch Lao-tseu withdrew himself on a lofty

* Klaproth, Journal *Asiatique*, tom. 12, p. 233.

summit from the eyes of men.* The migration of the Chinese took place at an early, but unascertained period, probably somewhat more than two thousand years before the Christian era. Their first entrance into China is said to have been made through the territory of Kansu. This tradition is strongly confirmed by the fact, that some of the tribes inhabiting the plains of Tibet, and even the principal people of that country display indications in their language of a cognate origin with the Chinese. The preservation of this language through so many centuries, notwithstanding the repeated conquests by barbarous invaders which China has undergone is a remarkable fact. The great multitude of the population, joined to the peculiar changeless uniformity of their character, seems to have defended them from the influence of foreign idioms. It is probable that their language is essentially the same that was spoken in China some thousands of years ago. It has often been said that the Chinese language betrays no sign whatever of affinity or of resemblance, even in words, to any other in the world. But this remark is founded entirely on mistake. In the Kúanhúa or Mandarins' language, it has long been customary to admit no other final consonant than a nasal one, but the same words which end in a vowel, in this refined speech, terminate in the vulgar dialect in *b*, *k*, *l*, *m*, and *r*, and in this form, which is doubtless their original state, they often display striking resemblances to words in other Asiatic and European languages. The following are partly examples of this kind:—

Ma, in the popular dialect *mar*, *i.e.* horse; *mar*,—Mongol. and Mandschú, *mahre*—German, *march*—Celtic. *Kiuan*, dog, κυων, hound, *ku*,—Celtic, *shwan*, *shuna*,—Sanskrit. *Yan*, eye; *aïn*—Heb., *ank*—Indian of the Dekhan. *Kho*, river; *khor*—Avar, *khol*, *gol*—Mongol. *Po*, fool, *pog*—Lesgkï. *Mai*, to go; *meo*, *meare*—Lat. *Mien*, *mien*—Engl. and Ger. *Gĭ*, give. *Kiun*, king. *Mie*, honey; *mel*,

* Lao-tseu was a reformer of the sect of the Tao-sse, who adorned the worship of nature with the decorations of mythology, and who was held in respect even by his rival Confucius.

miel. *Kho*, living; *khaya*—Heb. *Chi*, sea. *Wang*, *wenig* —Ger. *Sā*, to sow, *saën*. *Se*, to *see*.

In the simplicity of its structure the Chinese language resembles, but even exceeds, the High Asiatic languages. It forms numbers and cases in the same manner, but, unlike them, it prefixes some of its particles, though by no means the majority.*

There is great variety in the idioms of different provinces of the Chinese empire. Dr. Leyden said, that the colloquial languages of China are more numerous than the Indo-Chinese tongues. He supposed them to be equally unconnected with each other.† We are informed by Timkouski‡ and by Gützlaff,§ that intercourse is carried on by means of interpreters between the northern Chinese and the people of the southern province of Fo-khian. But from a vocabulary given by Klaproth of one hundred and fifty words, besides the numerals, in several of the Chinese languages, spoken in provinces most remote from each other, it would appear that these numerous idioms are merely dialects of one mother tongue;‖ and this conclusion is confirmed by the assurance of one of the best-informed Chinese scholars. China, properly so termed, is, according to Professor Neumann, inhabited by a race of people speaking one language. "There exists," he says,

* Abel-Rémusat, Recherches sur les Langues Tartares.—Klaproth's Asia Polyglotta.

† Dr. Leyden enumerates sixteen Chinese dialects or languages, but he admits that his information was incomplete. Among these sixteen, one was the Fo-khian, which is called Chin-chew by the Chinese of Macao.—See Leyden on the languages and literature of the Indo-Chinese nations, in the tenth volume of the Asiatic Researches.

‡ Timkouski's Mission to Pekin.

§ Gützlaff's Voyages to China.

‖ Klaproth's Asia Polyglotta. The specimens given by Klaproth exemplify the Kúan-húa or Mandarin language, the dialect of Canton, the Hiang-shan, the Chin-chew or idiom of Fo-khian, and the dialects spoken by the Chinese resident both in India and in Japan. The Kúan-húa or Mandarin language is well known to be that of the "Five Kings" or sacred books of the Chinese. It is said to be nearly allied to the idiom of Kiang-nan, the province where the Chinese emperors chiefly resided previously to the conquest of the country by the Mandchú dynasty, and the dialect of which became the polite or court language of China.

"as we may readily suppose, many dialects in so great an empire: some of these," he adds, "differ as much from the polished dialect or Kúan-húa of the Middle Kingdom, as the Dutch and the Platt-deutsch differ from the High German; but with the exception of Tibetan tribes in the government of Su-chuan there is not a single indigenous horde which does not speak the Chinese language. We read indeed, in a description of the aboriginal tribes of the province of Koueï-tcheou, of which it is my intention soon to give a complete translation, that there are several among them who do not understand the Chinese. But this probably means nothing more than that the Miao-tseu, as these aboriginal people are termed, have no acquaintance with the written and embellished language which is used in the empire."

If, as Professor Neumann supposes, and his information is probably to be relied on, the Chinese dialects are all varieties of one language, and if the people who speak this one language are branches of one race, this is undoubtedly by far the most numerous race of men in the world; it is more numerous than all the Indo-European nations taken collectively. But the number of tribes subjected to the moral influence and peculiar culture of China is still greater. As M. Neumann observes, "the civilisation and mental culture proper to the Middle Kingdom have been spread far beyond the limits of China, towards the east and west, the north and south. Nations, in language and origin foreign to China, have paid, and still pay, it homage. The laws and customs, the scriptures, and other works of Chinese literature, are found in Korea and among the neighbouring Mandchúrian and Tungusian tribes, from the snowy chain of Chunyan-alin, to the northward of Korea, to the country beyond the Saghalian-oula or Amour. Japan, and other islands of the eastern seas, as Lieou-khieou, Formosa, Cochin-China, and Laos, belong to the vast empire of Chinese civilisation. This influence spread far, during the eighth and ninth, as well as during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, over the nations of Eastern Asia. The policy of the Celestial Empire pre-

serves among the conquered nations their own laws and own institutions, yet the Mongoles and Turks of Central and Northern Asia, living under the Chinese dominion, experience not less than did their ancestors, subdued by the earlier dynasties, the influence of the superior culture of China. We cannot however reckon the Mongoles, the Turks of Little Bokharia, and the Tibetans, within the domain of the Chinese system of culture. These nations, though politically united to China, belong morally to the dominion of Buddhism or of Islàm; but according to a probable estimate, says M. Neumann, the civilisation of China comprehends within the sphere of its influence four hundred millions of the human race."

I cannot better conclude this survey than by citing some striking observations of M. Neumann on the moral characteristics of the Chinese race.

The characteristic feature of Chinese civilisation, as Professor Neumann thinks, is that it has no history. "As the armed Pallas leaped at once from the head of Jupiter, so the wisdom and mental culture of China displays itself completely developed at the origin of the nation. It has maintained a character unchangeable by the lapse of ages, and in the midst of all the convulsions which the empire has undergone. The wisdom of Yao and Shun has survived twenty-six dynasties, which have reigned through a period of four thousand years; and it has been strong enough to resist all the revolutionary attempts of emperors and of conquerors greedy of innovation, and even the zeal for conversion which animated heretofore the preachers of Buddhism, as it has hitherto resisted the pious and ardent efforts of Christian missionaries. The art of the legislator has consisted not only in the perfecting of the law, but in inspiring the Chinese people with a persisting conviction of their own superiority, and that the barbarous nations before they can be worthy of the name of men must learn to be Chinese. They disdain to change the laws of their ancestors consecrated by the veneration of antiquity: for China was a civilised country at an era when in the west there was not yet a state organised for the security of its members."

"Prophets," says M. Neumann, "have never made their appearance in China. All its institutions proceed from men, and are calculated for temporal good. The Chinese were the utilitarians of the ancient world. It is not in flying from the world and giving themselves to penance and mortification in lonely forests, like the Hindoos, that the Chinese obtain the favour of their gods, but in patient endurance in the midst of society, in obedience to the laws and observances of their ancestors. What the Chinese cannot comprehend with their natural understanding exists not for them, and is an object of their derision. The system of philosophy attributed to Lao-tseu, but which appears to be really much more ancient, has not found an echo in the hearts of the Chinese nation. The 'Book of Reason and of Virtue,' which is the principal scripture of the Lao-tseuan sect, is filled with ideas which are recognised in India. Lao-tseu was an enemy of simple notions,—a sentiment of the nothingness of terrestrial and changing objects penetrated his mind. Self-examination, research into the nature of the soul and the origin of thought, were, according to him, the proper occupations of reflective beings. Such a teacher was hardly fitted for the Chinese, living in the midst of sensual enjoyment. The practical moral of Confucius, who in his youth visited Lao-tseu when old, is not a religious system: it was professedly directed solely to the improvement of social order, not by new institutions, but by restoring the primitive laws of the ancient empire of China. The studies of his school accordingly comprehended history, antiquities, natural philosophy, laws. We cannot affirm that Confucius did not recognise a being all-powerful, superior to nature, and governing it; but certain it is that his writings contain no express admission of this fundamental doctrine of all religion and all philosophy. If his disciples conversed on immaterial nature, Confucius was profoundly silent. He reprimanded one of his pupils, who showed some curiosity as to invisible things, by asking him if he had yet learnt fully to know things visible and perceptible. According to the ideas of the Chinese a deity is superfluous. Nature, apathetic and indifferent, is ruled by the vices

and virtues of men. Is the emperor really the father of his people: the seasons regularly follow their beneficial course; rich harvests fill the barns, and domestic virtues spread peace and happiness through the land. Pestilence and dearth appear under the sway of a cruel tyrant. Filial obedience is the principle of government: in no other country is the respect of children for their parents more prevalent. They are honoured even after their death; a place in each house is sacred to their manes, where offerings are made to them. The literature and intellectual culture of the nation are principally confided to this school. The disciples of Lao-tseu and of Buddha have indeed acquired a considerable number of partisans. These sectaries have also canonical books; but those of Buddha belong properly to the literature of India, and are confined to the doctrines of Buddhistical theology. The scriptures of Lao-tseu comprehend all branches of science. Not only their philosophy and physics are entirely different from those of the Confucians, but they have a peculiar mythology and a natural history, which differ from those generally received in China. The origin of the Chinese empire, its civilisation and primitive history are drawn by them from the works of Lōpy, a learned follower of Lao-tseu, who lived in the twelfth century of our era. Their contents are strikingly different from those of the 'Y-king' or sacred scriptures of the Confucians."

SECTION IV.—*Of the aborigines of China, Sifan, Lolos, and Miao-sse.*

The successors of Shi-hoang-ti subdued the native inhabitants of all China to the southward of the Ta-Kiang, but this was a slow and gradual process. Independent nations continued for many ages to resist the arms of the imperial realm in the provinces of Su-chuan and Yunnan, and even at the present day there are many extensive regions of mountain and forest where the aboriginal inhabitants preserve their liberty after a struggle of many

centuries. They frequently revolt, and the Chinese annals contain many accounts of wars waged by the imperial arms against the mountaineers. It is said that Tching-tsong or Timour, sixth prince of the Mongolian dynasty descended from Tschingghis-khan who governed China about eighty years, divided the southern province of the empire between chieftains whose tenure was the condition of keeping in check the barbarous aborigines. The province of Yunnan most frequently suffered from their revolts.

The aboriginal races who formerly opposed the Chinese and gradually gave way to their ascendency, are termed by historians the Sifan, the Lolos, and the Miao or Miao-sse. Although often mentioned in the history of the empire, there is a great want of correct information respecting them.

Paragraph 2.—The Sifan.

The Sifan (from *Si*, the west, and *Fan*, stranger) are tribes of mountaineers who inhabit the alpine countries to the westward of the Chinese provinces of Shensi and Su-chuan, situated near the upper course of the tributary streams of the Yellow and Blue rivers.* The name is indefinitely applied to many nations who may be of distinct races. It is first known in Chinese history in the time of the Thang dynasty, when, A.D. 634, a king of the Sifan is mentioned in the annals of the empire, and the number of hordes of which the nation consisted was not less than nine hundred. Three centuries afterwards, under the Song, they became vassals of the empire, and are distinguished by the term "Tufan." By the Mongolian emperor of China, Kublai-khan, their country was reduced, and forts and garrisons established in various parts which that monarch subjected to the authority of the Dalai Lama of Tibet. He established viceroys over them under the usual title of "vang," and ordered tribute to be sent from the Sifan by two roads into Shensi and Su-chuan, which

* Père Amiot, Traduct. du Chinois.—Departement des Lieux appellés Si-fan. —Mem. concernant l'histoire, &c. des Chinois, Paris, 1789.—Ritter's Erdkunde, 3, 501.

were the only practicable entrances into China over the lofty and elsewhere impassable mountain-chain, the snow-clad Siue-Ling. The famous western city of China, Si-ning, is considered as the entrance from, or out-post into, the country of the Sifan, and thither a tribute of three thousand five hundred horses was annually brought, the only wealth of the Sifan consisting in their herds. They have large flocks of sheep and live in tents, which being yellow or black give names to the two divisions of the race into Yellow and Black Sifan. The latter are the least civilised. They were visited by Father Regis, who described them as of a swarthy complexion, dressed like the Turkish people of Hami. The women wear their hair in tresses hanging down on their shoulders, full of little brass pins. They inhabit a country abounding with "frightful mountains, whose tops are covered with snow even in July." They cultivate rhubarb in great quantities, which they barter with the Chinese. According to the accounts collected by the missionaries, the two divisions of the Sifan have different languages, but it is supposed that the diversity is only of dialect. In the works of Amiot and others there are abundant details respecting the history of the Sifan, but nothing illustrative of their physical history.

Paragraph 3.—Of the Miao or Miao-sse* or Miao-tseu.

The Miao are various tribes of people scattered through several Chinese provinces, namely, those of Su-chuan, Koei-tscheon, Hou-quang, and Quang-si, and upon the frontiers of Quang-tong. These tribes differ in customs and, as Duhalde says, in some small variety of their lan-

* The "Shu-king" mentions barbarous tribes, which it terms "the *Man* and the *Y*." A scholiast on the "Shu-king" suggests the inquiry, whether the "Man and the Y" were the same people as the Miao-sse, now dwelling in the middle province of China? The reply added to this inquiry is, that there is no extant tradition on the subject, and consequently the problem cannot be solved.—M. Kurz, in Nouv. Jour. As., 6, 426. This is from the Chinese scholiast on the "Shu-king," but M. Klaproth finds no difficulty in the question, Who were the Man? He says, after speaking very contemptuously of Mr Morrison, "Les Pa Man ou huit Man sont les anciens habitans de la Chine

guage. "In many districts they are reduced under the power of the Chinese, and the conquered Miao have become a part of the Chinese nation, still differing only in dress. The unconquered Miao-sse live in valleys under their own chieftains: they cultivate the soil and feed flocks: they are fond of music and dancing, and appear to be a more lively people than the Chinese, who have never been able entirely to reduce them. They have not adopted the religion of the Lama, but still remain devoted to the superstition which appears to have been the primitive one in all eastern Asia, namely, that termed 'Shamanism.' The Chinese give them a bad character, and say they are all thieves: but Father Regis, and the missionaries who accompanied him in making a map of their country, formed a different opinion, and thought them simple and honest."

It is much to be regretted that we have no particulars illustrative of the physical characters of this numerous people, who appear to be spread over a great part of China, of which they were probably the original inhabitants. They may be supposed, from the information given, to be principally of one race. The missionaries understood from some of the conquered Miao with whom they conversed, that the tribes dwelling in Su-chuan and to the west of Houquang and the north of Koei-tscheou speak the same language with some difference of dialect. Towards Li-ping-fou the speech of the Miao is intermixed with Chinese. There are some tribes towards the north whose speech is not understood by the Miao of other districts.*

As it is said that the subdued Miao differ in no respect except in dress from the Chinese, it would appear probable that the Miao are a race in physical characters similar to the Chinese; but we want information on this subject,

méridionale, avant que cette contrée fût soumise à l'empire, et colonisée par des tribus parlans Chinois. Encore aujourd'hui on appelle Man-tsu, les Chinois des provinces au sud de la longue chaîne des monts Nan-king, qui traverse l'empire depuis le Yun-nan j'usqu'au Fou-kiau. Marco Polo et Raschid Eddîn appellent la Chine méridionale *Manzi*." From this it would appear that the Man is only another name for the Miao.—See Klaproth's Second Letter, &c., Nouv. Jour. Asiatique, tom. 8, p. 418.

* Duhalde, variis locis.

and it is much to be desired that some specimens of their language could be procured. Much curiosity was excited at Canton in 1833 by the appearance of two singularly built vessels, which came down the river, bringing from the interior a number of mountaineers of very remarkable dress and appearance: they were strongly-built men, and of very different aspect from the Chinese of Canton: their heads were not shaven, but their hair was fastened together in knots and covered with a sort of turban. They were accompanied by interpreters, and appeared to have business with the Chinese mandarins. Ritter has conjectured that these were probably a party of the subdued Miao-sse.*

Whether the Miao are of a race entirely distinct from the Chinese or a branch of the same stock, there are as yet no data which determine. The latter would seem to be the opinion of Professor Neumann, as may be collected from some remarks of his, which will be cited in the following section.

Paragragh 3.—Of the Lolos.

The Lolos are the ancient inhabitants of the great province of Yunnan, in the south-eastern tract of China, adjoining the mountains of Laos and Tunkin. They were governed by chieftains of their own, whom the Chinese were unable to conquer, but reduced to a nominal or feudal obedience by giving them the titles and rank of Chinese mandarins. The Lolos are said to be as well made as the Chinese, and more inured to hardships, being in great part a race of mountaineers. Their language is different from the Chinese, and they have letters similar to those of Pegu and Ava, introduced by the bonzes or Lamaite priests, who have converted them to the religion of Buddha. Their troops are mounted on small and fleet horses: they work mines of iron and copper, gold and silver, and manufacture arms. It seems probable that the Lolos are of the same race as the Laos, whose country adjoins Yunnan.†

* Ritter's Erdkunde, 3. † Duhalde, vol. 1, p. 59.

Section V.—*Of the Japanese or Inhabitants of Dai Nippon.**

Paragraph 1.—History of Japan.

It does not appear that the Japanese race have any proper national designation. Nippon is, among the present Japanese, the name of the whole cluster of islands which are termed Japan, and not, as with us, of one island. It is of Chinese origin, and means "*Offspring of the Sun.*" The old native appellation of the country, in the language of the inhabitants, is "Akizu-no-sima," which means, "Island of the dragon-fly," from a supposed analogy in its form. The Japanese empire, in its widest extent, includes the three great islands of Nippon, Kiusiu, and Sikok, the smaller islands of Sado, Tsusima, Awadsi, Tanegasima, Iki, Yak'sima, Oosima, &c., the groupes of the Oki, Gotoo, Kosiki, and Nanasima islands, and a great number of smaller islets. Besides these, the adjoining lands, the isle of Jeso, with the four southern Kuriles, the southern part of the isle of Karafto, and the groupe of the Manin or Bonin islands, as well as the subject Liù-kiu isles, the northernmost groupe of which is chiefly inhabited by Japanese, are all comprehended in the dominion of Dai Nippon or the Great Nippon, which thus extends twenty-five degrees in breadth and twenty-seven in length. The greater part of this extensive empire is inhabited by one race of people, who are termed the Japanese race. They are immemorial inhabitants, but not, in all parts at least, the aborigines. Japanese historians mention various tribes of barbarians, whose inroads have troubled the civilised inhabitants, as the Nan-ban or Barbarians of the South, the Seï-siu or Savages of the West, and the wild

* Although the Japanese and Koreans are not really of the Chinese race, yet I have thought it better to describe them in connection with the aborigines of that country, since they form a part of that assemblage of ancient nations who appear to have inhabited the sea border of Eastern Asia in the remotest times and before the Chinese had extended themselves far beyond the limits of High Asia.

people of the Suzuga-yama, in the country of Oomi, who are said to have breathed out fire and smoke. In early times, according to the state records of the empire, black savages were very formidable in Japan: they were at length subdued and driven out. From the peculiar features, the form of body, the crisp hair, and the darker complexion which are observed in some of the natives of the southern and south-eastern coast of Japan, there is reason to suspect, as M. de Siebold observes, that these wild tribes in the empire of Dai Nippon were allied to the aborigines of the Philippine Islands, and perhaps to the Alfourous of Australia.*

It would be very desirable to inquire further into the history of these barbarous tribes in the Japanese islands, and to compare their dialects with those of the Papuan and Alfurian races before they become exterminated or intermixed with the civilised inhabitants, and it may be hoped that some future traveller will take an opportunity of pursuing this investigation, for which no data have yet been obtained.

The Japanese themselves are immemorial inhabitants of Dai Nippon. Their abode reaches beyond the earliest tradition. Their history commences, six hundred and sixty-one years before the Christian era, with Zin-moo, whose name means "Divine Conqueror." He is regarded as the founder of the Japanese monarchy, and from him are descended the Daïris or Ecclesiastical emperors, who are a distinct dynasty from the civil or political monarchs. Zin-moo is supposed to have subdued the independent tribes of the country. Klaproth supposes him to have been of a Chinese family who quitted that empire during the troubles which agitated it under the dynasty of the Tsheou. The Japanese know nothing of the history of preceding times, during which their chronicles present only a series of fabulous beings. The names of the earliest of the Daïris who succeeded Zin-moo are, according to Klaproth, Chinese and not Japanese. Other colonies reached Japan, more certainly from China, and particularly an expedition sent by

* Dr. von Siebold's Mathematische und Physiçhe Geographie von Japan, s. 16.

the famous Thsin Shi-hoang-ti across the Eastern Sea to seek for the ambrosia of the Chinese, supposed to impart immortality. It arrived in 209 before Christ. Thus Chinese manners came to be engrafted on the simple character of the people, and the whole aspect of Japanese civilisation to resemble that of China. It is singular that the art of writing was not introduced by these colonies: it was not known in Japan till the reign of the sixteenth Daïri, Ozinten-ô, when it was introduced by Vo-hin, a learned man of the family of the Han. The characters were Chinese, but as this system is not well adapted to the Japanese language, a syllabic character, which is an abbreviation of the Chinese symbols, was invented in the eighth century. Both are still in use.

Paragraph 2.—Languages.

Siebold thought he perceived some analogies between the Japanese language and the idioms of several neighbouring nations, particularly those of the Koreans, and the Aino or Kurilians, who occupy the isles of Jeso and Tarakai or Karafto, termed improperly by Europeans Sakhalian, which are a part of the Japanese empire. He has described the coast of Tartary, opposite to this last island, named Sandan by the inhabitants, and compared some of their customs with those of the Japanese. The words which he collected as specimens of the language of Sandan prove it to be a Tungusian dialect, as Klaproth has shewn by a comparison with corresponding words in the Mandschú. According to this last writer, who, on such a subject, is the highest authority, the language of Japan bears no decided marks of affinity with any of the idioms above mentioned. It was long ago observed by Adelung that the Japanese language is, not only in its vocabulary, but also in its grammatical structure, entirely distinct from the Chinese, from which it has only borrowed words connected with the progress of art and civilisation. It is a polysyllabic language, and its words are said to be susceptible of composition and inflection. Yet there are many points

in which the Japanese appears to coincide with the Chinese and other Eastern Asiatic idioms; its nouns have no genders; they form plurals and cases only by means of particles suffixed to words as do the Tartar languages and most of the Indo-Chinese idioms. Verbs have varieties of tense produced by real inflections, but are invariable with respect to number and person, as are the tenses of verbs in all the idioms just mentioned. The vocabulary, as far as refers to words simple and original, is different from the Chinese and Tungusian; but there is in Klaproth's vocabulary a considerable number even of such words common to the Japanese and several of the idioms of Asia, particularly the Mongolian, the Finnish, and some Indian dialects.*

There is a very decided resemblance between the Japanese lauguage and that spoken in the Lieu-kieu or Loochoo islands, and there is no doubt that these countries are inhabited by the same race of people. Perhaps the natives of Lieu-kieu are very nearly such people as were the original Japanese before the colonisation of their country from China.

Paragraph 3.—Religion of the Japanese.

M. de Siebold is of opinion that the primitive religion of the Japanese is likewise distinct from that of China. Klaproth differed from him in this respect, and observed that the religion of Sin-too, which is the original superstition of the Japanese race, is founded on the belief in genii or demons, and the worship of deified men, as was the ancient religion of China and the doctrine of the Tao-tzu. These superstitions, originally derived from one

* See Klaproth's Mémoire sur l'introduction de l'usage des caractères Chinois en Japon &c., Nouv. Jour. Asiatiq, tom. 3.—Also Rapport sur un Mémoire retalif à l'origine des Japonais, by M. de Siebold, in the same Journal.—Klaproth's Asia Polyglotta, p.p. 326-329.

The various resources which are extant for the study of the Japanese language are enumerated in Vater's Nachträge zu dem ersten Theile des Mithridates, 1817, s. 256. See also the first vol. of the Mithridates, p. 571.

system, have only been differently modified in the two countries.

The religion of Sin-too, or the old superstition of the Japanese, is very distinct from that of Bondz-doo or Japanese Buddhism. The former, according to Siebold, was originally more simple than it now is: "it displays," as he says," a mixture of Sabaism and Fetissism." The objects of worship in this system are called *Kami*, a term equivalent to the Chinese *Shin* or genius, while those of the Buddhists are termed *Bondz*. Buddhism was introduced from China into Korea, and from that country into Japan, where it probably arrived for the first time A.D. 543. The policy of the Dzogoun or civil emperors of Japan, induced them to encourage it out of opposition to the Daïri or spiritual head of the native religion, and Buddhism is now the most prevalent and the state religion; but both systems are amalgamated in the popular *rioobou-sin-too*, that is "hybrid worship of spirits."

The Buddhists are divided into several sects, in some of which sacred books, written in the deva-nagari characters, are still used.

The doctrine of Confucius, in Japanese Sjon-too, also exists in Japan. M. de Siebold observes, that this is not a system of religion, but of ethics, and refers only to the relations of men in this world without reference to another.*

Siebold has given a detailed account of the Sin-too system, or, as the Japanese term it, that of Kamĭ-no-mitsi, or doctrine of the Kamis. It was the sole belief of the rude aboriginal tribes, who, under their divine warrior, Zin-moo, first became united, and formed one people about 661 before Christ. It is still held in high respect, but Buddhism is the prevalent religion of the common people, over whom its sway has encreased, especially since the extirpation of Christianity. The more dignified class affect the Confucian system out of contempt for the vulgar and the monks of the Buddhists.

* Klaproth has observed in this particular, that M. de Siebold, "n'a pas bien pénétré le système dogmatique du philosophe Chinois."—Nouv. Jour. Asiat., tom. 3.

The Kamis or gods of the original Japanese, were, according to a collection of the national traditions, not eternal. The five first gods originated at the separation of elements in which the world began: they are the Amatsu-kami. A bud, similar to that of the *Asi*, the *Erianthus Japonicus*, expanded itself between heaven and earth and produced *Kuni-soko-tatsino-mi-koto* or the "Maker of the dry land," who governed the world, as yet unfashioned, during an immeasurable space of time, which was more than a hundred thousand millions of years. This kami had many successors whose reigns were nearly as long. Their temples are still places of worship in Oomi and Ise, districts of Japan. There were seven dynasties of celestial gods. The last, Iza-na-gi, standing on a bridge that floated between heaven and earth, said to his wife, Iza-na-mi, "Come on; there must be some habitable land: let us try to find it." He dipped his pike, ornamented with precious stones, into the surrounding waters and agitated the waves: the drops which fell from his pike when he raised it thickened and formed an island, named "Ono-koro-sima." On this island Iza-na-gi and his wife descended, and made the other provinces of the Japanese empire. From them descended the five dynasties or reigns of earthly gods. From the last of these originated Zin-moo-teu-woo, the ruler of men, who, as above mentioned, founded the empire of Japan, and conquered the aboriginal tribes. From Zin-moo's reign is dated the first year of the epoch of Japanese chronology, coinciding with the seventh year of the Chinese emperor Hoéï-wâng, B.C. 660. Such is the cosmogony of the Japanese. Their highest adoration is given to the deity of the sun, offspring of Iza-na-gi and Iza-na-mi: to him are subordinate all the genii or demons which govern the elements and all the operations of nature, as well as the souls of men, who after death go to the gods or to an infernal place of punishment, according to their actions on earth. Sacred festivals are held at certain seasons of the year and at changes of the moon. The whole number of kamis or gods worshipped by the Japanese amounts to three thou-

sand one hundred and thirty-two. These gods are worshipped in different temples without idols.

It appears from this account, that Sin-too or original Japanese religion, is merely a form of the worship of material objects, common to all the nations of northern Asia, which, among the more civilised tribes, assumes the aspect of mythology. Though probably unconnected with the Tao-tsu system of China, it belongs to a corresponding stage of mental developement.

Section VI.—*Of the Koreans.*

The great peninsula of Korea, termed by the Chinese Kao-li, is separated from the country of the Mandschú by the high chain of Tshang-pe-shan or the Great White Mountains, covered with perpetual snow. The population is derived, according to Klaproth, principally from two races; one, termed the Sian-pi by Chinese writers, inhabited the northern part: the ancestors of these, at least the principal tribe among them, came originally from a country lying to the northward of the Chinese province of Tshy-li, which reached to the higher course of the river Sounggari Oula, and comprehended Liao-toung. The southern part was inhabited by tribes of aborigines called the "San Han" or the "Three tribes of Han." Both these nations were long subject, at first to the Japanese, and afterwards to the Chinese: and they are now fully intermixed and form the Korean race. It is probable that the physical characters of both were nearly the same, as they are within the region in which the Turanian type of countenance prevails.

Their language has borrowed many words from the Chinese, but is fundamentally different from that idiom. The groundwork of the vocabulary is, as Klaproth avers, peculiar; yet there are many words in this language common to it and to some of the idioms of Northern Siberia.* It is a polysyllabic language. The pure Korean roots are often dissyllables or polysyllables, as *hanol*, heaven; *kulom*,

* Klaproth, in Nouv. Journ. Asiatiq., 3.

cloud; *palamí*, wind; *salumî*, man. Nouns are, as in all the Scythian languages, destitute of gender and number, and form plurals either by iteration or by pluralising particles, and cases are formed by suffixes as in all the Turanian idioms.*

Korea was conquered by the Mongolians in 1219. When the Mongolian Yuan were driven out of China, it fell under the Ming or native Chinese. At present it is governed by a third Korean dynasty, who are vassals of the Mandschú emperors.†

Some further particulars respecting the Korean people will be added in a following section, in which the physical characters of these nations will be described.

Section VII.—*Of the Indo-Chinese Nations.*

The term Indo-Chinese nations comprehends a number of tribes spread through the countries which are situated between India and China. They are not named from this circumstance, but from the fact, that they partake, in different degrees, of the ethnographical chararacters of the two nations between whom they dwell. Their physical characters and monosyllabic languages associate them with the Chinese; but their religion, their earliest mental culture, their literature, being entirely of Indian origin, though modified by the domination of the Chinese in later ages, have given them a peculiar character which distinguishes them as a particular groupe.

The nations termed Indo-Chinese consist of the native tribes of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and of the Tibetans or Bhotíyahs. I shall describe them in the order in which I have mentioned them.

* Siebold's Nachrichten über Koorai, s. 11.

† Duhalde's China.—Klaproth, Asia Polyglott.—Ritter, Erdkunde, 3, 586.

1*st Division.*—Races of People inhabiting the Indo-Chinese Peninsula.

The Indo-Chinese Peninsula is inhabited by a variety of different races, bearing a mutual resemblance in moral and physical characters, but forming separate tribes, who are distinguished by speaking different languages and look upon themselves as respectively distinct in origin and destitute of relationship to each other. A superficial examination suffices to reduce them under two classes; one, consisting of the primitive inhabitants of the southern districts of the Peninsula, or of barbarous tribes possessing mountainous tracts in various parts; these appear to have been expelled from the more level or fertile countries now occupied by the tribes belonging to the second class. These last are more civilised nations, more or less partaking of the refinement and peculiar habits of the Chinese, and all subjected to the worship of Buddha or of Fo, nearly according to the Chinese form: they are, in some instances, looked upon by the tribes of the first class as colonists of Chinese, though they differ from that people in language, and must be regarded as separate and distinct nations. To this last division belong the race of Anam, in Tunquin and Cochin China, on the eastern side of the Peninsula; the Laos or Liu, who are a branch of the same race with the T'hay or Siamese, occupying all the central inland parts; and the Burmah and Rakhung or Arakan race to the westward, and reaching to the Bay of Bengal. To the first, or primitive class, belong the Tchampa, to the southward of Anam; the Khôh-men or Cambojans to the southward of the Laos; the Môn or people of Pegu to the southward of Burmah, as well as many races of mountaineers in the interior.

In this enumeration I have said nothing of the races inhabiting the Malayan Peninsula, as these require a separate notice. They are, in many respects, a separate class of nations, and will be described in a future division of this work, which will comprise the history of the Malayan and Polynesian islanders.

Paragraph 1.—Race of Anam.

The extensive maritime countries of Tunquin and Cochin China, situated between the easternmost of the longitudinal mountain-chains above described and the Chinese Sea, is the abode of the race of Anam, or of the people who speak a peculiar language bearing that name. The Anam language is the native idiom of the people of Tunquin and of Cochin China, who belong to one race and speak cognate dialects.* The idiom of the Anamese is, according to Leyden, a simple monosyllabic one, and a distinct language. Its relations to other dialects of the same class have not been fully investigated, but we are assured that it has very little real affinity to the Mandarin language of China, to the Kong-tong or dialect of Canton, or to any of the other Indo-Chinese idioms with which it has been compared. Many words in it are similar to the T'hay or Siamese, and others resemble the Mandarin language. Nevertheless, all the essential parts of the Anam language are original, and unconnected with the dialects of the neighbouring nations.† Klaproth entertained the same opinioh as Leyden on this subject. He says that the Anam people have adopted many Chinese words into common use, but that for the same ideas they have peculiar vocables, radically distinct from the Chinese. This is sufficiently apparent from Leyden's and Klaproth's comparative vocabularies of the Indo-Chinese languages. Yet, it is by no means established that no original affinity, in the strict sense of the term, exists between the languages of Anam and of China. On the structure of this idiom I shall have some further remarks to make in comparison with others.

The Anam have long been a civilised people, and strongly

* Crawfurd. Father Alexander de Rhodes, one of the best-informed and most enterprising of the old travellers in the East, says, that the languages spoken in the kingdoms of Tunquin, Canban, and Cochin China, were nearly the same.—Allgem. Hist. der Reisen., bd. 10, s. 76.

† Leyden on the language and literature of the Indo-Chinese nations. —As. Res., vol. 10.

‡ Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta.

resemble the Chinese both in physical and moral characters. Their religion is Buddhism, nearly resembling that which prevails in China,* but with it are blended local superstitions, such as the worship of the dog and the tiger, traces of which are found among the mountaineers on the borders of India† as well as in the proper Indo-Chinese countries.

Paragraph 2.—The Quan-to.

The Quan-to, an ancient race, as the name signifies, inhabit the Kanbang, the mountainous range which separates the Anam countries from China. They regard themselves as the aborigines of Tunquin and Cochin China, and consider the Anam as a Chinese colony. They have a peculiar language, which they write on the leaves of a plant by a style. Leyden says, it is unknown whether they are related to the mountainous tribes named Mói and Múòng, who also speak languages different from the Anam.*

Paragraph 3.—The People of Tshampa or Champa.

The people of Champa are a distinct race inhabiting the country to the southward of the Anam, by whom they are termed Loye or Laú. The proper abode of this race is a district extending from Cape St. James as far as the province of Phu-yen. Before their conquest by the Cochin Chinese, the Champa formed a considerable state, under an independent chief. They possess, according to notices collected by Crawfurd, a species of Hindúism, resembling the worship of Buddha or of Jina, which exists in Hindústan, and ap-

* Leyden, 272.

† The tiger is worshipped by the Hajin tribe, in the vicinity of the Garrows or Garudus.—See Leyden, ubi supra.

‡ The Anam language, says Dr. Leyden, has always been more cultivated by the Catholic missionaries than any other of the Indo-Chinese languages, though these fathers may, with some degree of propriety, affect the title of "multiplicis idiomatis propagatores." So early as 1651 the *Propaganda Society* published, at Rome, the "Dictionarium Annamiticum Lusitanum et Latinum," compiled by the Jesuit, Alexander de Rhodes, after twelve years' residence in the Anam country.—Leyden, ubi supra, p. 261.

pears to have prevailed in Java before the introduction of Islàm, differing widely from the Buddhism of the neighbouring countries, and temples with Hindú gods are seen in their country. Their language is peculiar, and different both from the Anam and Khôh-men idioms.*

We now come to the races who inhabit the second longitudinal region of the peninsula, namely, the valley of the Makhaun or Me-kong.

Paragraph 4.—K'hôh-men or Cambojans.†

The K'hôh-men language, says Dr. Leyden, is used by a nation of that name, who reside on the Mé-kón‡ or river of Kam-bu-cha't, in Camboja. It has never been cultivated by Europeans, and Leyden had no opportunity of examining it. The Siamese assured him that it was entirely different from the T'hay or Siamese, as well as from the Anam. The K'hôh-men are reckoned an ancient and learned people: they were formerly subdued by the T'hay-j'hay or primitive Siamese. It has been observed that the name of Camboja occurs in the Ramayan.§ According to Leyden, they are believed to derive their origin from the warlike, mountain race named Kho, the Gueos of the early Portuguese historians, who are still represented as practising their ancient customs and painting and tattowing their bodies.‖

Paragraph 5.—Moi.

The Moi are an aboriginal race, who inhabit the province of Dongnai, a strip of mountainous country lying to the westward of Cochin China. The Moi or Moy are described by Chapman as a wild race of savages, who inhabit the mountains bordering on Camboja, said to be very black, with African features.¶

* Crawfurd, 2, 240.

† Kameh, according to Gützlaff.

‡ Gützlaff termed it Meinam-kom.

§ Gützlaff, p. 90.

‖ Leyden, 2l7.

¶ Malte-Brun, Ann. des Voyages.—Asiat. Ann. Register, 1801.

Lawá, Ká, Chong.—These are wild and migrating races, who inhabit mountainous districts bordering upon the countries of the civilised K'hôh-men and Láos.

Paragraph 6—Of the T'hay or Laú Race.

The most widely-extended people in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula are the numerous tribes of the race termed T'hay, comprehending the Siamese, the Láos, the Shyán, Khamti, and Ahom nations. These tribes are spread over the Peninsula from the borders of China and Camboja towards the east and north, to Siam and Ava on the southern and western side. Nearest to China are the Láos or Laú, an ancient nation inhabiting the interior and northern parts of the Peninsula, and the mountainous tracts which afford the only inland communication between China and Siam, Pegu and Ava.* Gützlaff says, that the Laos occupy a great part of the Eastern Peninsula, from the northern frontiers of Siam, and reach northwards, bordering on Camboja and Cochin China on one side, and on Burmah on the other, up to the limits of China and Tunquin. He adds, that they are divided into the Laú-pang-kah or White-Laos, and the Laú-pang-dun or Black-Láos, a distinction founded partly on their complexion.† They are separated into clans under hereditary lords, who are now subject to the Chinese, Siamese, and Burmahs. The Láos or Laú are an anciently civilised people. From them the Siamese acknowledge that they derive their religion, laws, and institutions. It is in the territory of Laú that the celebrated founders of the religion of Buddha are said, by the natives of these countries, to have left their most remarkable vestiges. Ceylon boasts the sacred traces of the left foot of Buddha on the top of the mountain Amála-Sri-padi or Adam's Peak. Siam exhibits traces of the right foot on the top of the golden mountain Sara-na-bapato. Other traces of his steps are sparingly scattered over Pegu, Ava, and Arakan; but it is among the Láos that all the vestiges of

* Dr. Leyden, ubi supra.

† Journal of Three Voyages, &c., by Rev. Gützlaff, p. 86.

the founders of this religion seem to be concentrated: thither devotees resort to worship at the most numerous sacred spots. The Laú language abounds in books, which are translations from the Bali.

In their general appearance the Laú resemble the Môn, the native people of Pegu*

The language of the Láos is a cognate dialect with the T'hay or Siamese, but agrees with the T'hay-j'hay or ancient Siamese more nearly than with the modern idiom. They cannot pronounce *l* and *r*, but convert them into *h* or *d*.

We are assured by a late writer,† who has been resident as a missionary in the Peninsula, that this language, and the tribes who speak it, extend from Siam to the valley of the Brahmaputra.

The Pa-y and the Pa-pe are independent tribes, speaking the same language, on the borders of the Laos. The same race is supposed to occupy the southern parts of the Chinese province of Yunnan, and it is not improbable that the Luli, above mentioned, of the Chinese, belong to this stock.

According to Father San Germano, there are several tribes of Laos in the forests to the northward of the town of Mieda, in the Burmese territory, to the northward of Ava, where, although subject to the Burmahs, they retain their own language and manners: these tribes call themselves Konjes.‡

According to the latest and most accurate information obtained respecting the T'hay, the whole nation is divided into four parts, according to the divisions of the country which they inhabit. These are the T'hay Nai or Central Siamese, T'hay Nak or those of the frontiers, T'hay Yai, Great Siamese, T'hay Nay, or Little Siamese.§ The name of T'hay signifies *Free*, and was assumed, in the opinion of Captain Low, by the Siamese nation at the era when they separated from the Laú. There are two dialects of the

* Leyden, 260.

† Rev. N. Brown, cited in a preceding page.

‡ Tandy's translation of San Germano. London, 1833.—Ritter's Erdk., 5.

§ Capt. Low's Introduction to his Siamese Grammar.—Critique, par Eugène Burnouf.—Journal Asiatique, tom 4.

T'hay, which, however, differ but slightly: they are the "phâsâ T'hay Yai," or dialect or bhasa of the Great T'hay, and another spoken by the rest of the nation. In this division is not included the Laú, whose idiom, however, is cognate.* The Great T'hay were formerly the ruling tribe: their proper country, according to Leyden, is between the Mekon or river of Camboja and the Menam; and that of the other T'hay tribes to the westward of the Menam.† The valley of the river Menam, in a wide sense, is the proper region of the Siamese race, whose language, according to Low, reaches northwards to the Tartar or Chinese border, and southward to Camboja.‡

The T'hay language, of which Captain Low has given the first satisfactory account, has been written for ages in the Pali characters, introduced, as he supposes, and as it is most generally believed, from Ceylon. It is, however, a purely monosyllabic tongue. It consists of one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one distinct monosyllables; these, with the different accents or tones of which they are susceptible, are equivalent to two thousand seven hundred and ninety-two vocables, without reckoning a considerable number of compound and some foreign words derived from the Pali. The words are incapable of inflection. Instead of an article they use the numeral *one*, and express genders by adding *male* and *female*. The relations of words or cases are often expressed by the position of words, sometimes by prefixed particles. Verbs, as in all the Indo-Chinese, as well as the Tartar languages, are merely indeclinable nouns, indicating modes of action or of state, which, by determinative particles, are made to answer the use of verbs, or to assume a verbal form: by the same method are shewn the differences of mood and tense. It appears, as M. Burnouf observes, from the data furnished by Captain Low, that the greater part of the monosyllables, of which the T'hay language consists, become, according to

* Gützlaff says he learnt the Laú language, and found it very similar to the Siamese. The Laos are also called Chans.—Journal, p. 85.

† Leyden on the Indo-Chinese languages.

‡ Burnouf, ubi supra, Leyden, Gützlaff, Low, Crawfurd.

circumstances, nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs. The laws of construction of such a language must be difficult and complicated, as they are in fact in all idioms of the same class.*

The varieties of this language are enumerated by Brown, who says that the Siamese, meaning doubtless the proper T'hay, the Láos, the Shyán, the Khamti, and the Ahom, are merely dialects, differing but in a trifling degree from each other, the Khamti and the Siamese being the two extremes.†

The Siamese language has some Chinese words, but its principal material is quite peculiar. So we are assured by Dr. Leyden and others who have adverted to this question.

The Ahoms are an ancient people of the Shyán race, who formerly conquered Assam. The idiom of the Ahoms is now a dead language, and only preserved in a peculiar literature in possession of the Assamese priests. It is said that their books have no notice of Buddhism, whence it has been inferred that they emigrated from the Shyán country before the introduction of the religion of Sakya.‡

We now proceed to the nations who dwell to the westward of the Siamese and Laú country, and principally to the westward of the river Saluaen, in the regions bordering on the river Irawadi and reaching thence to the Bay of Bengal.

Paragraph 7.—Of the Môn or Natives of Pegu.

The natives of Pegu term themselves Mân or Môn: by the Burmahs they are called Talain. The native country of this race is the Delta of the Irawadi and the low coast-land of Pegu to the southward of the higher land, which is the abode of the Burmahs or Maramas.§ In the early Portuguese histories they are termed the Pandalús of Môn, and are said to have founded the ancient Kaluminham

* Nouv. Journ. Asiatique, l. c.

† Brown's Comparison, cited above.

‡ Rev. N. Brown, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 61.

§ Ritter, 5, 184.

empire. They were formerly very powerful, and the splendour of Pegu, as well as that of Siam, is celebrated in the history of India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Both declined with the extension of the Burmese arms and the growth of the empire of Ava.

The language of the Mân is entirely peculiar, and distinct from the idiom of the neighbouring tribes, namely, the Siamese and the Burmahs.* This remark has been confirmed by Captain J. Low, author of a grammar of the T'hay, according to whom, the resemblance existing between the two languages is only such as can be explained by the proximity of the people. In the opinion of this writer, the Mân is the most original of the Indo-Chinese languages. The Mân, or the inhabitants of Pegu, use the same alphabet as the Burmahs, of which the Mân probably had first the use, since they are, according to Captain Low, unquestionably the most ancient people, and since the Pali alphabet, having been introduced from Ceylon, was probably first brought to the southern part of the peninsula.†

Paragraph 8.—Of the Karian.

Besides the Môn, the principal inhabitants of Pegu, there are some other races in that country or on its borders.

The Karian are an unpolished but peaceable nation, of rustic habits, who inhabit the low countries on the sea-coast, near the lower Irawadi, particularly the province of Basseyn, and to the eastward of the Delta. Their idiom is different from that of the Burmahs, and their complexion, according to Symes, is lighter than that of the same people. Their habits are very simple; they live in small villages and follow pasture and tillage, never taking arms even to resist aggression. They preserve their own traditional laws and customs. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, who inquired respecting their origin and religious notions, obtained from them the reply, that "they know little on the subject, that

* Leyden, Asiat. Res., 10, 240.

† Grammar of the T'hay or Siamese language, by Captain J. Low.—Critique Litt., par Eug. Burnouf, Journal Asiatique, t. 4, p. 212.

God once wrote his commands upon a buffalo's hide, and called all nations together to take an abstract of it. All obeyed except the Karian, who had no time for the work, being occupied with tilling their land."

The tribes called Red Karian, who inhabit almost inaccessible mountains to the north-eastward of Pegu, are still independent of the Burmahs. They extend northwards to the 24° north latitude, and are the aboriginal inhabitants of the mountains of Bhammo. From the great elevation of their native country it has been conjectured that they derive the lightness of their complexion.*

Paragraph 9.—The Plau or Palaun.

The Palaun are another wild tribe, living in the forests and mountains between the rivers Sitang and Saluaen, to the north-eastward of Pegu, near the Burmese border, between Láos and Siam, about the 19° north latitude, and thence to 22°. According to the opinion of Ritter, they belong, as well as the Karian and Khyén, to the scattered mountainous races of the chains of Yunnan, dispersed, probably since the time of the Mongolian conquest, in a southerly direction. They differ in language, physiognomy, and character, from the Siamese. They are small in stature and less robust than the Burmahs, and more like the Chinese than any other people; they are an agricultural, simple, and unwarlike race, are worshippers of Buddha, and burn their dead.

Paragraph 10—The Khyén.

The Khyén are the aboriginal inhabitants of the mountainous tracts to the westward of the Irawadi and a great part of the territory subdued by the Burmahs.† A tribe of this race inhabits the Yuma mountains, a chain separating Ava from Arakhan, where they have been visited

* Ritter, 5, 188.

† Buchanan in As. Res., v. 5.—Ritter's Erdk. /As., Th. 5, 278.

and described by Lieutenant Trant.* This writer informs us, that they are very different in character and habits from their Burmah neighbours. The men are inferior to the Burmahs; their features less regular, and their countenances flatter. Their dress is very simple: they bind their hair with a white or black fillet, and carry spears and quivers full of arrows. The women do all their household labour. They tattow their faces in a manner which seems to resemble that of the New-Zealanders. The independent Khyéns live in miserable dwellings among the mountains, in small parties near some stream, quite separate from all other men, whom they regard as their enemies and lawful prey. They will eat any animal, however disgusting it may be. According to their own tradition they are the aborigines of the plains of Ava and Pegu. Their religion is the rude superstition of savages. They have no idea of any Supreme Being, nor any tradition respecting a creation: they are the children of the mountains, and revere as a sort of fetish every thing that is useful to them. The principal object of their adoration is a thick bushy tree, bearing a small berry; under the shadow of its branches they assemble at stated seasons and offer a sacrifice of oxen and pigs, on which they afterwards feast: their cattle accompany them in their excursions and participate in the respect paid to the tree. Another object of adoration is the thunder-bolt, or rather a meteoric stone for which they search after a storm; its discovery is hailed by the immolation of a bullock or a hog, and it is regarded as a talisman against disease. They have, however, a high priest or religious director, termed the *Passine*, who resides on a mountain called the Poyouz, near the source of the Moh river: he performs the office of prophet and soothsayer, and devolves his high dignity upon his descendants in the male and female line.†

It is not uninteresting to discover in these insulated barbarians of the broad-faced Turanian stock superstitions

* Trant's Notice of the Khyén Tribe, in Asiatic Res., vol. 16.—Hamilton, in Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, vol. 4.

† Trant's Notice of the Khyén Tribe, p. 264.

and modes of feeling and believing so strikingly parallel to those which we have traced in the forests of Africa and in the polar regions of the Esquimaux.

The Ka-kyen are another wild tribe, speaking a distinct language from that of the Khyén. They live in the higher region of the Saluaen, where that river leaves the Chinese territory.*

The Zabaing are a tribe in the low-lands of the same country.†

Paragraph 11.—Of the Marama or Burmahs and of the Rúkheng or Natives of Arakhan.

These nations are to be considered as one race, since they speak dialects of one language.‡

The Burmahs or Birmans are a great and numerous people inhabiting the inland countries in the western parts of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, where they long ago subdued many aboriginal tribes and erected a powerful empire. Their proper name, Marama or Mranma, is said to refer to their origin, which is enveloped in fabulous antiquity, and to their celestial ancestry, who dwelt, according to their legends, in the region of Rupa, whence they deduce their genealogy.§ The Burmahs may be considered as occupying the extensive countries watered by the Irawadi and other rivers, and reaching from the Láos and Siamese region westward to Arakhan.

The Rúkheng are the inhabitants of Arakhan, the maritime

* Ritter, 5, 278. † Ibid, 277.

‡ Of this language there are, according to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, four dialects belonging to so many tribes or subdivisions of the race. These are the Burmahs, properly so termed; secondly, the Rúkheng or Yakain, who inhabit Arakhan; thirdly, the small tribe termed Yo or Yau, who inhabit the country to the eastward of the mountains of Arakhan and west of the Irawadi, governed by chiefs of their own, who are tributary to the Burmahs; fourthly, the people of the coast of Tenaserim, so called from its capital, Tanayntharí, now in ruins. Their dialects differ but slightly from each other.—Comparative Vocabulary of the Languages of the Burmah Empire, by Fr. Buchanan, M.D. —As. Res., vol. 5.

§ Crawfurd's Embassy, p. 487.—Ritter, 5, 285.

country on the western side of the same Peninsula, and on the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal: they occupy the long tract of land which extends between the mountains and the sea. Forming in ancient times a part of the empire of Magad'ha, they were long intimately connected with India: their language is perhaps hence not purely monosyllabic, but forms, as Dr. Leyden observes, a connecting link between the polysyllabic and monosyllabic classes. The Rúkheng race, he adds, is admitted to be of the same radical stock as the Burmahs, and is understood to have greatly preceded that people in civilisation. The Burmahs, indeed, derive their own origin from the Rúkheng, whom they generally denominate Burmah Kyi or the Great Burmahs; and they consider the Rúkheng as the most ancient and original dialect of the Burmah language. This opinion is established, according to Dr. Leyden, by an examination of the languages themselves. The Rúkheng is less corrupted by foreign intermixtures; its chief modifications are derived from the Pali. The pronunciation of the Rúkheng is more distinct though ruder, and it retains the letter *r*, which languages under the influence of Chinese refinement have lost.

I do not present to my readers the above enumeration of Indo-Chinese nations as complete. It is probable that there are some tribes as yet unknown in the vast countries between the seas of Bengal and Tunquin.*

* The American missionary, the Rev. N. Brown, has given, in a paper already cited, a vocabulary of twenty-seven idioms, under the title of "Languages between India and China;" but among them he has reckoned several that are hardly so situated, as the Korean and Japanese. The languages exemplified by this vocabulary are the Bengali and Asam,—belonging to the class of Indian languages properly so termed, or languages of Hindústan, —Khamti and Siamese,—given as specimens of the T'hay, between which, though spoken at the extremities of the T'hay country, there is but a slight dialectic difference,—Aka, Abor, Mishimi, Burmese, Karen, Singpho, Iili, Garo, Manipuri, Songpu, Kahwi, Koreng, Marám, Champhung, Luhappa, Northern, Central, and Southern Tangkhal, Khoibu, Mariug, Anamese, Japanese, Korean. Several of these merely differ from others in the list as dialects; others are evidently not monosyllabic languages; and it is to be regretted that the writer has not appended to his vocabulary some notices of the tribes who speak the idioms exemplified and of their abodes.—See Rev. N. Brown's Comparison of the Indo-Chinese Languages in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 72, Dec. 1837.

SECTION 8.—*Of the Bhotíyahs or Natives of Tibet and Bhútan.*

In a former part of this work I have described the Indo-Tartar races of the Himálaya, who inhabit the kingdom of Tassisudon or of the Deb-rajah, and some parts of Nepál. People of the same lineage and language are the prevailing inhabitants of the high plains lying immediately to the northward of the Snowy Chain. Here they are called Tubetans or Tibetans; their national appellation is Bhōt or Bhotíyah. They are the inhabitants of Tibet Proper, Tangut, or Katchi, situated further to the northward, being chiefly peopled by Mongolian tribes.

The Bhotíyah are a very remarkable race. Their country may be regarded as the principal seat and depository of Buddhism, of which they have been the guardians and zealous votaries, as were the Koreish of Islàm. Secluded in almost inaccessible regions, among the precipitous defiles of Bhútan or in the barren insulated plain of Tibet, separated from the rest of the world by rocky and sandy wastes and surrounded by lofty mountains covered with perpetual snow, innumerable trains of ascetics devote themselves to a life of celibacy and abstinence and abstraction from worldly pursuits, and pass their days immured in monasteries, in the performance of endless ceremonies, in counting beads and in chaunting perpetual litanies, and in acts of self-mortification which bear a curious resemblance to the practices of Christendom during past ages. Their hierarch, the Grand Lama of Teshoo-Loomboo, is venerated as the vicegerent of God and the commander of the faithful by a greater number of the human race, and with a more undisputed title, than Harún Al-raschid or the great Hildebrand could obtain for themselves in the palmy days of the chalifat or the pontificate: an example by which we learn that the same proud aspiration in some, and the same proneness in others to wonder and admire and devoutly confide in their fellow-mortals as intercessors and interpreters of the will of heaven, has been implanted,

in the most separate branches of the human family. The better class of people in Tibet are principally devoted to monasticism and celibacy. Those who follow secular pursuits and condescend to marriage and family relations, are looked upon as degraded. Their marriage customs are very remarkable. One woman is generally the wife of a whole family of brothers. In a physical point of view it would appear that this species of polygamy is less detrimental than the more ordinary custom of the East. The Bhotíyan people resemble in features the Tartar nations and the Chinese; but, unlike the Mongoles and still more unlike their neighbours of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, they are a tall, powerful, and athletic race. Such is the description which Mr. Turner and all other travellers in Tibet and on its borders have given of the physical character of the Bhotíyahs.

Great stores of literature are contained in the libraries of monastries in Tibet, consisting of manuscripts in the Tibetan and in the Pali language used of old by the Buddhistical priests. It may be doubted whether they contain any materials for the real history of the Tibetan race. As the fabulous histories of the Mohammedans begin their records of different nations from some patriarch in the Old Testament, whose history is often curiously distorted, so the monks of Buddhism deduce the existence of all the believing nations from some hero or sage or imaginary being famous in the Indian legends of their sect.

Abel-Rémusat regarded as absurd and ridiculous the attempts made by French academicians to translate the famous volume of the Ablaï-kit, which was sent by Peter the Great to the Academy of Inscriptions.* Father Georgi, who professed to correct the first essays, was so ignorant as to suppose the Tibetan alphabet a derivative from the Syrian or Hebrew, whereas it is manifestly but a modification of the Deva-nagari.

It is principally from the works of Chinese historians

* Recherches sur les langues Tartares, par M. Abel-Rémusat, c. 7.—De la Langue Tibétaine.

that M. M. Abel-Rémusat and Klaproth have endeavoured to throw light on the history of Tibet.

Within the limits of Tibet many tribes exist who are foreign to the genuine Bhotíyah race.* Among them are the Khokhots, hordes descended from the Oelet or Kalmuks, who wandered into that country before the ascendancy of the Chinese and Mandschúrians over Tibet. The proper Tibetans or Bhotíyah are the people called by the Chinese "Thou-fan," or, according to a different orthography, "Thou-po,"† whence come the names of Tobout, Tübet, and Tibet. The Thou-fan, whose language is known to have been preserved by the modern Tibetans, were originally dwellers in the country of H'Lassa; they began to be well known to the Chinese, from whom we have the earliest accounts of Tibet, during the reign of the dynasty of Soaï, at the commencement of the sixth century, at which period the Thou-po conquered and expelled the foreign tribes and became a powerful nation. Chinese writers give to the aboriginal people of that country the names of Kiang, meaning "Shepherds," and of Ti.‡ According to very ancient tradition, says M. Abel-Rémusat, the Kiang and the Ti are descendants of the three Miao, inhabitants of the south of China, in the primeval reign of the great Shun. It is recorded in the Shu-king, that they were exiled by that patriarch of the Chinese to the

* The foreign tribes of Tibet, or those who do not belong to the genuine Bhotíyah race, are accurately enumerated by Ma-tuanlin, from whose work Abel-Rémusat has given a long extract.—See his Nouv. Mélanges Historiques, tom. 1.

† Thou-fa or Thou-pho is the proper name; Thou-fan is a corruption.—See Description du Tibet, traduite du Chinois en Russe, par le P. Hyacinthe.—An Analysis by Klaproth, in the Nouv. Journal Asiatique, tom. 4, p. 104.

It seems from this work, and from Klaproth's notes, that the K'hiang were the ancient Tibetans of the country near Khú-khú-nor. More than one hundred tribes, dispersed along the Hoang-ho and the mountains of Min-chan, belonged to the Western K'hiang. About A.D. 630, in the country of the K'hiang, an empire was founded to which the name of Thou-pho was given. The people were then barbarians and painted their faces of a red colour; they were civilised in consequence of the marriage of one of their kings to a Chinese princess.

‡ Abel-Rémusat, Recherches sur les Langues Tartares.

borders of the Blue Lake or Khú-khú-nor. Abel-Rémusat thinks it no small confirmation of this ancient story, that the Tibetan language still preserves a degree of analogy to the Chinese which, as he says, is especially striking when the Tibetan is compared with the dialect spoken to the southward of the great river Ta-Kiang and to that of the race termed Mân, the barbarous inhabitants of the frontier between China and Tibet. In the chronicle inserted in the "Alphabetum Tibetanum" of Georgi, it is said that letters were introduced into Tibet about sixty years after Christ. Abel-Rémusat appears to have given some credit to this account. He says, "that some monasteries were established in various parts of Tartary and Tibet by priests of Buddha in the first century of our era, but that it was not till the sixth century that the people of that country became generally followers of the Lamas and founded the city of H'Lassa.* "In his critical analysis of the history of the Eastern Mongoles, by Sanang-Setsen, recently translated from the Mongolian language by Schmidt, M. Abel-Rémusat prefers the authority of the Mongolian record.† The Tibetan history of Sanang begins with the story of a miraculous infant who was web-footed, had sky-blue hair, and teeth like the enamel of a conch. He was an Indian, and descended from Buddha, and was carried captive by barbarians to the snowy mountains, where he was fed by ravens and became the patriarch of a line of traditionary princes of Yarlong in Tibet, who afterwards removed to H'Lassa. His name was Seger Sandalitou. His age is altogether uncertain; and all that we collect from this mythical story is, that the very earliest traditions of Tibet connect the history of that country with India, from which it derived the first sparks of civilisation. Buddhism was first introduced, according to Sanang, under Lhatotori, 407 B.C.; but the date of the real civilisation of Tibet, and of the establishment in it of the Lamaite hierarchy, is fixed by the same Mongolian documents in

* Abel-Rémusat, ubi supra.—Klaproth, Asia Polyglott.

† Observations sur l'Histoire des Mongols-Orientaux de Sanang-Setsen, par M. Abel-Rémusat. Paris, 1832.—Extrait du Nouv. Journ. Asiatique.

the seventh century of our era. This statement, says M. Abel-Rémusat, confirms the accounts delivered by the Chinese, and overturns all the theoretical schemes which learned men of Europe have set up as to the origin of arts and sciences and the vast antiquity of literature in the mountains of Tibet and Tangut.* Chinese historians report that the Kiang, who were the real Tibetan race, were a very barbarous people till about the sixth and seventh centuries of our era. At this time the Kiang, called also the Ti, had the same religion which prevailed in China before the introduction of Buddhism.† They celebrated a triennial sacrifice of oxen and sheep to the Heavens, and they spoke a language resembling the Chinese in the centre of the empire.

The Tibetans name their own country Bod or Bod-bha, and themselves Bod-gji‡ Their language is generally considered as one of monosyllabic structure, but to this, according to M. Abel-Rémusat, there are many exceptions. It has many words in common with the Chinese, and Klaproth has pointed out resemblances with the Turkish and other Tartarian languages. The words contain, as written, a great number of consonants, many of which are not pronounced in the refined dialect of H'Lassa, through imitation of Chinese softness; but, according to the missionaries, they are still heard in the ruder idiom of the mountains of Kombo.§ But the idiom of Tibet was never thoroughly

* Ibid. † Recherches sur les Langues Tartares.

‡ Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta. Hence the name Bhotíyahs, by which the people of Tibet and Bhútan are known in India.

§ Abel-Rémusat had exaggerated notions of the affinity of the Tibetan with the Chinese language. The following examples of affinity with Chinese words are given by Abel-Rémusat and Klaproth :—

	Chinese.	*Tibetan.*
Wind	foung	moung
Water	chouï	tchou
Father	fou	pha
Mother	mou	ma
Mouth	kheou	kha
Heart	sin	sning
Dog	kheou	khü
Name	ming	min

known to an European till the study of it was undertaken by the learned Siculo-Hungarian of Transylvania, as he terms himself, Alexander Csoma de Körös, who acquired a complete knowledge of it during his residence in the country. His grammar and dictionary, published at Calcutta, in 1834, are now the principal sources of information respecting this language.

It seems from M. Csoma's grammar that the Tibetan idiom has a remarkable analogy in structure both to the Chinese and Tartar languages. The words are, for the most part, indeclinable, and all their relations are expressed either by their collocation or by certain particles which answer the purpose of inflections, and are postfixed, as in the Tartar dialects, to the chief words. The simple nouns, according to Csoma, are generally monosyllables, whether substantives or adjectives. It is only when connected with the articles or inflective particles that they become dissyllables. This language has a considerable number of monosyllabic particles which, suffixed to nouns and verbs, answer the purposes attained elsewhere by changes of termination or internal inflections or by prepositions. The nouns have, grammatically, no genders; of living creatures the sex is distinguished by separate words, like our words *cock* and *hen*. The plural number is distinguished from the singular by postpositive particles,* and all the modifications which the endings of cases or preposi-

	Chinese.	*Tibetan.*
I, me	ngo	nga
One	ǐ	djig
Two	gnis	ni
Three	gsum	san
Four	szu	buzi
Five	ou	ù
Six	lou	drou
Nine	kieou	gou

It must be observed that supernumary consonants abound in the Tibetan which are not pronounced.

* One remarkable trait of affinity to the Chinese is, according to M. Rémusat, the rare use which both these languages make of the pluralising particles. They exist, but are seldom used, and when used are always postfixed, as *tham-tschi, omnes, tchos-tham-tschi, leges-omnes.*—Tibetan.

tions denote in European languages, are indicated by the same method. Adjectives have no variety of termination. Nouns become verbs by the addition of a word meaning to *do*. The verbs have much of the construction known to belong to the Tartar languages: participial and adverbial forms abound in them. There are no changes of ending indicative of persons. The roots are participles, or rather verbal nouns, and, by addition of suffixes or postpositive particles the variations of meaning are denoted; thus the particle *pa*, postfixed to the root or gerundial form of a verb, makes a verbal adjective or a participle. The roots may be treated as nouns or as adjectives and receive the postpositives, which indicate the cases of nouns. There are many impersonal or indefinite expressions formed by participles, past, present, and future, similar to our English words, *must*, *shall*, *did*, *should*, such words being indifferent as to person and number.*

It would seem that the Tibetan language is a connecting link between the Tartarian languages and the Chinese.

Section IX.—*Physical Characters of the Chinese, Koreans, and Japanese.*

We can hardly venture to describe the Chinese, the Koreans and Japanese people as belonging to one race or family, because their languages are not known to be referrible to one original. Yet they are, if we regard their physical characters, one sort or stock of people. No human races bear a stronger resemblance to each other than the Chinese, Koreans, and Japanese; they all have the same physical type. If we should regard them as human races originally endowed with the peculiarities which they display, one common type was at first impressed upon them all: if, on the other hand, their form has been moulded by the gradual and long continued influence of external

* The past tense is marked by an adverb; the future, as in Mongolian and Ouigour-Turkish, by a participial form joined to the verb substantive.—Abel-Rémusat.—See also M. Csoma Körösi's Tibetan Grammar.

agencies, the effect of such agencies on all of them has been nearly the same. We shall compare the different departments of which this stock of people consists, and discover how far it is susceptible of individual or local variations.

The following are the most remarkable descriptions given by travellers of the physical characters of the Chinese in general:—

The definition given by Linnæus of the Chinese is well known. It is, "Homo monstrosus, macrocephalus, Chinensis." This description is greatly exaggerated. It has been well observed by Sir J. Barrow, that "the small eye, elliptical at the end next the nose, is a predominant feature in both the Mandschú and Chinese countenance; that they have both the same high cheek-bones and pointed chins, which, with the custom of shaving off the hair, give to the head the shape of an inverted cone, remarkable enough in some subjects, but neither so general nor so singular as to warrant their being considered among the monsters in nature" or receiving the Linnæan definition. "The head of our worthy conductor, Vau-tagin," continues Sir J. Barrow, "had nothing in its shape different from that of Europeans except the eye." This agrees with the account given by Pallas, who visited in the north of the Chinese empire the city of Maimatschin. He says that many of the Chinese women have a fine complexion, with fine black hair and good figures. He adds, that those are preferred who have the Mandschú form, that is to say, a broad face, high cheek-bones, very broad noses, and enormous ears. We may perhaps infer that these characters are by no means so general among the Chinese as among the Mandschú Tartars. M. Abel-Rémusat, whose information in everything relating to China was singularly accurate, assures us that the women of the middle provinces have fine complexions, with as great variety of colour, as those of the middle provinces of Europe.

The natural colour of the Chinese and Mandschú Tartars is, according to Sir J. Barrow, between a fair and dark complexion, or that of an European brunette, be-

coming brown in the labouring class who are exposed to the sun. "We saw women in China, though very few, that might pass for beauties even in Europe. The Malay features prevail in most; a small black or dark-brown eye, a short rounded nose, generally flattened; lips considerably thicker than in Europeans, and black hair, are universal."*

It must be observed that Sir John Barrow saw principally the Chinese of the sea coast and not those of the high countries in the interior.

I shall add one more description of the persons of the Chinese. It is from Timkouski, who had good opportunities of personal observation. He says,—

"The Chinese, in general, are of a middle stature. Their limbs, especially their hands and feet, are very small; their complexion yellow or brownish, according to the places which they inhabit, and their mode of living. Those of the northern provinces are much taller and fairer than those of Kiang-si and Konang-toung. The coolies or porters, being continually exposed to the air, are more tanned than the Konang or Mandarins, and much browner than the women, who live shut up in the harems. Their face is rather flat, the cheek-bones high, the nose small, the eyes prominent and oblique; the complexion, the black and stiff hair, the scanty whiskers and beard, indicate the connection of the Chinese with the Mongole, which must be dated from the time of the Mongolian conquest of China. The difference between the Chinese and the Mandschoos is almost imperceptible; the latter are however fatter and more robust."

"Though the physiognomy of the women is more agreeable than that of the men they are very far from possessing the beauty which is admired in the Georgian and other women of Asia. There are women in China, especially among the Mandschoos, who have as fine complexions as the handsomest women in Europe, without the aid of white paint or of rouge, of which many of them make an immoderate use. But, on the other hand, their little eyes,

* Barrow's Travels in China, p. 185.

though black and brilliant, have not the pleasing expression of the large blue or black eyes of the European women. In general the countenances of the Mandschú women almost entirely resemble those of the men."

Paragraph 2.— Of the Physical Characters of the Japanese.

The following description of the persons of the Japanese was given by Kæmpfer:—

——— "Although the Japanese in the main, particularly the common people of Nipon, be of a very ugly appearance, short-sized, strong, thick-legged, tawny, with flattish noses, and thick eyelids (though the eyes stand not so deep in the forehead as those of the Chinese), yet the descendants of the eldest and noblest families, of the princes and lords of the empire, have somewhat more majestic in their shape and countenance, being more like the Europeans. The inhabitants of the provinces Satzuma, Oosijmi, and Finga, are of a middle size, strong, courageous, and manly, otherwise civil and polite. The same is observed of some of the northern provinces in the great island of Nipon, but the natives of some districts of Saikokf, particularly of Fisen, are short, slender, but well-shaped, of a good handsome appearance, and extremely polite. The inhabitants of the great island of Nipon, particularly of its eastern provinces, are known from others by their big heads, flat noses, and musculous fleshy complexion."*

Thunberg has given a much more distinct and intelligible account of this people.

"The people of this nation are well made, active, free, and easy in their motions, with stout limbs, although their strength is not to be compared with that of the northern inhabitants of Europe. The men are of the middling size, and in general not very corpulent; yet I have seen some that were fat. They are of a yellowish colour all over, sometimes bordering on brown, and sometimes on white.

* Kæmpfer's History of Japan, p. 95.

The lower class of people, who in summer, when at work, lay bare the upper part of their bodies, are sun-burnt, and consequently brown. Ladies of distinction, who seldom go out in the open air without being covered, are perfectly white. It is by their eyes that, like the Chinese, these people are distinguishable. These organs have not that rotundity, which those of other nations exhibit, but are oblong, small, and are sunk deeper in the head, in consequence of which these people have almost the appearance of being pink-eyed. Their eyes are dark brown, or rather black, and the eyelids form in the great angle of the eye a deep furrow, which makes the Japanese look as if they were sharp-sighted, and discriminates them from other nations. The eye-brows are also placed somewhat higher. Their heads are in general large, and their necks short; their hair black, thick, and shining, from the use they make of oils. Their noses, although not flat, are yet rather thick and short."*

Captain Hall has thus described the Lieú-kieú people:—

"Their hair, which is of a glossy black, is shaved off the crown. Their beards and mustachios are allowed to grow. They are rather low in stature, but are well formed, and have an easy, graceful carriage. Their colour is not good, some being very dark and others nearly white, but in most instances they are of a deep copper. This is fully compensated by the sweetness and intelligence of their countenance. Their eyes, which are black, have a placid expression."†

Physical Characters of the Koreans.

The physical characters of the Koreans are carefully described by Dr. Siebold. He says,—

"The Kooraïan is superior in stature to the Japanese; yet his height seldom exceeds five-and-a-half Parisian

* Thunberg's Travels, vol. 3, p. 250.

† Capt. Hall's Voyage to the Great Loo-choo Island, p. 71.

P. Gaubil wrote an account of the Lieu-kieu islands, which is inserted in the twenty-third volume of the Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses.

feet : he is of strong, vigorous make ; his figure well proportioned, active, and full of life. The shape of his features bears in general the impress of the Mongolian race: the coarse, broad countenance ; the projecting cheek-bones ; the strong under-jaw ; the nose depressed at the root or upper part, and broadly-spread alæ ; the large mouth, with broad lips ; the peculiar position of the eyes, apparently angular in the direction of their opening ; the rough, thick, black hair of the head, often inclined to a red brown colour ; thick eyebrows ; thin beard ; with a reddish-yellow, wheat-coloured,—*weitzen-farbich*, or straw-coloured complexion, announce him at once and at the first look as an inhabitant of the north-eastern parts of Asia. This type is common to most of the Kooraïans observed by us, and they recognise it as that which is most distinctive of their nation."

The oblique position of the eyes is often mentioned as a peculiar character of these nations. The real foundation of this peculiarity has been best explained by Dr. Siebold, from whom I abstract the following observations :—

Of the Position of the Eyes.—The apparent obliquity of the eyes, which is considered a distinguishing character of the Chinese race, is properly an oblique position of the eyelids, the lines formed by the opening of the eyelids not being exactly level, but depressed at the inner corner of the eye. This peculiarity is generally conjoined with a narrow opening of the eyelids. It depends on the shape of the temporal bone and the other bones of the upper part of the face and on the structure of the eyelids therewith connected.

In the middle of the forehead, the superciliary arches or the ridges of the eyebrows, which are broader and less prominent in the Chinese than in the European skull, lose themselves or spread down towards the nasal processes of the frontal bone, which below the glabella are particularly broad and flat, and at the opening of the nostrils or *incisura nasalis*, sink back yet more for the reception of the nasal bones. The nasal processes of the upper jaw-bone are likewise more sunk in or depressed than in other skulls ; hence

results the depressed and flattened form of the short Chinese nose.

The cheek-bones or zygomatic arches project much; this is owing to the broader and longer shape of the zygomatic processes of the upper jaw-bone. At the upper part of the floor of the orbit, near the frontal processes of the cheek or malar bone, they are thicker and stronger than usual. The malar processes of the frontal bone are flatter, and at their juncture with the frontal process of the cheek-bone are more distant from the *spina nasalis*, and form with this last a less acute angle, whence results the broad and flattened appearance of the face.

The eyelids are folds of the facial skin. Where it is drawn over broad and flat bones of the skull and face this skin is more capable of extension,—*ausdehnang*,—than in the opposite formation of the Caucasian race, in which, around the orbits, remarkable elevations and depressions of surface are covered by the common integument. Owing to the flattening of the root of the nose the integument between the eyes is looser, and there is as it were superfluous skin; while, on account of the prominent form of the cheek-bones, the skin is called into use and stretched over the zygoma and drawn outwards below the orbit. The integument being loose towards the inner angle and above, the skin of the upper eyelid makes a fold which comes down over the lower eyelid, and reaches so much the lower as the skin becomes more extensible in consequence of the greater flattening at the root of the nose and in proportion to the greater stretching of the skin of the lower lid by the projection of the cheek-bones. Hence this folding of the upper lid is more frequent in younger persons, and shows itself more conspicuously in fat than in lean faces.

This superfluity of skin exists only near the greater angle of the eye. The more this folding and the elsewhere stretched state of the tegument is favoured by the shape of the bones, by age, fatness, or other circumstances, so much the smaller becomes the opening of the eyelids; and Dr. Siebold says that he observed one individual in whom more than one third part of the tarsus or cartilage of the lid was covered

at the inner canthus, and the skin so much drawn over, that there was scarcely an opening of some lines in breadth between the eyelids.

Generally in young persons the inner angle of the eye is so much covered by the folding of the skin, that the *valvula semilunaris* and the *caruncula lachrymalis* are scarcely visible; and as the lachrymal passage is thereby more or less obstructed, it often happens that the tears gush over the cheek.

This folding of the skin, which at the inner angle of the eye is drawn down in an oblique direction from the upper eyelid over the lower one, is precisely the cause which occasions the apparent obliquity of the eyes, and a correspond ing appearance of the eye may be discoverable in all heads in the bony formation of which similar peculiarities exist. In slighter degrees this folding is perceptible in our children: it is strongly marked in the Javanese, Makassars, Esquimaux, and other nations foreign to the European race.

In the Japanese and Chinese, and also in the Koreans and Cochin-Chinese, the tarsus or cartilaginous edge of the lower lid retracts so far under the overhanging skin of the upper eyelid, that even the eye-lashes are half concealed, and this encreases the effect produced by the formation above pointed out on the direction of the lines of aperture.

Of the Varieties in Features and Complexion which display themselves in these Nations.

Our knowledge of China is so limited, by the small extent of country which Europeans have had an opportunity of visiting and by the general want of attention to physiological inquiries, that we cannot expect to have as yet the means of correcting the hastily generalised observations which strangers make on their first visits to foreign countries. Travellers describe the Chinese as all alike, as Tacitus described the Germans. That such a description is incorrect, and that considerable variation exists among them, we might collect from the preceding accounts by

Sir J. Barrow. I shall refer to some remarks by M. Gützlaff:—

The northern provinces of Shan-tong and Petschili are under a temperate and even cool climate. We might there expect among the settled and civilised inhabitants to find the features of the Turanian countenance modified, and the type belonging to the Mongolian steppes considerably softened down, if physical character admit of change through the influence of external agencies, whether of climate or mode of life. At Tientsin M. Gützlaff found "the features of the inhabitants more similar to those of Europeans than of any Asiatics whom he had hitherto seen,—including apparently the natives of the Indian Archipelago. The eyes had less of the depressed curve in the interior angle than what is common and characteristic in a Chinese countenance; and, as the countenance is often the index of the mind, the disposition of the people is more congenial to the European than that of the southern people of China. The females are fair and neat in their appearance, and they walk about as they please."*

Most remarkable is the deviation observed in the type of countenance belonging to the Koreans. It is so great as to have suggested in the mind of Dr. Siebold the usual expedient of explanation, that of cutting the knot at once and assuming, without the least extrinsic proof or the slightest probability arising from circumstances in favour of such an hypothesis, that the variety to be described arises from an intermixture of race. Dr. Siebold says,—

"In the countenances of the Kooraians we may recognise the characteristics of two different races of people. The nose pressed down near the inner angle of the orbit and expanding itself into broad alæ; the eyes obliquely placed, with the inner angles widely separated from each other; the greater projection of the cheek-bones; are marks of the race first described. To this form belong the portraits given in plates 6, 7, and 8. But when the root of the nose is more raised and the nose more straight, the configuration of the countenance approaches to the stamp of the Cau-

* Gützlaff's Voyage, 149.

casian type, and the form of the eyes is more like that of Europeans; the cheek-bones too are less prominent, and the sharp profile, which is wanting to the Mongolian race, now makes its appearance. The more the countenance belongs to the former cast the less beard does it display, whereas, in persons of a sharp profile, the beard is often rather strong. The skull is in these instances less compressed, the forehead, which elsewhere retreats, is straight, and the whole aspect of the countenance displays a certain noble expression which is looked for in vain in the rough traits of the Mongolian type."

If this variation of character were a single and isolated fact, we might perhaps be justified in admitting a conjecture that it depends upon the blending of two races; but as similar deviations everywhere are noted among the nations of the Turanian type, it is reasonable to consider this tendency as belonging to the physiological character of these races.

Variations in the Physical Characters of the Japanese.

M. Siebold in the narrative part of his work has introduced some observations on the physical character of the natives of Kiúsiú, one of the three great islands which form the principal part of the empire of Nippon. He says,—

"The population of Fizen, as well as that of the whole island of Kiúsiú, is divided between the dwellers on the coast and those of the interior and of the towns, who differ from each other in their physical aspect, language, manners, and character.

"The coasts, and the numberless islands which border on them, are inhabited by fishers and seafaring people, men small but vigorous, of a deeper colour than those of the other classes. Their hair, more frequently black than of a red brown colour,—*brun-rougeâtre*,*— is crisped in some individiuals who have also the facial angle strongly marked, —*très prononcée*,— their lips puffed,— *enflées*,— the nose small, slightly aquiline, and depressed at the root,—*ren-*

* This part of Siebold's work is as yet only published in the French edition.

foncée à la racine. Address, perseverance, boldness, a frankness which never amounts to effrontery, a natural benevolence and a complaisance which approaches to the abject; such are the characteristic qualities of the sea-coast people.

"The natives of the interior of Kiúsiú, who devote themselves chiefly to agriculture, are a larger race, and are distinguishable by a broad and flattened countenance; by the prominence of their cheek-bones, and the distance between the inner canthi, by their broad and very flat nose, their large mouth; by their hair, which is of a deep brown colour, inclining to red-brown,—*tirant sur le brun-rougeâtre*,—and by the clearer colour of their skin. Among the cultivators, who are perpetually exposed to the air and sun, the skin becomes red: the women, who protect themselves from the influence of the atmosphere, have generally a fine and white skin, and the cheeks of the young girls display a blooming carnation.

"This agricultural race is laborious, sober, pious, cordial, and consequently hospitable. The savage nature, tempered from infancy by the constant observance of the forms of politeness and the etiquette of the country, does not exclude a certain nobility, and never degenerates into grossness as among the peasantry of Europe. The husbandmen of Fizen are even too ceremonious."

The lower class of the citizens is composed of a mixture of the fishing tribe with the rustics on the borders of the towns.

M. Siebold has not as yet described the physical character of the higher classes of Japan. They differ from the inferior castes. It is stated in the description of this people by Kæmpfer, already cited, that "the noble families have somewhat more majestic in their shape and countenance than the generality, and that they are more like Europeans."

It must here be observed, that in this race of truly Turanian type, the same variety, not only in form, but also of colour, displays itself as in other races of Europe and Asia. The people of the more elevated interior lands are very fair or xanthous, while those of the sea-coast are darker both in

their complexion and in the colour of their hair. The appearance of a xanthous complexion among the Tungusians in Daouria has been sometimes ascribed to relicts of the ancient Goths or Getes, who, if we give credit to some late writers, remained in that country when first the people of Europe advanced from the East to the western parts of the great continent. I presume that nobody will venture to attribute the xanthous colour of the Japanese to any other cause than natural variety or deviation resulting from the influence of external agencies.

Section X.—*Of the Physical Characters of the Indo-Chinese Nations.*

If we survey collectively the whole of this great peninsula, from Bengal to China, and from the northern boundary of mountains in Tibet and Yunnan to the three great southern capes, we find a population amounting to twenty-two or twenty-three millions, consisting of nations brought closely together within the same geographical limits, but which, when accurately examined, are separable into groupes, distinguished as well by their physical characters as by the affiliation of languages, and manifesting in both these respects much that is common and at the same time much that is peculiar to each tribe. Collectively regarded, they stand in a certain approximation to the physical type of High Central Asia, which I have termed Turanian; but each member of that groupe has particular characters belonging, according to the usually prevalent law of natural varieties, to the tribe and which seem to individualise it, as each particular family is distinguished from other families in the same race.

There is one general and well-marked form, as we are assured by Mr. Finlayson, common to all the tribes living between China and Hindústan. Under this head are comprehended the inhabitants of Ava, Pegu, Siam, Camboja, and even of Cochin China, though the latter more nearly resemble the Chinese than do the others. According to Mr.

Finlayson, the Malays are referable by their physiognomy and bodily form to the same class of nations to which the Siamese belong. He asserts that they have no physical characters sufficiently distinct and obvious to constitute them a separate class, and that the only perceptible difference between the Malays and the Indo-Chinese nations already enumerated are moral and intellectual rather than physical, and relate to their state of manners, habits of life, and languages, distinctions which belong rather to mental culture than to organization. In all other respects they differ little from the Indo-Chinese tribes in general.* This opinion of Mr. Finlayson respecting the Malays is strongly confirmed by Sir Stamford Raffles.† "If we compare," he observes, "the Malays with the Chinese or with the Arabs and Hindoos, we may be disposed to consider them as a distinct race. Their affinity, however, with the Indo-Chinese nations is quite unequivocal. The sea coast of the peninsula of Malacca and of Sumatra will be found to afford the best specimens of this tribe, as for instance the people called Orang-Laat. Let the inhabitants of these places be compared, not directly with the Chinese, but with the Siamese and Burmans, and little doubt will be entertained as to their probable origin." We have here an historical inference founded on physical considerations alone, and these are, perhaps, not sufficient, although strong in themselves, to support such a conclusion, unless confirmed by other evidence; but the testimony of these writers, as to the physical facts, is yet satisfactory.

The following summary of observations is intended to apply to the several nations above mentioned, and in general also to the Chinese, who are regarded by Mr. Finlayson as the prototype of the whole groupe. One remark of this writer is here to be noticed which is very important. It seems from his statement, that the characters of all these tribes are not uniform and constant. He says, "*a multitude of forms are to be seen in every nation not referable to any particular family or variety of the human race.*" This

* Finlayson's Mission to Siam and Hue.

† Notes by the Editor of Finlayson's Mission.

is quite sufficient to disprove the existence of distinct races. He adds, " for our present purpose we must select such only as possess the peculiar form in the most *characteristic degree*. But as the particulars of this form are not always developed in a full degree in all, we must collect from a multitude of instances what appears to be the predominating tendency."

" The stature is nearly similar in all these tribes; the Chinese being, perhaps, a little taller, and the Malays lower, than the others. In all, it is below the European standard. The average height of the Siamese is five feet three inches. The complexion in all this groupe of nations is lighter than of most Asiatics on this side of the Ganges, by far the greater number being of a yellow colour, which, in the higher ranks, and particularly among women and children, they heighten it by cosmetics, so that their bodies are often rendered of a golden colour. The texture of the skin is remarkably smooth, soft, and shining.

" The whole race displays a remarkable tendency to obesity.* The nutritious fluids of the body are directed towards the surface, distending and overloading the cellular tissues with an inordinate quantity of fat. The muscular textures are in general soft, lax, and flabby, rarely exhibiting that strength or developement of outline which marks the finer forms of the human body. In labourers and mechanics, particularly among the Chinese, the muscular parts occasionally attain considerable volume, but very rarely that hardness and elasticity developed by exercise in Europeans. A first aspect gives a false estimate of their physical power. In some the limbs often equal those of Europeans, and particularly the thighs: they may be said to form a squat race.

" The face is remarkably broad and flat; the cheek bones prominent, large, spreading, and gently rounded; the glabellum is flat and unusually large; the eyes are in general small; the aperture of the eyelids, moderately linear in the Indo-Chinese nations and the Malays, is acutely so in the Chinese, bending upwards at its outer end; the lower jaw is

* From this remark the Cochin Chinese are afterwards excepted.

long, and remarkably full under the zygoma, so as to give to the countenance a square appearance; the nose is rather small than flat, the alæ not being distended in any uncommon degree: in a great number of Malays it is largest towards its point; the mouth is large and the lips thick; the beard is remarkably scanty, consisting only of a few straggling hairs; the forehead, though broad in a lateral direction, is in general narrow, and the hairy scalp comes down very low. The head is peculiar; the antero-posterior diameter being uncommonly short, the general form is rather cylindrical; the occipital foramen is often placed so far back, that from the crown to the nape of the neck is nearly a straight line. The top of the head is often very flat. The hair is thick, coarse, and lank; its colour is always black. The limbs are thick, short, and stout, and the arms rather out of proportion to the trunk: the arms, particularly in Malays, are uncommonly long. The foot is in general small; but the hand is much longer than that of the Bengalese. The trunk is rather square, being nearly as broad at the loins as over the pectoral muscles. There is in this respect the greatest difference between them and the inhabitants of India, who are in general remarkable for small waists. The diameter of the pelvis is particularly large, and the dimensions of the cavity would appear to be somewhat greater than in other races."*

From this account of their form, they would appear to be admirably calculated for toilsome and laborious exertions; but they have not the energy of European labourers: the greater number are distinguished for mechanical skill and patience rather than for mental capacity; others are equally remarkable for indolence and aversion to labour.

To this general outline I shall add some observations referring to the physical history of particular nations.

Mr. Crawfurd, whose works have added greatly to extend ethnographical knowledge, and who is considered as a writer of the greatest authority on subjects connected with this research, has given the following account of the Siamese race in comparison with others in the same part of the world:—

* Finlayson's Embassy to Siam and Hue, p. 230.

He remarks, in the first place, that all the nations between Hindústan and China, differing widely from their neighbours in physical form, in the structure of their language, in manners, institutions, and religion, agree with one another so remarkably in all these respects, that they seem entitled to be looked upon as a distinct and peculiar family of the human race. The following description, he says, drawn from the Siamese, applies more or less exactly to the whole family of nations :—

In stature the Siamese are shorter than the Hindoos, the Chinese, or the Europeans, but taller than the Malays. The average height of twenty men, taken indiscriminately, was found to be five feet three inches, the tallest being five feet eight and the shortest five feet two. This makes them about one inch taller than the Malays and an inch and a-half shorter than the Chinese. Their lower limbs, unlike those of the Hindoos, are well proportioned. Their persons in general are robust and well proportioned, but destitute of the grace and flexibility of the Hindú form, yet lighter than that of the Indian islanders.

Their complexion is a light brown, perhaps a shade lighter than that of the Malays, but many shades darker than the Chinese, yet never approaching the black of the Negro or the Hindú. The hair of the head is black, lank, coarse, and abundant. It was observed by Mr. Finlayson that the hairy scalp is remarkably extended in the Siamese race, the hair descending within an inch of the temples and growing near the angles of the eyes. Mr. Crawfurd saw a native of Láos, therefore an individual of the same race, who had hair growing long over his whole face. The tendency to this variation is the more remarkable in a stock of people whose skin is otherwise particularly smooth. On every other part of the body the hair is scanty, as in the Malayan and American races, and the beard being scanty it is plucked out.

The head is well proportioned, but frequently of remarkable flatness in the occipital part. The face differs greatly from the European and Hindú physiognomy, the features never being bold, prominent, and well defined. The nose

is small, round at the point, but not flattened, as in the Negro, and the nostrils, instead of being parallel, diverge greatly. The mouth is wide but not projecting; the lips are rather thick; the eyes are small, the iris black, the white of a yellow tinge, following as usual the complexion. The outer angles are more turned up than in the western races; the eye-brows are neither prominent nor well marked. But perhaps the most characteristic feature in the whole countenance is the breadth and height of the cheek-bones, which give the face the whole form of a lozenge, instead of the oval figure which constitutes beauty among western Asiatics and Europeans. Mr. Finlayson says, that the face of the Siamese is remarkably large, the forehead very broad and prominent on each side. Mr. Finlayson likewise remarks, that the cheek-bones are large, wide, and prominent. A principal peculiarity in the configuration of their countenance is the great size of the back part of the lower jaw, the coronal process so projecting outwards as to give to this part of the face an unusual breadth. One would imagine them all to be affected with a swelling of the parotid gland. They are careful to blacken their teeth and redden their mouths by a masticatory of lime, catechu, and betel, which gives them a disgusting appearance.* On the whole, though we meet with Siamese countenances that are not disagreable, and admit that they are certainly a handsomer people than either the Chinese or the Indian islanders, beauty according to our notion is a stranger to them. The physiognomy of the Siamese has rather a gloomy, cheerless, and sullen air, and their gait is slow, sluggish, and ungraceful: yet they consider their own females to be much more beautiful than those of Europe.

This description applies, not without modification, to the neighbouring races, as to the Cochin Chinese, who have a little more beard and are fairer than the people to the west and south of them. On the other hand the Burmans, and still more the people of Arakhan, Cassay, and Assam, have more beard, more prominent features, and a darker complexion, and this in proportion to their proximity to the

* Finlayson, ubi supra, 108.

Hindoos. Mr. Crawfurd attributes this variation to intermixture with that people.*

The race of Anam, including the inhabitants of Tunquin and Cochin China, belonging to the same family of nations, differs, as we have before observed, in language from the T'hay or Siamese. They are likewise distinguished by some peculiarities of organisation. We have from Mr. Finlayson an accurate description of the physical structure of this race, in which the following are the most remarkable particulars :—

Their stature is less than that of the other races. Of twenty-one persons, chiefly soldiers, the average height was five feet two inches and three quarters. Of eleven of the same persons the average length of the arm was 12.4 inches; of the fore-arm 10.15 inches; and the girth of the chest at its broadest part was two feet nine inches. The shape of their body and limbs differs but little from that of the tribes already described. The chest is short, large, and well expanded; the loins broad; the upper extremities are long but well formed; the lower are short and remarkably stout. One difference between them and the Siamese is the want of that tendency to obesity observed among the latter: their limbs are stout but not fat. The muscular system is fully developed, the legs large and well formed.

The shape of the head has some peculiarities; a globular form of the cranium and an orbicular shape of the face are characteristics of the Cochin Chinese. The head projects more backwards than in the Siamese; it is smaller and more in proportion to the body. The transverse diameters, both of the sinciput and occiput, are very nearly equal. The forehead is short and small, the cheeks round, the lower part of the face broad. The roundness of the whole countenance is more striking in women, who are reckoned beautiful in proportion as they display this form of the face. There is, in reality, a degree of beauty, and in the expression of the countenance a harmony, sprightliness, intelligence, and good humour, which we look for in vain either in the Chinese or Siamese.

* Crawfurd, 2, p. 5.

The eyes are small, dark, and round. They want the tumid, incumbent eyelid of the Chinese. The nose is small but well formed. The mouth is remarkably large; the lips are prominent but not thick. The beard is remarkably scanty, yet they cultivate it with the greatest care. On the upper lip it is more abundant.

They are of a yellowish colour. It is rare to find any among them who are very black. Many of the females in particular are as fair as the generality of the inhabitants of the south of Europe. There is a peculiarity in their costume connected with this fact: they clothe themselves more than any other Indo-Chinese races. There is not a person however mean who is not covered from the head to the knees.*

Physical Constitution of the Burmahs.—The Burmahs are described as a short, stout, but well proportioned and active race, of a brown, but never very dark, complexion. The hair on their head, like that of other races in tropical climates, is black, coarse, and abundant; their beard somewhat fuller than that of their neighbours, especially the Malays. They are very subject to leprous and other cutaneous maladies.†

It may be inferred from some of the preceding remarks that the physical characters ascribed to the Indo-Chinese tribes are not without exception and that kind of variety which is displayed in almost every race. A more remarkable instance than any other yet observed is to be found among the Láos, who are a branch, as we have seen, of the T'hay or Siamese race. We are assured by Dr. Richardson, a late traveller, the first Englishman who ever penetrated to the country of the Láos, in the northern and interior parts of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, that the females of that race are remarkably beautiful; that they are destitute of all traces of the Mongolian or Chinese physiognomy, and have large and beautiful eyes, unlike the generality of the race.‡

* Finlayson, 378.

† Crawfurd's Embassy, p. 251.—Ritter's Erdkuñde, 5, p. 269.

‡ Erdkunde, 3, 1243.

The preceding observations refer principally to the T'hay and Anam races spread through the northern and more extensive parts of the Peninsula. The nations of the southern region, as the Tschampa, Khomen or Cambojans, and the Môn or people of Pegu, have not been particularly described. They appear, indeed, to be included with the rest in the general delineation given by Crawfurd and Finlayson of the physical and moral characters of the Indo-Chinese tribes collectively surveyed; and this even extends, as we have seen, to the Malays. We collect, indeed, from other writers, that most of the southern nations partake of the same type. The Portuguese and Dutch voyagers describe the people of Camboja as resembling the Siamese in their general description, and their country as full of monks of the same religion, who, like the Siamese talapoins, shave their heads and eye-brows.* A similar account is given by Linschot of the people of Pegu, and a remark is added as to their physical characters,—that they resemble the Chinese, their complexion alone being somewhat different: they are said to be darker than the Chinese and fairer than the natives of Bengal.† The people of Arakhan or the Rukheng are described by an old English traveller, Daniel Sheldon, who reported that what other nations reckoned deformity was esteemed beauty in Arakhan. "They admire a broad, smooth forehead, and in order to produce it they fasten a plate of lead on the heads of new-born children. Their nostrils are wide and open; their eyes small but lively; their ears hang down to their shoulders like those of the Malabars."‡ The civilised nations of the peninsula appear all to bear the same general type, especially those among whom the religion of Buddha prevails. The wild aborigines of the mountainous districts are as yet but little known. A description of their physical characters and adequate specimens of their languages would be of great interest, and

* Allgemeine Hist. der Reisen, Bd. 18, p. 200.

† Linschot, in Allgem. Hist. der Reisen, Bd. 10, s. 577.

‡ Allg. Hist., Bd. 10, s. 67.

might lead to a discovery of relations between them and the aborigines of India on one side, and the primitive inhabitants of China on the other. We have some few observations from Mr. Crawfurd on two of these tribes of mountaineers. Individuals of the wild race named Ká, who inhabit the mountainous country between Láos and Camboja, and who are still independent of the Siamese and often kidnapped by them, were seen by Mr. Crawfurd, who says that their features differed strikingly from those of the Siamese. The same traveller also saw one individual of the Chong, a wild race inhabiting the territory of Chan-ta-bun and Tung-yai, of which they are supposed to be the aborigines. In features and complexion this persons differed essentially from the Siamese: his hair was softer, his beard fuller, his features much more prominent, and his complexion darker. This might have been peculiar to the individual. A short specimen of his language, obtained by Mr. Crawfurd, shows many coincidences with that of the Ká, and both frequently coincide with the Cambojan: by Mr. Crawfurd however they are considered,—at least the Chong,—as original languages.

In this account of the inhabitants of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula I have purposely omitted to survey the primitive population of the great promontory of Malacca, commonly termed by itself the "Malayan Peninsula." It is well known to contain, besides the Malays themselves, whose physical character has been briefly noticed, a variety of wild tribes of different descriptions, some resembling the Malays and the Indo-Chinese nations, others more like the natives of India,* and in the mountainous interior races of Papuas or woolly-haired blacks. The natives of this peninsula stand in a near relation to the islanders of the Indian Archipelago, and the proper place for entering on their history will occur when we proceed to survey the different races of men who are spread over the great oceanic region which contains almost the only habitable parts of the southern hemisphere.

* Finlayson, ubi supra.

General Remarks deduced from the Preceding Account.

We have observed that writers of the most accurate information and judgement, who have visited the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, agree in considering the principal tribes which constitute the population of that country, namely, all the civilised nations resembling the Chinese in manners and religion, as branches of one stock. If the Rukheng, the T'hay, and the Anam are regarded as the offsets of one original stem,—and their striking resemblances in many respects almost force this conclusion upon the mind,—we may deduce from the preceding survey of these nations some general remarks illustrative of the subject of these researches.

1. We find languages similar in structure and in the nature of their constituent materials, but widely different in vocabulary, belonging to tribes of one family. The inference is, that structure or organisation of languages is more permanent than individual words, and that languages strictly belonging to one class, though different in vocabulary, may be indications of a common origin between several nations or tribes.

2. Natural diversities of physical structure may be formed in the offspring of one race under different agencies. Some marked differences, though in degree much less considerable than the resemblance also recognised, exist between the different Indo-Chinese nations. The Anam and the T'hay differ physically. The difference must be attributed to a long abode in countries of somewhat different climate. If so inconsiderable a diversity in external agencies can produce this effect, a greater diversity would probably give rise to a further deviation.

It does not appear that the differences between these nations is in any way attributable to intermixture with the aboriginal tribes, since the latter are quite separate from the civilised, never mix with them, and look upon them as foreign races, who came long after them into the Peninsula.

Most of these nations appear to have come into the country from the north, and it may be conjectured that they were in their origin nearly related to the Chinese, Tibetans, and other races in the mountainous region lying to the northward of the Peninsula.

Section XI.—*General Observations on the Languages of the Chinese and Indo-Chinese Nations.*

The languages spoken by the Chinese and Indo-Chinese nations are so peculiar and even singular, that the ethnography of this section of the human family cannot be made tolerably complete without some notice of them and some account of the characteristics which distinguish these from all other idioms.

In the time of Adelung it was customary to term the dialects of these nations monosyllabic languages, and nobody doubted of the correctness of the designation. A controversy was afterwards raised on this point, and M. Abel-Rémusat in particular contended that the Chinese language could not with strict propriety be termed a monosyllabic speech. But facts, as M. de Humboldt has observed, were so obviously against the conclusion of this writer, that the old opinion held its ground in spite of his great authority.*

The controversy had for its groundwork several mistakes as to the meaning of words. A sufficient explanation had not been given in what sense the term monosyllabic was to be applied to words and languages. The instances of polysyllables in the Chinese language, adduced by Abel-Rémusat, were chiefly compounded words, and it is evident that the composition of words is something very different from an originally polysyllabic form. Compound words are only aggregates of several words, perhaps of several monosyllabic ones, and words are properly polysyllabic only when all their component syllables, each being by itself

* W. von Humboldt, Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, zu Berlin, 1836.

without meaning, jointly and in common express the sense. Polysyllables of this kind are scarcely to be found in the Chinese, and it has even been doubted whether they originally belonged to any other language. The Sanskrit and its sister dialects or sister languages, though confessedly the most unlike the Chinese, are formed on a groundwork of monosyllabic roots; and the problem to be solved, when we attempt to obtain a clear notion of the peculiar nature of the languages termed monosyllabic, is how it comes to pass that these languages do not form polysyllabic derivatives, as do the Sanskrit, the Greek and Latin, from monosyllabic elements. The main peculiarity of the monosyllabic idioms consists, as M. de Humboldt observes, in the double circumstance of the total want of affixes, or syllables subjoined for the purposes of inflexion, and the peculiar manner of pronunciation, by which, even when the mind connects ideas, the sounds of syllables are left separate, and, by a distinct intonation or accentuation, still retain the character of individual or particular words.

It has been remarked by the great philologer whom I have just cited, that the Chinese and the Sanskrit languages exemplify the two most opposite methods of construction. The Sanskrit denotes all the relations and connections of words and of ideas by grammatical forms, written and expressed in pronunciation; the Chinese leaves the perception of these relations to be the work of the mind. The use of some particles being excepted, of which the Chinese can however in a great degree dispense, this language expresses all grammatical relations of words by mere *position*, fixed according to certain invariable rules, and by the explanation of sense which the context or connexion of the sentence supplies. Much greater exercise of the understanding is therefore called for in a conversation carried on in the Chinese language than in the Sanskrit and other idioms in which all these relations are at once denoted by the expressed sounds of words.

We might be tempted from this observation to look upon the Chinese as one of the most imperfect of languages; but this idea will be abandoned on further consideration

of the subject. It possesses in fact a high degree of excellence and exercises a powerful influence on the developement of the understanding. Paradoxical as the observation may appear it is yet correct, that the Chinese language, by the apparent absence of all grammatical forms, tends to enforce acuteness of the mind. This peculiar structure of language depends upon the habit of preserving the distinctness of words by a strict rule of separate accenting and intonation, which prevents the use of composition and inflexion. To people who spoke such a language it was natural to invent writing by means of pictures or symbols of ideas. The ear perceived words as monograms, as separately divided objects, and the mind invented monograms to represent them to the eye, and this habit of thus representing words by particular and unconnected visible forms contributed secondarily in a great measure to the preservation of distinctness in monosyllabic words.

In the cultivated languages of the other class, the real existence of polysyllabic words cannot be denied; it can only be called into question as far as roots are concerned. It originates in the composition of separate words. These languages connect several words, which modify the import of each other, one of them at least losing a part of its proper sense, and becoming a mere adjunct to the meaning of the word with which it is joined. Instances are found in the various pronouns and auxiliary verbs which are involved in the Sanskrit conjugations, and in the prepositions which serve to form the cases of nouns. All such words coalesce with the principal syllable of the compound, which for the most part preserves its accent, while the subordinate syllables are pronounced without stress and with a rapid utterance.*

Several different causes have been suggested by writers on the grammatical structure of the monosyllabic languages as likely to have contributed to the preservation of this form of human speech among the south-eastern nations. One of them has already been mentioned. It was thought by M. de Langlès, and the observation was approved, though

* W. von Humboldt, ubi supra.

with some reserve, by M. Abel-Rémusat, that the early use of hieroglyphic symbols instead of alphabetic writing contributed to this result.* Each word, being represented by a particular symbolic character, is likely to be distinctly remembered and recognised in its individual sense, which is not so strikingly denoted in alphabetic writing.

Professor Neumann agrees with M. M. Langlès, Abel-Rémusat and de Humboldt in connecting the preservation of monosyllabic language and its peculiar character to the method of hieroglyphic writing practised in China. He says, "the art of writing was in use from the commencement of the Chinese monarchy. In the earliest writing each word received its figure and representative, in which it remained encased and deprived of the power of change and of cohesion. Sounds might be made to precede and follow each other and lose in time their individual distinctness and separation, and acquire unison and harmony, but this was impossible with respect to images which were their symbols. Hence the Chinese is the only language in which each word has preserved its primitive type without modification and without coalessing with its associated vocables. All languages must have been at first monosyllabic or rather monotonic. It is easily understood why in Chinese grammatical or logical relations cannot be displayed in words themselves. Separate words taking the function of particles are instead of the elements of inflection. Thus the whole difference between the Chinese grammar and that of other nations results from the figurative writing of the former. It was found impossible to retain in memory a great mass of symbolic forms; hence the idea of subdividing them into classes, as botanists divide plants, by distinctive characters which are common to a whole class of symbols, and of referring the reader to places in a dictionary where the meaning and pronunciation of all the members of the class are explained."† The theory thus suggested seems to account rationally for the peculiar want of inflection characteristic

* Abel-Rémusat, Recherches sur les Langues Tartares.

† Professor Neumann, Journal Asiatique, l. c.

of the Chinese and Indo-Chinese languages. The only difficulty that stands in the way of our adopting it as a satisfactory explanation is the fact, that the last-mentioned language have been written from distant periods in alphabetic letters. But it may be remarked, that they were formed, and originally cultivated, under the influence of Chinese manners, and by nations who were very early in connection with, or subject to, China. The use of alphabetic characters was apparently unknown to them until it was introduced at various periods by the disciples of Buddha.

Another principal cause of the difference between these and other languages, has been supposed to be the original paucity of primitive roots, which rendered it necessary to multiply them by varieties in utterance, and thus led to a more accurate attention to tone and accentuation. Dr. Leyden informs us that the monosyllabic words of the Indo-Chinese nations are uttered with a great variety of accent and intonation, and require an accuracy in articulating, and a delicacy of ear in comprehending them, far beyond what is requisite in the polysyllabic languages of Asia and Europe. We are assured by a late writer that a striking peculiarity, which he supposes to extend to all monosyllabic languages, is the variety of *intonations* by which sounds, originally the same, are made to express entirely different meanings. The first division of tones is into *the rising* and *falling*, according as the voice slides up or down during the enunciation of a syllable. This variety is employed in English mostly for the purposes of emphasis and euphony, but in T'hay, Chinese, and Burmese such a variation of tone produces different words and expresses totally different ideas.* Another distinction of tone in monosyllabic languages is the *abrupt termination* or sudden cessation of voice at the end of a syllable. Like the other variations of tone, this entirely changes the meaning of the words to which it is applied. Thus in T'hay, *má*, means a dog, but *ma̱*, the dot indicating the

* Thus in the T'hay *má* signifies a dog; *ma̱*, with a falling tone, is the verb, to come. In Burmese *lé* is air, but *le̱* is a cow; *nyen* is to see, *myen* denotes a horse.

abrupt cessation above noted, signifies a horse. These varieties of intonation, namely, the rising, the falling, and the abrupt, are the most extensive and important in their use, but several languages in the same class have still more minute distinctions, and the Chinese idiom itself is said to distinguish eight different tones.* These peculiarities prevent the principal words of a sentence from coalescing imperceptibly with the inferior words which are used to denote accidents or modifications in their meaning, as it happens in other languages, so that both classes of vocables retain their character of distinct parts of speech. Thus nouns have no numbers or cases, nor have verbs any conjugations through moods, tenses, and persons. Such variations in meaning are not expressed in the Indo-Chinese, as some of them are in the Tartar languages, by means of particles, which now at least have become properly such, but partly by the particular position which the words occupy in a sentence, and partly by additional words. Thus in the Rukheng language many words are nouns, verbs, or adjectives, according to their respective order of succession, and a precise collocation supplies the want of grammatical inflections. The plurals of nouns are formed by numerals or words indefinitely expressing *multitude* or *plurality*, as *lú*, a man, plural, *lú-ăkúng*, man-many. Pronouns are made plural in a similar manner, as *ngo*, I; *ngo-ro*, I-many, *i.e.* we: *móng*, thou; plural, *móng-ro*, thou-many, *i.e.* you: *yang-su*, he; plural, *yang-su-ro*, they. Cases are denoted by a fixed rule of juxta-position. In many of these idioms the same principle holds with respect to the collocation of words, which we have seen to be the universal law in the Tartar languages, that is, words indicating any affection or modification of state in the principal word, or rather in its corresponding idea, are placed after such words. But this is not uniformly the

* Comparison of the Indo-Chinese languages, by the Rev. N. Brown, American missionary, stationed at Sadiya, in the north-eastern extremity of Assam. —Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 72. Dec., 1837.

case: the position differs in different languages.* Thus the phrase "a man's head," is expressed in Burmah and Rukheng by *lú-k'haung*, literally "man head," but in T'hay by *kuă-khon*, *i.e.* "head man."† The verb substantive is often omitted, being reckoned inherent in adjectives, as in Anam, *núi-màq-kaw*, literally "this mountain high," meaning "is high." Relative pronouns are entirely wanting in several, if not in all, of these languages, a peculiarity common to them and, as we have seen, to the Tartar idioms in their ancient form. The following sentence, which is given as a specimen of the collocation adopted in the Burmese idiom, might afford a good exemplification, so far as the order of words is concerned, of that inverted arrangement, according to our ideas, which, as we have observed, forms so remarkable a characteristic of the Tartar languages:—The expression, "He said, I am the voice of one crying 'make straight in the wilderness the way of the Lord, as said the prophet Esaias,'" is thus inverted,—"The prophet Esaias said as....The Lord of the way.... the wilderness in....straight make....crying one of the ....voice I am, he said."‡

* Thus when two nouns follow each other in the Chinese and Burmese the first is in meaning the genitive; whereas in the T'hay and Anam the second is in the oblique case. Sometimes the Chinese order differs from that of all others equally. In Chinese, adjectives precede the substantives, whereas they follow in Burmese, Anam, and T'hay.

† Leyden, ubi supra.

‡ Rev. N. Brown, loc. cit.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF THE SYRO-ARABIAN NATIONS.

SECTION I.— *General Survey.—Ethnographical Characters of this Family of Nations.*

AN extensive region of Western Asia, between the border of the Iranian Plateau and the shore of the Mediterranean, has been the immemorial abode of numerous tribes of people, commonly, but with very doubtful propriety, designated the Semitic or Shemite race.* From the two principal names of the region which they inhabit I purpose to term them Syro-Arabian nations. The bond of union between these tribes is their remarkable language, of which the Hebrew, the Syrian, and the Arabic, with the kindred dialects of each, are branches. No well-defined natural boundaries have served to mark out, through successive

* The term "Semitic Language" was first used by Eichhorn.—Einleitung in das alte Testament. It was adopted by the authors of the "Mithridates," and became long since current among German, and of late among English, writers. Gesenius has very properly objected to its use, that some of the nations who spoke dialects of the common language of this groupe were, as we learn from the Biblical genealogies, descended from Ham. Under what circumstances, in the early ages of human society, tribes of these two families became so nearly connected and almost united as to take part in the developement of what may be almost termed one common speech, it is impossible now to determine. There is, however, nothing improbable in the conclusion, that such was the fact. The Hebrew language appears to have belonged to the Canaanitish or Hamite branch, the Syrian to the Shemite. These cognate idioms are more nearly allied than the sister languages of the Indo-European stock, though not dialects in the sense in which that term is applied to the Greek dialects.—Gesenius, Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache.

ages, the extent of country occupied by the Syro-Arabian nations. The mountains of Armenia and of Kúrdistan have been considered as their eastern limit; but even in the most ancient times there were tribes of Chaldæans in parts of the Gordyæan chain, and of Syrians in the defiles of Mount Taurus, and in some parts of Asia Minor. How far the branches of this race may have reached in the same direction is a matter of controversy. On the western side, parts of Africa were colonised by people who spoke the language of the Hebrews and of the Arabs, and it is still unknown to what extent among the Ethiopian races tribes allied in speech to the Shemite family may have been spread.

The Syro-Arabian nations are among those races of men who display the most perfect physical organisation. A well known modern writer, who has had extensive opportunities of research into the anatomical and other corporeal characters of various nations, has maintained that the bodily fabrick belonging to the Syro-Arabian tribes manifests even a more perfect developement in the organic structure subservient to the mental faculties than that which is found in other branches of the human family. The convolutions of the brain are thought by Baron Larrey to be more numerous and more finely organised in the Arab than in the European. It may, perhaps, be doubted whether the brain of a Jew or of an Arab could be distinguished from that of a Frenchman or an Englishman by the most skilful anatomist. However this may be, it is certain that the intellectual powers of the Syro-Arabian people have in all ages equalled the highest standard of the human faculties. Connected by a bond of union, as yet mysterious, with the race of Misraim, the Hebrews and Phœnicians shared with them the earliest culture of arts, and practised writing a thousand years before the Greeks. Our present names for all the elementary sciences, by means of which the human mind has made its most signal achievements, plainly derived from the primeval language of this race, attest that from them originated all the corresponding branches of knowledge. Alphabets and cyphers, algebra and alchemy, and

chemistry, almagest, and almanac, are Hebrew or Arabian words: astronomy and geography and navigation have acquired new names of European derivation, but these, not less than astrology and magic and cabbalism and divination and horoscopy, nearly all real and attempted sciences, are known to have been cultivated by Shemite or Phœnician nations, and prove the energy with which the active mind of this race strove, during an age when the possible was yet unlimited, not only to unravel the secrets of material nature, but likewise to penetrate into all dark and mysterious subjects. But though the origin of letters and of science is ascribed to the Syro-Arabian people, they hold a still more prominent place in the history of all times as the depositories of religion; and it is remarkable that the three great systems of theism which have divided the civilised world, came forth from nations of Shemite origin, among whom arose the priests and prophets of all those nations who hold the unity of God. The Shemite people alone appear to have possessed of old sufficient power of abstraction to conceive the idea of a pure and immaterial nature, and of a governing mind distinct from body and from the material universe. Their conceptions were more pure and sublime, their sentiment of devotion more intense, their consciousness of guilt expressed itself in more significant and more definite acts, than those of the Japetic nations, with whom mythology began, and who in Greece and in India and elsewhere delighted to clothe the few original principles or elements of human belief with a splendid garb of imagery. While the fictions of a gorgeous and fantastical mythology amused the dreamy imagination of Indian poets, a sentiment of the immensity and eternity and spiritual purity and holiness of God filled with more abstracted and calmer contemplation the deeper mind of the seers of Palestine. Nothing in reality is more illustrative of the psychological difference between the Japetic and Shemite branches of our race, than the conceptions which both have formed of the nature and attributes of the Divinity. The Jupiter of the Greeks was the "bound-

less Æther, embracing the Earth in his moist, foggy arms;"* or when the greatest of poets attempted to describe his might, "the son of Saturn was a monster who nodded his head and shook the many-topped Olympus." The gods of the Hindoos display their still more stupendous power by churning the ocean with the inverted summit of Mount Meru. The Deity whom the Shemite patriarchs taught their posterity to worship, was that Being "whom no eye hath seen, nor can see," at whose almighty word the visible universe sprang into existence,—"when the morning stars sang together and the sons of God shouted for joy."

There is no particular in which the reflective character of the Shemite nations has been displayed more remarkably than in the singular character and construction of their language. While all other human idioms appear, if we may use the expression, to have grown up by the gradual superposition of supplementary syllables upon monosyllabic elements, forming, by composition or agglutination, polysyllabic words,—while they all carry the undoubted appearance of gradual and successive formation by means of additions, which contingencies from time to time have required and pointed out,—the Shemite language, not the growth of accidental and gradual accretion, but displaying in its very framework a deep conception and design, consists of dissyllabic roots, of which the three consonants express the abstract meaning, the essential and leading sense or import, while all the relations of ideas to past and future time, to personal agency or passion, the possible or real, and even the differences of nouns and verbs, are denoted by changes in the interior vowels, changes which the words themselves were obviously intended in their original formation or construction to undergo,—a contrivance which implies a conception and previous contemplation of all that words when invented can be thought capable of expressing. Of all the characteristics of the Shemite language this phenomenon is the most remarkable. I shall advert again to the subject when con-

* ὁρᾷς τον ὑψοῦ τονδ' ἀπειρον Αἴθερα
καὶ γῆν περιξ ἐχονθ' ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκαλαις.
τοντον νομιζε Ζηνα, τονδ' ἡγοῦ θεόν.

sidering more in detail the relations of the Syro-Arabian idioms to other languages.

With so peculiar a language the Shemite people had an equally remarkable literature. I shall not advert to its infinitely greater importance as the medium of handing down and perpetuating the dictates of divine revelation, but merely to its formal character. Even in the principle of construction, in the outward form of literary composition, a marked difference in the mental habits and choice of the two races is strikingly displayed. The foundation of poetry among the Greeks, Latins, and Hindoos is, as every one knows, rythm and quantity, an arrangement of syllables producing a certain modification of sound, selected perhaps originally for the sake of harmony and a cadence pleasing to the ear, but in part designed to assist the memory in the long oral recitations practised before the invention of written signs. Far more intellectual and more indicative of reflection was the poetry of the Shemite nations, among whom, as it is well known, the second line in a distych served to illustrate, by an expanded meaning, or by an additional and reflex sense, or a newly-suggested pathos, the purport of the preceding line, to which, in its material, it bears no particular relation either in cadence or syllabic structure.*

Paragraph 1.—Further Observations on the Characteristics of the Syro-Arabian Language.

Whatever degrees of separation may be indicated between languages by difference of vocabulary, these are unessential when compared with an entire unlikeness in their grammatical systems, and in the construction of words. Such a difference has often been pointed out between the Indo-European and Syro-Arabian languages. The original roots of the former, as all grammarians, Indian, Greek, Latin, German, and others, have observed, are almost universally monosyllabic. This, indeed, is common to the language

* The well-known prophetic denunciation of Balaam, not an Israelite, probably a native of Mesopotamia, furnishes a celebrated example of this style of composition, and affords a proof, that it was not confined to the Israelites, but practised by other Shemite nations.

of the Arian race with most other human idioms: so general, indeed, is the monosyllabic form of primitive words, that some philologers have held it to be universal, and to spring out of the very nature of original speech as if necessarily connected with the kind of mental effort by which men first attempted to express their thoughts and feelings.* The Shemite language, however, is a remarkable exception to this observation, the words being derived, in all the known dialects, from triliteral or dissyllabic roots, a property which seems to be so deeply inlaid in the structure of all these idioms, that it has been generally considered as belonging essentially to the very original groundwork of the language.

Attempts have, indeed, been made to modify this observation, or to explain away the fact by shewing that the dissyllabic or triliteral form is not the original state of the Shemite primitives. A very slight survey of the Hebrew roots is sufficient to shew that a great number of these words, having the same or cognate significations, consist of one syllable common to all, to which is appended another utterly different. This seems to indicate that the original meaning belonged to a monosyllable, and that it has been modified by the addition of a second syllable. This was admitted by Michäelis, and more lately by Gesenius. The observation had been made long ago by Caspar Neumann, of Breslau, who attempted to carry his analysis of roots through the whole Hebrew language. Klaproth adopted the idea of Neumann, and in an essay on this subject produced a series of such roots. He added, moreover, the important remark, that the initial monosyllables of Hebrew roots, freed from the super-added consonant, either wholly, or for the most part, correspond both in sound and meaning with dhatoos or radical words

* In English the words denoting all bodily and most mental actions are monosyllables, as see, feel, hear, touch, speak, walk, talk, sleep, dream, think, judge, hope, fear, squeeze, drag, drive, yell, scream, roar, run, &c. In Sanskrit all the dhatoos or roots are monosyllabic, as perhaps all the real themes or primitives in Greek and Latin. The monosyllabic languages, as we have seen, differ from these, chiefly in retaining the monosyllabic form, and in wanting all real inflection and composition.

of the Sanskrit language. On this subject it has been observed by Ewald, that such a comparison of roots, made with the requisite accuracy of analysis, is fitted to lead us to new results and carries us back to an age anterior to the existence of the Shemite language according to its present form or principle of construction. To this opinion M. de Humboldt has assented, in so far that he regards every essentially new form of developement which the dialect of a nation assumes in the lapse of time as equivalent to the organisation of a new language.* But he observes, that whatever opinion may be held upon the question, whether the Semitic speech was formed by the combination or modification of elements derived from an idiom having monosyllabic roots, certain it is, that in the actual construction of this language the dissyllabic form of roots is essential to it, and pervades its whole fabric. It is one of its characteristic features, and must ever be taken into consideration, as often as any discussion is maintained as to the progress of developement and the history of this remarkable speech. In returning to the theory of its origination, it is observed by Humboldt that while we admit the etymological analysis of many roots on the principle above explained and, for numerous cases in which this attempt will probably fail, allow further that the failures may have been owing to the defect of materials for the further pursuit of the investigation, we still cannot, with any degree of probability, carry this argument further than the supposition, that the original language contained a mixture of monosyllabic and dissyllabic words: moreover, the undoubted fact, that the dissyllabic form of roots has been adopted as an universal principle, indicates the previous existence in the language of a very large proportion of dissyllabic elements. A new method of modifying adopted words could hardly have been taken up at once, and without the influence of example and precedent; and these precedents must have been so numerous in proportion, as to give a tendency, derived from habit, to

* Baron von Humboldt's Essay on the "Kawi-Sprache," in the Berlin Transactions, vol. 1, Einleitung.

this method of construction. Even if the conjecture were admitted, which sets forth a given period as the era of transition from the monosyllabic to the dissyllabic form, there would still remain in the elements, from which we suppose the dissyllabic language to have been constructed, the peculiarity that they consist of roots having a vowel between two consonants, in which the vowel, being indifferent as to the meaning or essential import is left to be changed by, and become subservient to, the purposes of inflection, and to indicate the relations of meaning as to time, mood, and other modifications. On these grounds, which appear hardly to be contestible, M. de Humboldt defends the opinion which assigns to the Syro-Arabian language, as the essential and original character of its formation, a preponderance of dissyllabic roots. The phenomenon, as he observes, which struck Gesenius, namely the resemblance in the meaning of the first syllable in many different roots, indicates only a similarity in the leading idea or impression which the sounds of words were intended to denote. A careful comparison of the second syllables may tend to elucidate this subject; but even if it should be admitted that the similar dissyllables are all compounded words, which is extremely improbable, they are still compounds in their nature unlike all others; and if the Shemite speech had once adopted to so great an extent the principle of composition, as thus to have constructed its roots, it is scarcely credible that it would all at once have abandoned it and for the future repudiated the use of compound words, which it has certainly prohibited to such an extent, that this has become, as every one knows, a leading feature in all the Syro-Arabian dialects.

It appears on the whole to have been the opinion of M. de Humboldt, founded evidently on the most probable results of the facts compared, that the Shemite language consisted in its original material of roots principally dissyllabic. Into this language it seems that many roots were admitted of foreign origin, cognate with Sanskrit or Greek or other primitive words. But in dealing with them, the genius of the language displays itself. Before they became Semitic

words they were turned into dissyllables, according to the structure of the language, and were furnished with mutable vowels, and rendered susceptible of the inflections peculiar to Semitic verbs, and this was done by adding a second syllable to the monosyllabic primitives.

Connected with the triliteral form of roots and the dissyllabic structure is the phenomenon before mentioned, and which also was pointed out by Humboldt. I allude to the circumstance, that in Semitic roots the three consonants express the import or leading idea connected with the word, and the interior vowels its shades of meaning and the modifications of time and mood, agency or passion, actual or potential existence. It is hard to determine with respect to these two peculiarities of Semitic roots, namely, their triliteral structure and the peculiarity just pointed out, which is the determining cause and groundwork of the other, though it is manifest that there is a very close connection between them. The greater compass which the formation of roots by three consonants afforded, may have given rise to the denoting various relations of words by changes of vowels; and the principle of so denoting these relations being once adopted, the requisite fulness of expression could only be obtained in words of a certain compass and containing several consonants. Other languages display occasional traces of this tendency,* but the adoption of such a principle as a fundamental law of structure in the formation of words and of language, and in the system invented for the expression of ideas and their modifications, is a phenomenon quite peculiar and characteristic of the Semitic languages. It seems to place these languages in a different category from all other human idioms. The origination of the latter may be attributed to accident or to the unpremeditated and momentary efforts of the mind, and to the occasional developement of a few original elements. Even the Greek and Sanskrit come under this observation. But the artifice of construction is so deeply

* The changes of interior vowels, termed in Sanskrit Guna and Vriddhis, are examples in other languages, as are such changes as those of *εἶδω, οἶδα,—μένω, μέμονα,—greta, gaigrót.*—Mœs Goth.

inlaid in the very original elements of the Shemite language, and the principle of expression so refined and, if we may so speak, metaphysical, as to bear the appearance of a premeditated plan.

SECTION II.—*Of the Syro-Arabian Nations, and of their Dialects and of their Extent.*

As the affinity of this language is the principal bond of association between all the nations belonging to the groupe, so the diversities of their dialects afford the most obvious ground for subdividing them and classifying them in several departments. This remark, however, would lead us far from the truth if we were to follow it without observation of one remarkable exception.

Most writers on the so termed Semitic languages have distributed them into three separate branches.* 1. The Northern or Aramæan branch, divided into the western Aramæan or Syrian, and the eastern Aramæan or Chaldean language. 2. The Canaanitish or Hebrew, to which the Phœnician and Punic belonged; this is the idiom of the Sacred Scriptures and of the Phœnician inscriptions, therefore of all the very ancient remains of the Syro-Arabian language. 3. The Arabian, including the old Arabic of the Koran and of Cufic inscriptions, and likewise the modern dialects of Yemen, the Hedjas and the Arabian desert, and the Moggrebyn or western Arabic, spoken in northern Africa.† Some late writers are of opinion, that a fourth branch has been discovered, and that this cannot be associated with either of the three classes mentioned by Gesenius. It is the Ekhhili of M. Fresnel which, according to that writer, "is still preserved *among the noble race*, who inhabit the mountains of Hhazik, Mirbât, and Zhafar, on the north coast of Arabia." The Ekhhili is, in the opinion of M. Fresnel, a distinct department of the Syro-Arabian language. It approximates, as he says, to

* Gesenius, Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache.

† Gesenius reckons the Ghŷz or Ethiopic to be an offset of this branch.

the Syrian and Hebraic branches, rather than to the Arabian, and is, perhaps, the immediate parent of the Ghŷz or Ethiopic, and likewise the idiom of all the inscriptions found of late years in different parts of Arabia, supposed to have been written by the ancient Himyarites, the Homerites of Byzantine writers. I shall proceed to notice each branch in the order laid down.

Section III.—*Of the Aramæan or Northern Department of the Syro-Arabian Family of Nations.*

Of the whole region immemorially allotted to the family of nations above described, the northern part, by which I mean all the countries reaching from Palestine in the south, to Armenia and Lesser Asia towards the north, and from the Mediterranean to the borders of Media and Persia, was distinguished by the ancient Hebrew writers, as it has been by Syrian authors of later ages, as the land of Aram, or of the Aramæan or Syrian people. The Syrians themselves divided this region into two parts and gave the names of Babylonia, Assyria, and Chaldæa to the eastern, and those of Syria and Mesopotamia to the more western portions.* The same division separates the Aramæan language into two branches, the Syrian or West-Aramæan and the East-Aramæan or the Chaldee. In the most ancient times it seems that the Euphrates was the boundary between these two subdivisions of the Aramæan language and people. Moses evidently makes Chaldæa reach from Ur, supposed to be Edessa or Orfah, in the north, as far to the southward as Shinar or Babylon. Both Ur and Charran are included, in the Mosaic geography, within the land of the Chaldees. Under the Seleucidæ it is probable, as Gesenius has remarked, that the dialect of Syria, properly so termed, obtained, as the seat of government and of power was in that country, a wider extent and was spread through Mesopotamia, for in later times we find Syrian academies at Nisibis and at Edessa, and in that region there were many Syrian bishopricks du-

* Adelung, Mithridates, Th. 1.

ring the first centuries of the Christian era.* The difference, indeed, between the Syriac and Chaldee languages is not considerable: if we except the use of some words peculiar to each dialect, it consists merely in the vowels and in the position of certain accents, and Michaëlis has observed, that the Chaldee of Daniel becomes Syrian if read by a German or Polish Jew.

The names of Syria and Syrians were used by the Greek geographers in a very wide sense. Herodotus terms the Israelites "Syrians of Palestine," who inhabited the city Cadytis, supposed to be Kadesh, the Holy City, or Jerusalem. Syria and Assyria were identified by the Greeks, but as this confusion of names was, perhaps, the result of ignorance or carelessness, we cannot draw from it any further inference, than that no distinction was known by the Greeks to exist between the two nations who bore a common appellative. Even Cappadocia was comprehended by the Greeks in Syria, and this is the more remarkable, as it was never known to form a part of the Assyrian empire, or to be connected by any political relations with Syria, properly so called. Strabo follows, in this particular, all his predecessors, and expresses the general opinion of his own age, when he attributes to Syria this wide extent.† The name of Syrians, says this geographer, appears in ancient times to have reached from Babylonia to the Issic Gulph, that is to the inmost angle of the Mediterranean near Cilicia, and from thence as far as the Euxine. He adds, that the inhabitants of both Cappadocias, namely, those who dwell near Mount Taurus, in the inland country, as well as the people of the districts near the coast of the Euxine, were, to his time, called Leuco-Syri or White-Syrians, that epithet having been given to them to distinguish them from the other Syrians, who are of dark complexion, namely, the people of Syria beyond Mount Taurus, meaning the country generally called Syria. This is explained by the remark, that Mount Taurus reaches as far as Mount Amanus, in Cilicia. Adverting then to the ex-

* Gesenius, Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache.—Adelung, ubi supra.

† Strabon. Geog., lib. 16, p. 737. Ed. Casaub.

tent of Syria, he makes it include Assyria. "Historians," he says, "who relate the cession of power from the Medes to the Persians, and its earlier cession from the Syrians to the Medes, allude to no other Syrians than those who established the dynasties of Babylon and Nineveh. Among these was Ninus, who founded Nineveh, in Aturia,"—*i. e.* Assyria,—"and his queen Semiramis, who succeeded her husband and laid the foundation of Babylon. These princes became sovereigns of Asia. Besides the remains of Semiramis at Babylon, other works of hers are shewn through nearly all Upper Asia, such as the mounds of Semiramis, so termed, as well as walls and fortifications, and pipes and aqueducts and stairs, sluices connected with rivers and lakes, and roads and bridges." Casaubon remarks on this passage that, according to Hesychius, all the countries from Phœnicia on one side and Babylonia on the other, was called by the Greeks "Syria;" and he adds, that "those who are versed in sacred literature are aware how wide an extent is ascribed to the region termed by the Hebrews 'Sur.'"*

It would be easy to shew that the ancient writers generally agree with Strabo in making Syria comprehend both Cappadocia and Assyria.† It has been doubted by modern writers whether they were right in either point.

* Casaubon, Annotat. ad locum.

† Herodotus repeatedly calls the Cappadocians "Syrians."—Compare B. i, c. 72, v, c. 49, vii, c. 72. In the first of these passages he says, that the Greeks commonly term the people of Cappadocia "Syrians." "These Syrians," he adds, "were subject to the Medes before the Persian dynasty arose under Cyrus, the Halys being of old the boundary between the Lydian and Median empires. It separates the Syrians of Cappadocia on the right from the Paphlagonians on the left bank." Pliny repeats this assertion, "Disterminat eos Cappadocum amnis, à quo nomen traxére, antea Leucosyri dicti." Apollonius calls the country about Sinope "Assyria," and describes the Halys and the Iris as flowing through Assyria. By Assyria, the learned scholiast says, he meant Leucosyria or Cappadocia.—See Dionysius Perieg. 772.

Ptolemy is apparently more accurate, and perhaps his account is the true one. He places the Leucosyri in that part of Cappadocia which adjoined Galatia. This was the inland and higher region towards Mount Taurus, where, as we shall find, they were in the neighbourhood of other Semitic tribes.—Ch. Ptolem., Geogr., lib. v, c. 6.

Gesenius, in particular, has maintained that both the Cappadocians and the Assyrians were allied to the Persian and not to the Syrian race. We must consider the grounds on which he founds his opinion.

The reasons for denying the Syrian origin of the Cappadocians, on which the ancients are unanimous, are the following :—

1. "Strabo ascribes to the Cappadocians a peculiar language, which he represents as different from the idioms of all the neighbouring nations. He has left no hint that it was Syrian." We might infer with just as much evidence, that the Cappadocian language was quite different from the Persian. No notice is given of its connexion with either of these idioms. There are no resources existing for elucidating the question, whether the Cappadocian speech was a Syro-Arabian or an Arian dialect or neither one nor the other, unless the inscriptions lately-discovered by Sir J. Fellowes should afford a clue to the solution of this problem. It has been thought by Mr. James Yates, and other learned writers, that the idiom is rather an Indo-European than a Semitic dialect; but this question is not considered as one yet solved, and even if the inscriptions should turn out to be written in a Medo-Persian idiom, this is only what might be expected from the known subjection of Cappadocia, in very early times, to the Median power, and the establishment of the Magian priesthood and religion in that country. Gesenius has further observed that, "according to Strabo, the Cappadocians worshipped the Persian gods; and that their country was the seat of a great number of Magi, and was full of fire-temples." The Persian religion was that of Cappadocia in the time of Strabo. This is attributed to the fact, that the country had been long subject to the Medes, whose empire, in Lesser Asia, reached as far westward as the Halys, that river being the boundary of old between the dominion of the Medes and Lydians. To this last Paphlagonia, on the left bank of the Halys, belonged. This does not prove that the original inhabitants of Cappadocia, or the "White-Syrians," as they were termed by the Greeks,

were not an Aramæan people. It seems probable that a tribe of that race was in earlier times on the banks of the Halys, and that they were conquered by the Medes, and, perhaps, supplanted by a Median colony. We cannot otherwise account for the fact that the people of Cappadocia were always called Syrians.

2. In his late work on Phœnician inscriptions, Gesenius refers to the evidence afforded by coins. He is of opinion, notwithstanding the prevalent statement of ancient writers, that the Shemite nations and dialects reached not further northwards than Cilicia. The coins of Sida and Celenderis, cities of the western parts of Pamphilia and Cilicia, display characters which, though resembling the Phœnician, are not really such, being rather like the old Persian letters, but yet undecyphered. The coins found in other parts of Cilicia, which have really Phœnician legends, belong to Persian times.*

Whether Cappadocia, properly so termed, was originally possessed by a Syro-Arabian people or not, we have reason to believe that parts of Mount Taurus and the inland region of Asia Minor were inhabited by a tribe of that race. Strabo declares that the highest parts of the chain of Taurus, of which the lofty summits were very conspicuous from the sea coast of the Euxine, were inhabited by people called by the Greek writers Σολύμοι or "Solymi." This geographer supposes that Homer alluded to these Solymi in a passage of the "Odyssey,"† in which he speaks of people who looked from distant mountain-tops upon the ocean; but, if so, the poet must, as Strabo suggests, have mistaken or overlooked their real situation. It is certain that Josephus, by an absurd error, has taken these Solymi for

* Gesenius, Script. Ling. Phœn. Mon. p. 11.

† Homer mentions the mountains of the Solymi in the fifth book of the "Odyssey," where he makes Neptune look down from them on Ulysses sailing to Phæacia.

τὸν δ' ἐξ Αἰθιόπων ἀνιὼν κρείων Ἐνοσίχθων
τηλόθεν ἐκ Σολύμων ὀρέων ἴδεν.—
Hom. Odyss., 5, v. 282.—

Strabo, 116, l. c. 22.—Bochart, Phaleg., part 2, lib. 6, c. 6.

the people of Jerusalem, to whom he refers a passage of the poet Chærilus. This passage has been cited by Bochart and by many writers who have followed him, and it proves that the inhabitants of Mount Taurus were supposed by the Greeks to speak a Syro-Arabian dialect. It is as follows:—

Τῷ δ' ὄπιθεν διέβαινε γένος θαυμαστὸν ἰδέσθαι,
γλῶσσαν μὲν Φοίνισσαν ἀπὸ στομάτων ἀφίεντες,
ᾤκεε δ' ἐν Σολύμοις ὄρεσιν πλατέῃ ἐπὶ λίμνῃ.

We learn from Strabo that the lake Phaselis was in the mountains of the Solymi. The same people bordered on Lycia, for Homer has made Bellerophon lead an army of Lycians against them.*

There is one other fact indicating an early extension of the Syro-Arabian race in Asia Minor. It refers to the region further westward, and belonging to a different class of nations and a different empire from that of the Cappadocians and the countries beyond the Halys, and subject to the Medes. The Lydian kingdom was, according to Herodotus, a Babylonian colony. That writer says it was founded by a son of Ninus, a son of Belus.

It appears from these considerations very probable that parts of Asia Minor at least were first peopled by Syro-Arabian tribes, and that remains of that race were still extant in the mountainous and inland tracts of the Pe-

* These passages may be seen collected by Bochart, Phaleg., part 2, lib. 1, ch. 6.

These accounts of the Solymi afford no evidence that the Chalybes were, as many suppose, a Syro-Arabian people. Adelung has shewn that all that Michaëlis has written on the Chaldæi and Chalybes of these mountains is founded on some mistakes of Strabo, who confounded the names of Chaldæi and Chalybes. The Chalybes were a people long known to the Greeks as workers of iron on the mountains bordering the Euxine, and from them steel took its Greek name. Xenophon described them as a tribe of poor mountaineers, subject to the Mosynœci, and supporting themselves on the produce of their mines. By the near resemblance of names, Strabo was led to term the Chaldæi of Mesopotamia, who were also workers of iron mines, Chalybes, and this is the source of confusion in these accounts, and probably the sole ground on which Chaldeans have been placed in maps and by geographical writers in this region of Taurus.

We shall see presently that these Chaldeans cut a great figure in the schemes of modern writers on the history of Babylon.

ninsula at the Christian era. In the other parts they had been either conquered in early times by the Medes or expelled by them from the country to make way for an Indo-European population.

Section IV.—*Of the Assyrians, Chaldæans, and Babylonians.*

Several modern writers, among whom Dr. J. Reinhold Forster, Von Schloezer, Lorsbach, and lastly Gesenius, have been the most conspicuous, have been struck by the singular names of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings and leaders which occur in the Sacred Scriptures, chiefly in the later historical books, and which are likewise scattered through the works of some classical authors, but principally collected in Ptolemy's "Canon," in his series of Assyrian or Babylonian monarchs. Assuming, with some probability, that these names afford a specimen of the Babylonian language, the learned men above-mentioned have concluded, that the people who spoke that idiom, namely the Chaldæans of Greek, and the Chasdim of Hebrew writers, were a nation foreign to the Aramæan or Syrian race.*

Forster and Schloezer hit upon the notion that these late Chaldæans were a barbarous people from the north, who spoke a dialect of the Slavic tongue, and the frequent termination of royal names or titles in *zar* or *sar* was made an argument in favour of this opinion.† Michaëlis rejected these notions; but, adhering to the idea that the Chaldæans were foreigners in Assyria, he conjectured that they were identical with the Chalybes on the coast of the Euxine. In his commentaries on the prophets, Michaëlis

* J. R. Forster in "Michaëlis Specimen Geograph. Hebræor. Exter." Th. 2.—Schloezer von den Chaldaeërn in Eichhorn's Repertorium für biblische und morgenlaendische Literatur, Th. 8.—Michaëlis in Supplem. ad Lex. Hebr. s. 1367.—Lorsbach, cited by Gesenius,—Geschichte der Hebr. Sprache.

† Büttner proposed the following etymology of Nebuchadnezar in the Slavonic language:—"Nebye-kad-zenur-tzar," meaning "De cælo missus dominus."

always speaks of the Chaldæans as Scythians. The Scythians are indeed said to have overrun a part of Asia during the period of the Median and Chaldæan dynasties, and they may have left colonies behind them; but the supposition that the Chaldæan were Scythians is altogether a gratuitous assumption and is liable to many objections. It has been generally abandoned by late writers, and an opinion has gained ground, that the Chaldæans of Babylon were originally a colony of Carduchians or Kurds, brought from the Gordyæan mountains by the Assyrian kings, and settled in Babylonia, of which they afterwards made themselves masters, and where they founded the dynasty that ruled for some time over Upper Asia.

A very ingenious attempt, which seemed to afford support to the supposition that the Chaldæans were a horde from the Carduchian mountains or at least a Medo-Persian people, was made by Lorsbach to interpret the names of Babylonian kings and gods in the Persian language. Meanings were assigned to them, and their construction explained by reference, not to the Zend or ancient Median, but to the modern Persian. Gesenius has expressed an opinion strongly favourable to this attempt. He observes, that the construction of the names is according to the principles, not of the Semitic, but of the Medo-Persian language.*

The Kurdish is a Persian dialect, and probably the old Carduchi spoke the Persian language. If some of the Assyrian kings introduced a colony of Carduchians into

* Gesenius in his Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache, cites from Lorsbach the following examples;—

Names of Babylonian gods.—נְבוֹ—*Nebo*; נֶרְגַל—*Nergal*; מְרוֹדַךְ—*Merodach*; (مردك—*Mardak, homunculus?*). Names of kings composed from these.—נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר (نبوخدنصر—*Nebu-deorum-princeps*); *Nebusaradan, Nabonasar, Nabopolassar, &c., Merodach-Baladan, Evilmerodach, Mardocempadus*; כֶּלְצַר—probably مالسر—*treasure-master*. Gesenius adds that the Persian character of these compound names is shewn evidently by the fact, that the genitive is the first word in each compound epithet.—Gesenius, Gesch. der Hebr. Sprach, p. 63-64.

Mesopotamia and Babylonia, as Esar-haddon brought Cutheans, probably from Media which he had subdued to inhabit the Samaritan country, these colonists may have became powerful, and may have subdued their former conquerors. The supposition would explain the existence of a new people, such as the Chaldæans are represented to have been in Babylonia, and of a people having a different language from the old Assyrian or Aramæan.

The notion that the Chaldæans were the descendants of a people entirely alien to the Syro-Arabian race, who were introduced from the mountains of Kúrdistan or from the Armenian or Taurian mountains into Mesopotamia, as a foreign colony, by the kings of Assyria, which they afterwards subdued, has been a favourite speculation with several German writers. On this supposition I shall only venture to offer the following remarks:—

1. It was long ago observed by Sir Isaac Newton, and the remark has been confirmed and elucidated by Adelung, that the elements of very many of the Babylonish names are Semitic or Hebraic words, such as *adon*, *bel*, *melech*, or *moloch*, *azar*, as in Eleazar.* If this be conceded, it seems to be building much on a small foundation to determine that these names are Persian compounds, merely because it would appear from a few doubtful etymologies that the genitive case comes first in their construction.

2. The Chaldeans or Chasdim, were a people of old well known in Mesopotamia and the countries lying to the eastward of Palestine. Long before the time of Púl, or of any Assyrian king who has been conjectured to have transplanted them into Babylonia, they are conspicuous among the nations and tribes partly pastoral or nomadic, and likewise predatory, who wandered about the Syro-Arabian deserts. Abraham came from Ur of the Chaldees, that is from Orfa or Edessa, and though names of later date often occur in the Pentateuch, they are in each instance introduced by way of illustration of older names becoming obsolete, which last are not generally omitted,

* Sir I. Newton's Chronology of Ancient Empires.—Adelung, Mithridates, Th. 1, s. 324 et seqq.

and we may assume that "Ur of the Chaldees" was the ancient name of the place whence Abraham emigrated. It may be observed, that his kinsman Laban continued to use the Chaldee language, the original speech of the Abrahamidæ,* and that it was still spoken by that part of the tribe which remained in Padan-Aram, while the family of Isaac had adopted the Hebrew or Canaanitish. The Chaldæans appear to have been the predatory inhabitants of the desert to the eastward of Idumæa, in the time of Job, where they exercised robbery in the land also subject to the incursions of the Sabeans.

A passage in the twenty-third chapter of Isaiah indicates that these same Chaldæans, heretofore Bedouins of the desert, had become, at a period of time not long preceding that of Isaiah, collected into a city, said to have been built for them by the Assyrians, evidently Babylon. It occurs in the prophetic denunciation against Tyre, which was to be destroyed by the king of Babylon.

"Behold the land of the Chaldæans. This people was of no account (The Assyrians founded it for the inhabitants of the desert; They raised the watch-towers, they set up the palaces thereof.) This people hath reduced her and shall reduce her to ruin!"†

"The inhabitants of the desert" or the "Tziim" is an epithet appropriate to a tribe of Arabian Bedouins, but it is a term which would never have been given to a nation of mountaineers like the Kurds. This passage of Isaiah has been illustrated by a reference to Dicæarchus, the mathematician, a disciple of Aristotle, who has been cited by Stephanus. The compiler says that the whole region of Cephenia was called "Chaldaice." The people, he adds, obtained the name of "Chaldæans," according to Dicæarchus, from one of the kings, who was the fourteenth from Ninus, the founder of Niniveh: by him a great city was founded on the Euphrates, and the people called Chaldæans were brought together within its walls.‡

* Genesis, xxxi, 47. † I cite Lowth's translation.

‡ Chaldæa is, however, mentioned by Ptolemy as included in Babylonia.—lib. 5, c. 20.

From all this it seems evident that the Chaldæans or Chasdim were originally a pastoral nation, roving about Mesopotamia and the whole Syrian desert; and that at a certain date, not long before the time of Isaiah, a portion of them were induced by the Assyrians to change their habits of life and become settled inhabitants of the city and cultivated land of Babylonia. That their language was Syro-Arabian we may presume partly from the region which they inhabited, in the very heart of the Shemite country, and partly from existing traces. If the passage from Genesis, in which Laban is represented as giving a Chaldæan name to the monument which recorded his treaty with Jacob, is not a proof, we have one, at least, in the Chaldæan language, which the Jews brought back with them after their seventy years' sojourn in Babylonia.

It is a remarkable circumstance in the history of the Chaldæans, and not easily to be reconciled with what we know of their origin, that their name became that of a learned caste among the later Babylonians. In the book of Daniel the word Chasdim seems to mean astrologer, and "Chaldæan" had the same acceptation among the Romans.*

The voice of all antiquity describes the Chaldæans as a people remarkably addicted to scientific pursuits, and to the mystical arts and occult sciences, which were of old connected with the study of nature. The whole complex system of dreams and horoscopes, calculation of nativities, talismans, &c., for which the Arabs were afterwards famous, appears to have had its origin among the Chaldees. It is very improbable that a tribe of Kurdish mountaineers could be so soon metamorphosed into a people distinguished for their devotion to sciences, whereas we know from the book of Job and other sources that astronomy had been cultivated by the ancient Shemite Arabs.

The religion and manners of the Babylonians were ever most strikingly contrasted with those of the Medes and Persians. The pompous worship of images, the prostitutions in temples, and all the public ceremonies and private

* Cicero, Tusc. Quæst., lib. 1, and Juvenal.

manners of the Assyrians and Babylonians are closely allied to the practices of the Syrians and Phœnicians, and unlike the solemn and serious rites of the ancient Persians, who, as we are assured by many classical writers, erected neither statues nor altars to the gods, but performed sacrifices on the tops of hills.*

Conclusion.—It seems, on the whole, most probable that the Chasdim were a Shemite people. If it could be proved that the names of the Babylonian kings are of Medo-Persian origin, it is more likely that the Assyrians, or rather the ruling tribe among that people, were of Median descent, who, perhaps, governed that country by conquest from the time of Arbaces and Sardanapalus, while the population of Babylonia was Chaldean or Aramaic; but the data for any conclusion in relation to this subject are very defective.

Some modification of this hypothesis must be adopted, if it be true that the language which the Jews brought with them from Babylonia was really Chaldæan, as it has always been called, and that the Chaldee "Targum" was written for the use of persons who, living in Babylonia, required a version of the Scriptures in the idiom of the country.

Section V.—*Remains of the Syrian or Aramæan Race.*

Syria and the whole kingdom of the Seleucidæ has so often changed masters since the remote era of its inde-

* Strabo, lib. 15, page 732.—Ed. Casaub. The passage is remarkable. He says, "the Persians neither erect images nor altars, but sacrifice in a lofty place, considering the heaven to be Jupiter. They worship the Sun, whom they call 'Mithras,' and the Moon and Venus and fire and earth and winds and water. They slay the victim after placing it in a place free from any defilement, crowned with garlands, and after the *magus*, who directs the sacred rites, has divided the flesh, they share it among them and go away, leaving no portion for the gods, for they believe that the Deity only requires the life of the victim and wants nothing else. Some report, indeed, that they burn a small part of the omentum." Compare this with the story of Bel and the Dragon, with a variety of accounts of the Babylonish idolatry in the book of Daniel, and with the accounts left by Herodotus.

pendence under native princes, that the ancient population might be thought likely to have been completely overwhelmed by Persian, Greek, Roman, and still more by Arabian inroads and settlements. The Arabs, however, are the only nation who really made a great impression on the language and, as it should seem, on the population of Syria; for down to the era of the Moslim conquest, a Syrian liturgy was intelligible to the Christian people of the East. Greek was confined to Antioch and a few cities of western Syria, for the original Syriac seems to have been the prevalent idiom in such places as Edessa and Nisibis. It has long been supposed that Arabic had completely rooted out the Syriac, and, although Carsten Niebuhr reported that Syriac was still spoken in villages near Mosul, the fact that it is a living dialect was generally disbelieved until the country about lakes Van and Urumíyeh and different parts of Kúrdistan, inhabited by Christian communities, were explored some years since by American missionaries, and more lately and fully by European travellers, and particularly by Mr. Ainsworth. By the researches of these travellers it has been made known that the Syrian language is still the vernacular speech of the native Syrian Christians of these countries, whether Nestorians, Jacobites, or United Syrians, by which latter name are designated those who have been brought over to the Roman Catholic communion. These last are also termed Chaldæans. The villages of these Christians are spread through the countries on the Upper Tigris; but their principal seat is in the valleys of Hakkaríyah, in the wildest and least-accessible parts of Kúrdistan, where they are independent of the Mohammedan Kúrds, and in frequent hostility with that semi-barbarous people. The collective numbers of these people have been variously stated. Dr. Walsh estimated them at five hundred thousand souls. This computation, according to Mr. Ainsworth, is greatly beyond the reality. The last-mentioned traveller, from data which appear to be fully entitled to reliance, computes the population of Christian villages in the Hakkaríyah country at fifteen thousand five hundred and twenty, and the whole number in Kúrdistan, including

the population of villages in Bahdinan and other parts, and twenty Christian villages in Amadiyah, at twenty-seven thousand eight hundred and twenty souls.*

The Christian people of Hakkarìyah, which is the principal seat of Christianity in Kúrdistan, are of genuine Syrian or Chaldæan descent, and entirely distinct from the Kúrdish race. Their character is very favourably described by Mr. Ainsworth.

"It would be great injustice," as he says, "to these mountaineers, were I not to acknowledge that they are superior in intelligence and in moral worth to the inhabitants,—Christian and Mohammedan,—of the same classes in Anatolia, in Syria, and Mesopotamia. There are some forms of society and many decencies of life belonging to improved civilisation that are omitted by the mountaineers; but leaving out exceptions, there is no doubt that they are, as a race, more quick and impressible, more open, candid, sincere, and courageous, than the inhabitants of the before-mentioned countries. Their bearing is erect, but without the swagger of the Turk; their eye firm, but without ferocity; their forehead ample and high, unclouded by suspicion and evil feelings."†

The same writer, in a later work, has thus described the physical characters of the Chaldæans, as he terms them, of Kúrdistan:—

"While the Kúrds are characterised by their dark hair, small eyes, large mouth, prominent nose, and, like the Affghâns, by their military affectation and haughty insolent demeanour, the Chaldæan, whose appearance is most characteristic, has a fair complexion, grey eyes, and red beard, an open countenance, robust, broad-shouldered, but often slouching gait, and seldom a wild or fierce expression of countenance." The following remark is worthy of parti-

* We are assured by Mr. Ainsworth, that the Syrians of Kúrdistan, who adhere to their independent Syrian church under their own bishops, disclaim the name of Nestorians. Yet there is no doubt that they are descendants of those Syrian communities which were cut off from the Greek church as heretical by the decrees of the fourth œcumenical council.

† Ainsworth's Visit to the Chaldæans. Journal of R. Geog. Society, vol. 11.

cular notice:—"The Jews of Kúrdistan have mostly black hair, a spare form, a sleek, pale countenance and an aquiline nose. Such at least are the general results of our experience, taking the Jews of Amadiyah and Beitannari and the Chaldæans of Tiyari and Hakkari as our type." It must be considered that the Jews of those places are but strangers lately settled there, while the Syrians are old inhabitants of the high mountain tracts of Hakkaríyah and Tiyari.

The hypothesis maintained by Dr. Grant, that the Chaldæan or Syrian communities in the mountains of Kúrdistan are descendants of the Ten Tribes of Israel, is well known. It is regarded by Mr. Ainsworth as wholly groundless. According to this writer and his companion, Mr. Rassam, who was himself a native of Syria and well acquainted with the language of the people, no tradition can be discovered among them which supports such an opinion. They consider themselves as Chaldæans and descendants of the ancient Chaldæans of Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia, driven by the oppressions of the Mohammedans to their present fastnesses.* Their language is a dialect of the Aramæan or Syrian, which was the vernacular language of Upper Asia, under the reign of the Seleucidæ, while Greek was spoken in the cities, and more or less generally by the educated classes, but was limited in its extension among the people. Of this we have a proof in the necessity which existed for versions of the Scriptures into

* There are few parts of the world, perhaps, which have not in their time been supposed to be the place of concealment of the Ten Tribes. Dr. Grant's hypothesis is more plausible than the whimsical notion of Adair and many others, who derived the Cherokees and other Americans from the Ten Tribes, inasmuch as Kúrdistan is not remote from the country where the Ten Tribes were settled by the kings of Assyria.

If the people found in Kúrdistan were Hebrews and not Syrians, that is, if they spoke Hebrew or Samaritan Hebrew instead of the language so long used by the Christian churches of nearly all Western Asia, if they had preserved among them the ancient Scriptures in the language in which all the offsets of the Hebrew stock have preserved their sacred books; lastly, if they had among them any tradition of being the offspring of the Ten Tribes, there would be some ground for entertaining the question whether that supposition is true. I beg to refer my readers who feel any curiosity on this subject to Mr. Ainsworth's observations.

the Syrian language, the oldest of which, the Peschito, is supposed, by Michaëlis, to have been completed before the end of the first century of our era. During the persecutions which happened soon after the schism of the Nestorians considerable emigrations are known to have happened from various parts of Upper Asia, of Syrian Christians towards the North and East. They passed into Media, Khorasan, and thence into Transoxiana, where their progress has been traced in the oriental histories collected by Assemanni. Kúrdistan lay in their way, and it is not to be doubted that the present Syrian communities in that country are partly relics of the same emigration. Their original settlement must have been long prior to the spread of Islàm, but it is probable that they received further accessions of their countrymen after the inroads of the Moslims into the lower countries. The present Syrians of Kúrdistan, or the Kaldani as they term themselves, continue to use a Syrian liturgy, and their idiom is a somewhat corrupted dialect of the Aramæan or Syriac language.*

The best account of this language is to be found in some papers by Professor Roedeger of Halle, published in the "Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,"† and in a memoir, by the learned Karl Ritter, in the "Monatsbericht über die Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde," in Berlin. It seems that the ecclesiastical language of the Christian communities in Persia and in Kúrdistan is really the old Syrian. In it, not only their liturgy, but all their books are composed, and the clergy still make use of this language in all communications by writing with each other. Their written characters resemble the Estranghelo, and are derived from it. The same language and writing are also in use, according to Mr. Perkins, among the Chaldæans of Mesopotamia, who pretended to have received that designation from the Pope when they became, in 1681, united to the Roman church, except among that part of the Chaldæans who came over from the Jacobites: among these last the ordinary Syrian alphabet pre-

* Ainsworth's Travels, vol. 2, p. 257, 263, &c.

† Band. 2, Heft. I, s. 77-93, and Heft. 2, s. 314, 1838.

vails. The popular dialect of the Nestorians, both in Persia and in Kúrdistan, is a dialect derived from the old Syrian, which differs somewhat in different provinces, being mixed in some places with Persian, in others with Kurdish words. Yet among all the Nestorians, or separate Syrian communities, the popular language is plainly a derivative, not of the Arabic, but of the Syrian, with which it is connected, nearly as is the modern Romaïk with the ancient Greek.

The opinion of learned men in Europe, who maintain that some diversity existed between the old Syrian and Chaldee may be correct, but certain it is that no essential difference exists between the present language of the Nestorians and that of the so termed Chaldæans, except that the latter is more mixed with Arabic. The kindred relation between these Semitic idioms is manifested by the great facility with which those who speak one dialect of the mother tongue acquire the others. It is noted that the corrupt Hebrew spoken by the Jews settled near the lake of Urumiyeh is so near the dialect of the Nestorians, that individuals of the two nations, settled here in the ancient home of the Aramæans, can easily understand each other in conversation.

Section V.—*Of the Canaanites and Hebrews.*

The Canaanites and the Hebrews present the singular phenomenon of two nations of separate origin speaking one and the same language. One of these nations must, apparently, have adopted the language of the other.

There is some evidence tending to shew that the Canaanites or Phœnicians were not originally inhabitants of the sea-coast of the Mediterranean. It has been argued by Michaëlis, from the testimony of Herodotus and Justin, and from the old traditions of the East collected by Abulfeda, that the primitive abode of these people was in Arabia, on the coast of the Erythræan or Red Sea, whence, for the convenience of traffic, they founded commercial settlements

on the Mediterranean coast, and afterwards became possessed of the adjacent inland countries as far eastward as the Jordan. Whether this was the fact or not, certain it is that the Canaanites and various kindred tribes had occupied Palestine before the descent of the Abrahamidæ from Syria, or, more properly, from the more distant Chaldæa. The Hebrews are called by Herodotus, "Syrians of Palestine," a proof that they were well known in his time to be a people distinct from the Phœnicians. They appear to have adopted the speech of the country in which they came to reside; and this was speedily done, for we find already, in the third generation, Jacob speaking a different dialect from his kinsman Laban who remained in Syria.*

It has been lately asserted, that the Himyaritic or the language of the southern people of Arabia, is more nearly allied to the Hebrew than the Arabic, properly so termed. This, if established, will add some weight to the opinion, that the Canaanites had a southern origin. However this may have been, the Canaanites, though descendants of Ham, spoke a dialect akin to the Shemite language. How is this to be explained? Our ignorance of facts and circumstances will ever prevent a satisfactory reply to this question. Some say that the compilers of the genealogical part of the book of Genesis inserted an erroneous genealogy. But genealogies were subjects on which the Hebrew and Arabian writers of all ages are known to have been punctiliously accurate, and the writer of this particular document could not be ignorant that the Phœnicians and Hebrews bore this evidence of relationship, and he would naturally have reported them to be of one stock if he had not been aware that the fact was otherwise. It is much more probable that he had good reason for the

* The peculiarities of these dialects seem to have been adopted and laid aside with wonderful facility. Besides the instance mentioned, we find that during the seventy years' captivity the Jews had forgotten the Hebrew language.—Ezra, v. It is to be supposed that they had adopted instead of it the Chaldæan, which, although it was not generally the language of literature among them or that of the sacred books, was, as it would appear, already the popular idiom, and at length left the Hebrew a dead language.

assertion than that we shall be in the present day able to prove that he was mistaken. The Shemites and Canaanites were from the first extremely different in character. A band of maritime adventurers, or some trading colonies on the coast of a country occupied in the interior by agricultural tribes, may well have adopted their language and have made it their own, without becoming blended with them into one family.

That the Hebrew is identical, or nearly so, with the language of the Canaanitish or Phœnician people on the coast of Syria and with the Punic of Africa, has been fully proved by Gesenius in his learned work on Phœnician inscriptions.* Gesenius maintains that the Punic, Phœnician, and Hebrew were in fact one language, that they had a common vocabulary and the same laws of grammatical construction, and differ in the same particulars from other Semitic dialects.† For the rest he has shewn that the Phœnician agrees more closely with the later than the more ancient Hebrew, and that when the language of Ecclesiastes and the Talmud differs from that of the older Hebrew books, the Phœnician and Punic agree with the former, a fact which might be anticipated from the comparatively late period of all the Phœnician inscriptions, proper names, and the scanty relics of the Phœnician language. With respect to the relation between the Punic and the Phœnician, it is, according to Gesenius, that of identity, the only difference that can have existed between these languages being merely a variety of pronunciation. He even goes so far as to declare that the idiom of Numidia was pure Hebrew, at least that all the inscriptions scattered through that country as well as all the discovered proper names, admit of clear and satisfactory elucidation by reference to Hebrew etymology. "Imo ut verum fatear, ne in unam quidem linguæ proprietatem incidi, quæ Numidicæ dialectus peculiaris appellari possit."‡

It is not a little remarkable that the two sister lan-

* Gesenius, Palæographia, also his Geschichte der Hebräische Sprache.

† Ibid, p. 335.

‡ Gesenius, ubi supra, p. 338.

guages of the Hebrew, whose literature is comparatively very modern, there being nothing extant in Syriac older than the Christian era, and nothing in Arabic much older than Islàm, should still survive as spoken dialects, while the Hebrew, the depository of the most ancient literature in the world, ceased to be a living or vernacular idiom as early as the time of Herodotus and the very earliest Greek prose writers.

Section VI.—History of the Arabs.

Arabia or Jezirah al Arab is said to have derived its name from Araba, a small territory in the province of Tehâma, so called from Yarab, the son of Kahtan, a reputed patriarch of the Arabian race. Kahtan is supposed to have been the Joktan of the Mosaic genealogy, an identity which is rather taken for granted than proved. Arabia is divided by the oriental writers into five provinces. One of these is Yemen, so named from its situation to the left hand or south of the Caaba, and called by the ancients Arabia Felix. It is subdivided into several lesser provinces, Hadramaut, that is "Come Death!" Shihr, the country of frankinsense, Omân, Najran, &c. The metropolis of Yemen is Sana'a, a very ancient city, formerly called Ozal. A second province is the Hedjaz, containing the Holy Cities, and this sometimes comprehends the three other provinces, Tehāma, Nejed, and Yemāma.

According to the native genealogical writers of Arabia, who profess to have collected the most ancient oral traditions of their people, there were three distinct races of Arabs. One of these are termed the original Arabians, who are said to have been long ago extinct. Of this race there were several tribes, the most celebrated of which were those of Ad, Thamûd, Tasm, Jadîs, the first Jorham, and Amalek.* The second stock of Arabians are the Kahtanides or

* M. Fresnel, whose late researches into the Arabian genealogical history will be cited below, says, "on the faith of Ssouyoutiyy, I believe that the Arabs, in the time of Mohammed, had preserved the names of the powerful tribes who

descendants of Kahtan, and the third are the descendants of Adnan. The Kahtanide Arabs or "Arab el Araba," or "Pure Arabs," are said to have been for centuries divided into two kingdoms, Yemen and Hedjaz, founded by the two sons of Kahtan, Yârab and Jorham, namely the second Jorham. The chief divisions of Yemen were Saba and Hadhramaut, which were governed by princes of the house of Himyar. These were the Himyarite Arabs. Their princes were termed "Tobba," which means "Successor," just as the emperors were called "Cæsars" and the followers of Mohammed "Khaliffs." Other princes, in different parts of Yemen, acknowledged the supremacy of the Tobba of the tribe of Himyar, and afterwards of the tribe of Kahlân his brother. Himyar and Kahlân are the chief patriarchs of the later Arabs, at least of tribes who claim descent from this side of the Kahtanide family. The kingdom of Yemen remained independent till seventy years before Mohammed, when it was conquered by the Negush of Ethiopia, who assisted the Christians against the persecution of their king, a bigotted Jew, named Dha Nowâs. Khosrú Anushirvan, the Persian emperor, drove out the Abyssinians shortly before the time of Mohammed, who vindicated the honour of his country.

The Koreish, the tribe to which Mohammed belonged, deduced their origin, according to the common tradition, not from Kahtan, but from Adnan. They are considered not to be genuine Arabs, but engrafted on the stock of Kahtan. Ishmael is said to have married a daughter of Modad, of the Kahtanide house of Jorham, and thus to have allied himself and his posterity to the stock of the genuine Arabs. From these parents it was reported that Adnan descended, but the genealogies go no further back than Adnan.

The subject of Arabian genealogies has been lately ex-

composed the first population of the Arabian Peninsula. They were Ad, Thamoud, Oumayyim, Abîl, Tasm, Djadîs, Amlâk, Djouroum, Wabâi, Djácim." Amlâk or Amalek were, apparently, the primitive Arabian tribe on the borders of Egypt, mentioned in Exodus, who, as Michaëlis has shewn, were a different people from the Amalek, occurring among the descendants of Lot.

amined with critical judgement by M. M. Perron and Fresnel, who have compared the statements of different Arabian writers, and have derived from the study a conviction, that the attempt to unite the house of Adnan, from whom the Koreish claimed their descent, with the family of Ishmael, is a mere caprice, which originated, after or during the time of Mohammed, in a wish to connect the founder of Islàm with the patriarch of the Israelites and had no foundation whatever in history or even in tradition. The most remarkable result of these researches is the unity of origin to which all the Arabian genealogies both of the Moaddic or Adnanic and the Yemenic branches lead. All go back to Shem by Sabâ and Khatan. From this origin were deduced several correlative stems, the two principal of which are those of Himyar and Kahlân, to the latter of which M. Fresnel thinks that the Koreish are referrible, excluding the line of Ishmael altogether. Himyar and Kahlân are set down in the genealogies as patriarchs of races descended from Kahtan.*

In a learned memoir published in the "Etât Moderne" of the great French work on Egypt, the author, M. Marcel, states as the result of his researches, that there are two distinct races of Arabs, who speak different though kindred languages, they are the Koreish, generally considered as Ishmaelites, and, secondly, the Hamyarites, who are descendants of Kahtan. M. Marcel adds that the Hamyarites, at first Pagans, became Jews, then Christians, lastly Moslims. They are the Ὁμηρῖται of Ptolemy. Their capital was Difâr, near Sana'a, the capital of Yemen. They take their name from Himyar, son of Saba, great-grandson of Kahtan.†

* Lettre sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islàmisme, &c., par M. Perron, &c., Médecin de l'hôpital du Cayre, Nouv. Journ. Asiat. 3e séries.—Quatrième Lettre sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islàmisme, par F. Fresnel, N. Journ. Asiat., 6, Août, 1838. In this paper the writer concludes that the genealogies of the Arab el Mostareb or "Mixed Arabs," as the line of Moad and Adnan are termed, have no certainty beyond the 20th generation before Mohammed, and that the Yemenide genealogies, though they reach far back, have vast *lacunæ*. He believes that these genealogies were so modified in the first ages of Islàm as to connect the history of Arabia with the Biblical History.

† Mem. sur les Inscripts. Koufiques recueillies en Egypte., par J. J. Marcel, Descript. de l'Egypte., Etât Mod. tom. 1. p. 525.

It seems, if we can depend on M. Fresnel's authorities, that there are two branches of the Arabian stock. The northern, not Ishmaelites, but of the house of Kahlân, and descended through Kahlân from the common ancestor Kahtan, who was, perhaps, the same as Joktan; and the other, or southern branch, who are the Himyarites, from Himyar, also a descendant of Kahtan. The original Arabs, only known by tradition, were, perhaps, the Cush of the Hebrews, who are found on the borders of Arabia, and even in Babylonia, in the earliest times, and in later are identified with the Ethiopians.

The history of the southern branch of the Arabian race has been illustrated by late discoveries, to which I shall briefly advert.

Paragraph 2.—Of the Himyarite or Southern Branch of the Arabian Race.

It has long been suspected that the Ethiopic or Ghŷz language and the people who spoke it in the ancient Abyssinian kingdom of Axum, and whose descendants, the modern inhabitants of Tœgray or Tigre, still speak a language derived from it and closely resembling it, originated from the southern parts of Arabia, and that these people were a colony of the Homerites, so called by the Greeks, that is, of the Himyarite or Hamyarite Arabs. This suspicion has been confirmed by a double series of curious discoveries made during the last few years, and likely hereafter to be further developed and elucidated. I allude, in the first place, to the numerous inscriptions found in the southern parts of the Arabian Peninsula, written in characters different from the Kufic and other northern Arabian alphabets, and nearly resembling the Ghŷz or Ethiopic letters, which inscriptions appear to be remains of the ancient Himyarites; and, in the second place, to the still living speech of the descendants of these Himyarites, termed the Ehhkilí or the Mahrí, the language spoken by the people of Mahrah and Hadhramaut.

I. Of Himyaritic Inscriptions.—It was long ago observed

by our learned countryman, Mr. Sale,* the translator of the Koran, that the Himyarites had the use of letters many ages before the time of Mohammed, and that these characters were known to Arabian writers, who termed them Al Mosnad. They were said by these writers to be of different origin from, and more ancient than, the Kufic, the oldest alphabet of the northern Arabians, which was used by the Koreish at the era of Islàm. This, as Mr. Sale remarked, appears from monuments still existing, which are inscribed in these characters. Many passages on the subject of these inscriptions had been extracted from the Arabian writers by Pococke, Assemanni and others, and all the notices that could be found relating to them had been collected by M. Silvestre de Sacy, in 1785. Nothing, however, had been discovered tending to confirm these accounts, and they had so far escaped observation, that the Ghŷz or Ethiopic alphabet was generally supposed to be an invention of Frumentius or his immediate followers, who converted the Abyssinians to Christianity. This opinion was even maintained by Michaëlis and passed current of late years notwithstanding some very obvious and insurmountable objections. The first Himyarite remains discovered in modern times were inscriptions, which were copied by Dr. Seetzen, near the town of Thafar or Doffur, in Yemen; they were published in the "Fundgruben des Orients," for 1810, but excited little attention. Our countrymen, Wellsted and Cruttenden and Dr. Hulton, were far more successful. The inscriptions which they collected in different places near the south coast of Arabia, were of much greater extent, and copied with better opportunities for accuracy: they were published in the Journals of the Royal Asiatic and the Royal Geographical Societies of Great Britain,† and they soon drew

* Sale's Preliminary Discourses to his Translation of the Koran, p. 34.

† "Narrative of a Journey to the ruins of Nakab al Hajar," by Lieutenant Wellsted, R. N., Journal of R. Geogr. Society, vol. 7, p. 20. The great inscription in ten lines, copied by Wellsted, at Hissu Ghorah, appeared first in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. 3, 1834. A second copy of the same was given in Lieutenant Wellsted's Journal of his Travels, published

the attention of Gesenius and Roediger, famed for their extensive acquaintance with the Syro-Arabian languages and antiquities. A short treatise by Gesenius and a paper by Roediger in the third number of the "Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes," and a small treatise by the same writer, entitled "Versuch über die Himjaritischen Schrift-Monumente," dedicated to the above-mentioned societies, contain, as I believe, all the information that has yet been elicited on this subject. The following among the facts which have come to light are most connected with my present object:—

1. It had been supposed that the Himyarite letters were conjoined like the Sanskrit or the modern Arabian. M. Marcel had long ago, on the testimony of Arabian writers as it seems, formed a different opinion which is now confirmed.* They are not, however, as that learned writer imagined, analogous to the cuneiform letters on the Babylonian bricks, but evidently of forms connected with other so termed Semitic alphabets, and particularly like the letters of the Ghŷz, the characters of the Ethiopic version.

2. They are written from right to left, a circumstance which serves to connect them with the Semitic alphabets in general, which are all so written with the exception of the Ghŷz. But it is well known† that the Ghŷz letters were formerly so arranged, and that the method of writing from left to right was an innovation. Perhaps this later method was derived from imitation of the Coptic ecclesiastics, by whom the Abyssinian church has long been governed, or of the western missionaries.

3. These inscriptions were written during Pagan times,

as a separate work, in two vols., 8vo.—See, likewise, a "Narrative of a Journey from Mobhá to San'á," by Mr. C. I. Cruttenden, R. N., with plates of inscriptions copied by him, in the eighth volume of the Journal of the R. Geogr. Society.—Dr. Hulton's remarks on a series of twenty-two inscriptions were given to the Journal of the R. Asiatic Society, No. 9.

* Mem. sur les Inscriptions Koufiques recueillies en Egypt, par J. J. Marcel. Description de l'Egypte, Etât Moderne, tom. 1, p. 525.

† Gesenius,—Scripturæ Phœniciæ Monumenta.—Chapter on the Æthiopic.

when the Himyarites were yet worshippers of the heavenly bodies and the visible objects of nature; they were, therefore not introduced by Christian missionaries, but *may be* of greater antiquity than the Christian era, though the opinion of Roediger seems to be that they are not so ancient. But the most important inference deducible from the observation that the inscriptions were written during times of polytheism, is the proof thence afforded, that they did not originate during the short period of the domination of the Abyssinians over Yemen, which happened shortly before the time of Mohammed. These inscriptions are indeed spread too extensively through the most remote parts of Arabia to have been the work of these Abyssinian invaders.

4. It seems probable that the language in which these inscriptions are written approximated nearly to the Ghŷz, as it might be expected. By aid of the Hebrew and Arabic, but more especially of the Ghŷz, Dr. Roediger has been enabled to discover, with great probability, the meaning of a considerable part of these inscriptions. One thing very remarkable is the resemblance which he frequently observes, not only to the Ghŷz, but likewise to the Amharic.

II. The discovery of the Himyarite language as a living and extant speech is due to the exertions of an intelligent Frenchman, Fulgentius Fresnel, who, in letters from Cairo and Jidda to the Oriental scholars, St. Julien and Mohl, published in the third series of the "Journal Asiatique."* made known this curious result of his researches. It was the design of M. Fresnel to penetrate into the Arabian provinces of Hadhramaut, and Mahra. In Jidda he found a native of the country and gained the information respecting its language which he has communicated. His instructor, Muhsin, whom he terms "un homme d'intelligence, de veracité et de cœur," could not inform him whether his native language was ever written. M. Fresnel's account is given in the following words:—

"Je viens de découvrir la langue que l'on parlait à la

* T. 5, January. 1838, p. 511.—T. 6, July, 1838, p. 79-84, and December, 1838, p. 529.

cour de la reine de Saba et que parlent les sauvages de Mahrah." Mahrah is a mountainous district near the south-eastern angle of the Arabian Peninsula. M. Fresnel adds, that this dialect is a Semitic idiom, but a peculiar one. It will not enter into any of the categories of Gesenius, who as we have seen, divided the Syro-Arabian language into three correlative branches, the Aramæan, the Canaanitish, and the Arabian. The newly-discovered dialect constitutes a fourth department: it is the language of the "*Hhymyarites*," and is termed by Fresnel, the "Ehhkili."* "This is the name of the noble race, who have preserved the Hhymyarite idiom in the mountains of Hhazik, Mirbât, and Zhafar,† in the south-eastern parts of the Peninsula.‡ The designation of Ehhkili means 'freemen;' it is opposed to Tschhâri, the general name for the villeins or serfs, subject to these freemen, who speak, however, the same dialect."

The Ehhkili language approximates, in many respects, to the more northern divisions of the Semitic speech and differs from the Arabic. It has many words common to it and the Hebrew and Syriac, and some forms peculiarly Hebrew.

The evidence that the Ehhkili is the ancient Himyaritic, —besides what results from the local circumstances, the people inhabiting the quarters of the old Himyarites,—is derivable from passages in old Arabian historians, which have been diligently compared by M. Fresnel. He says "I find in Ssahâh a passage which leaves no doubt on this subject." It is thus rendered:—"Celui qui entre à Zhafâr, *hammya-*

* M. Fresnel says, "Je regrette beaucoup que les voyageurs Anglais qui, dans ces derniers temps, ont visité le Hhadramant et le pays de Mahrah n'aient pas publié le resultat de leurs explorations. Je ne doute point qu'ils n'aient rencontré des monumens du plus haut intérêt. Les hypogées de Bizhah, l'une des plus anciennees villes de la vallée de Dawan, on Doan, à quatre on cinq journées au nord de Monkellah, doivent offrir des inscriptions en caractère mousnad. Les gens du pays rapportent ces hypogées au temps de Schaddâd, fils de Ad."—Journ. As., Tom. 6, p. 564.—See also an abstract of M. Fresnel's discoveries in the Allgemeine Literatur.—Zeitung, Julius, 1841.

† Supposed to be the Biblical סְפָר

‡ It is termed also Karâwi and Mahri.

rize,—c'est à dire, parle la langue de Hamyar." The writer means that such a traveller ought to "hammyarize" in order to be understood. The Ehhkili is reported to be of very harsh and guttural utterance. "Elle est horrible à entendre et à parler."*

M. Fresnel has taken great pains to give as much information as he could collect as to the forms of the modern Himyaritic language, and his notices of its peculiarities seems to have aided Professor Roediger in his investigation of the Himyarite inscriptions. The existence of this language and race is now looked upon as an undoubted fact. The discovery serves to fill up a blank in the history of the Syro-Arabian race; it is the lost link between the Asiatic and African branches of that family of nations. At the same time the discovery of characters spread through Arabia, which are nearly those used by the Abyssinians of Axum, and in which the Bible was translated into their language in the fourth century, points out the way by which the knowledge of writing and other parts of culture were probably introduced into the kingdom of Axum and the empire of the Negush.

Section VII.—*Of Hebræo-African Nations.*

The Syro-Arabian race is well known to be widely spread in northern Africa. The early Mohammedan conquests gave occasion to extensive immigrations of Arabian tribes into Egypt, Nubia, Abyssinia, and the vast region of Mauretania. In all these countries they have formed colonies, which still subsist, either mixed with the native races or in some instances preserving their lineage, as it appears, distinct. In a former part of this work I have briefly surveyed the principal tribes of this class.

But long before the time of Mohammed Shemite nations appear to have made their way into Africa. The strongest

* Note sur la langue Hhymiarite.—Extrait d'une lettre de M. F. Fresnel à M. J. Mohl, datée de Djùdda, 12 Dec. 1837.—Journal Asiatique, 3éme séries, Juillet, 1838, tom. 5 and 6.

proof is to be found in the languages of several African nations. These are said to approach more to the Canaanitish branch of the common idiom than to the Arabian; at least, they partake more of the former than does the modern Arabic. On this account there will be no impropriety in adopting the term Hebræo-African to distinguish all those languages and tribes cognate to the Syro-Arabian stock which are to be found in Africa, and whose introduction into that continent is dated from times antecedent to the age of Mohammed.

The Ethiopic, the language of the Abyssinian version, termed the Geez or Ghŷz, which was the national speech of the Abyssinians in the age of Frumentius, and apparently as long as the capital of their empire was at Axum in the province of Tigré or Tœgray, is well known to be a pure Shemite dialect. A new light has been thrown on the history of this language by the discovery, that the Ghŷz is nearly related to the idiom of the Himyaritic inscriptions. The Abyssinians of the ancient empire are thus proved to have been a part of the great stock of Himyarite or Southern Arabs, who appear to have possessed the countries on both sides of the Arabian Gulph for many ages before the Hejira, and, in all probability, before the Christian era.

The Ghŷz is, however, considered to be a dead language, and the question suggests itself, what relation the modern Abyssinian dialects may have to the old Ethiopic. The two principal dialects of Abyssinia are the Tigrean or Tœgrayan and the Amharic. The former is the vernacular language of Tigré, the country lying to the eastward of the Tacazze. The Amharic is spoken in all the provinces of the empire lying between that river and the Abay or Abyssinian Nile, and likewise in the southern kingdom of Shoa. It has been the language of the court and the noble class of Abyssinians since the removal of the government to Gondar from the ancient capital Axum.

The first specimen of the Tigré language obtained in Europe of any extent, was, I believe, the version of the Bible attempted by Mr. Pearce. From this, it appears, according to M. E. Jacquet, that the modern Tigré may

be considered as almost identical with the ancient Ghŷz.* The Tigréan words are almost entirely Ethiopic, with some little variety in vowels, such as is always found in attempts to reduce oral languages to writing.

Vater considered the Amharic as a language originally African and distinct from the Semitic stock, but the oriental scholars who have directed their attention to the subject of late years with more extensive sources of information have come to a different conclusion. Gesenius maintains that both the Amharic and Tigré are really dialects of the Ghŷz ;† and Dr. Isenberg, author of an Amharic grammar, published by the Church Missionary Society, in 1842, declares that the Amharic and Tigré are both modifications of the Ghŷz, though the Amharic has been more affected by foreign influences. He says, "a part of its vocabulary is in common with the idioms of the Danakil, the Somáli, the Gallas, the Argobbans, the nations of Hurrur or Arargî,

* These observations of M. E. Jacquet on the Tigréan language were made on the occasion of a review in the fifth volume of the "Nouveau Journal Asiatique" of Paris, of parts of Pearce's Abyssinian version of the Bible. The paper is entitled "Observations Grammaticales sur un Specimen des Dialectes Abyssins de Tigré, par M. E. Jacquet." The writer of the same severe criticism on Mr. Pearce's performance adds, "avec tous les défauts inhérens à la version de M. Pearce, ce texte, restitué par le savant Anglois (M. Pell. Platt) seroit encore précieux et digne de publication comme unique dans les bibliothèques de l'Europe. Le specimen donné par M. Pell Platt est le prémier qui aît encore été offert à l'attention des philologues: quelques alterations que cette langue ait subi sous la plume de M. Pearce, de quelques formes qu'elle se soit depouillée, il en reste encore assez pour déterminer les rapports du Tigrite avec l'ancienne langue Gŷz : ils seroient peut-être *portés jusqu'à l'identité* si nous pouvions analyser un texte plus pûr. Ils se montrent du moins très-intimes ; *la presque totalité* des môts est purement Ethiopienne dans la racine et dans la dérivation ; la forme parait, autant que Pearce la laisse déviner, être encore Ethiopienne, si ce n'est peut-être quelques variations dans la vocalité des consonnes, variations plus ou moins constantes dans la langue non écrite, mais toujours difficile á exprimer dans la transcription, et que l'éditeur a réduites, toutes les fois qu'il lui etoit permis, à la forme pur de la langue Gŷz. On y recontre quelques môts Amhariques en petit nombre, et M. Pell Platt, se décidant après le manuscrit, a introduit les caractères de ce dialecte dans le Tigrite. Les formes Ethiopiennes de quelques particules ont été écourtées ; ces légères différences ne paraissent d'ailleurs se rencontrer que dans les môts extra-radicaux."

† In his articles on these languages in Ersch and Gruber's Allgemeine Encyclopædie.—Dr. Nicholson in the Cyclopædia o. Bibl. Literature, vol. 2.

and those of Garaguî." "Both the modern dialects of Abyssinia are derived from the ancient Ethiopic, to which they bear nearly the same relation as some of our modern European languages to the Latin, namely, that of origin and derivation. However," he adds, "the present language of Tigré has preserved a greater similarity to the Ethiopic, and has received much less mixture from other languages, than the Amharic; the Amharic people being of a more changeable character, and having had intercourse with a greater number of foreign nations than their Tigré brethren."

The degree in which the other idioms of the Abyssinian nations, as the Galla, the Agow, the Falasha, have been affected by the Syro-Arabian language, is a subject which yet requires elucidation. There seems to be a high probability, though at present we have nothing more than probability, that the languages of all the Abyssinian nations may be discovered to be more or less intimately connected with the Himyaritic, or more generally with the Syro-Arabian language.

The relations of the Coptic and ancient Egyptian to the Semitic language have not yet been adequately explored. It is well known that they have some analogy in particular forms and words, but how far this penetrates into the structure of the languages has been a matter of dispute. We may expect an important elucidation of this subject, as well as of many questions connected with the history of ancient Egypt, when the Chevalier Bunsen's work, on which that highly-talented and worthy disciple of Niebuhr is known to have been for many years employed, shall make its appearance.

The Berber language, that idiom of the widely-spread race who, under the names of Berber, Shuluh, Tuaryk, are dispersed over nearly all the wilderness from the mouth of the Senegal to the confines of Egypt, has been supposed to be a native African language. The merit of having first demonstrated the Syro-Arabian relations of this idiom is due to Mr. F. W. Newman, formerly fellow of Balliol College.*

* The reader will find two memoirs appended to this volume, for which I am indebted to Mr. Newman, on the Berber and on the Haúsan languages.

Lastly, that some of the Negro nations of Africa speak languages more distantly, but yet certainly related to the Semitic, is a discovery of the same acute and highly-gifted philologer.

Section VIII.—*Of the Physical Characters of the Syro-Arabian Nations.*

I have already cited a description, drawn by an eye-witness, of the characteristic traits of the Syrian Christian race, who have preserved their lineage free from intermixture with foreigners, in the mountainous tracts of Kúrdistan. They furnish a specimen of the characters belonging to the northern or Aramæan branch of this family of nations. The reader may have observed that they are a fair, xanthous people; a sufficient proof that the black hair and eyes and dark skin, ascribed by many to the Shemite race, are not their constant characters. I shall now proceed to collect more general descriptions of the celebrated and widely-spread races of this stock, in which, as they are dispersed into all climates, we seem to have an "*instantia crucis*," that may determine the question, whether physical characters in mankind are mutable through the agency of climate.

Paragraph 1.—Physical Characters of the Arabs.

It must be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to draw a general portrait of the Arabians that may be applicable to the whole race. Most of the descriptions given of the Arabs refer principally to the Bedouins or wandering tribes of the desert. This may be observed of Chateaubriand's striking and graphic delineation of the race. It occurs in a splendid passage of his "Itinerary to Jerusalem," which I shall not venture either to translate or abridge. The author contrasts the Arabs with the savages of the New World.

"Les Arabes partout où je les ai vus, en Inde, en

Egypte, et même en Barbarie, m'ont paru d'une taille plutôt grande que petite; leur démarche est fière; ils sont bien faits et légers; ils ont la tête ovale, le front haut et arqué, le nez aquilin, les yeux grands et coupés en amandes, le regard humide et singulièrement doux. Rien n'annoncerait chez eux le sauvage s'ils avoient toujours la bouche fermée, mais aussitôt qu'ils viennent à parler, on entend une langue bruyante et fortement aspirée; on aperçoit de longues dents, eblouissantes de blancheur, comme celles des chacals et des onces, différens en cela des sauvages americains, dont la férocité est dans le regard, et l'expression humaine est dans la bouche. Ce qui distingue surtout les Arabes des peuples du Nouveau-Monde, c'est qu'à travers la rudesse des premiers on sent pourtant quelque chose de délicat dans leurs mœurs: on sent qu'ils sont nés dans cet Orient, d'où sont sortis tous les arts, toutes les sciences, toutes les religions. Caché aux extrémités de l'Occident, dans un canton détourné de l'univers, le Canadien habite des vallées ombragées par des forêts éternelles et arrosées par des fleuves immenses: l'Arabe, pour ainsi dire jeté sur le grand chemin du monde, entre l'Afrique et l'Asie, erre dans les brilliantes régions de l'aurore, sur un sol sans arbres et sans eau. Il faut, parmi les tribus des descendants d'Ismaël, des maitres, des serviteurs, des animaux domestiques, une liberté soumise à des lois. Chez les hordes américaines l'homme est encore tout seul avec sa fière et cruelle indépendance: au lieu de la couverture de laine il a la peau d'ours; au lieu de la lance, la flèche; au lieu du poignard, la massue: il ne connoît point et il dédaigneroit la datte, la pastèque, le lait du chameau: il veut à ses festins de la chair et du sang. Il n'a point tissu le poil de chèvre pour se mettre à l'abri sous des tentes: l'orme tombé de vétusté fournit l'écorce à sa hutte. Il n'a point dompté le cheval pour poursuivre la gazelle; il prend lui-même l'orignal à la course. Il ne tient point par son origine à de grandes nations civilisées; on ne recontre point le nom de ses ancêtres dans les fastes des empires: les contemporains de ses aïeux sont de vieux chênes encore debout. Monumens de la nature et non de l'histoire, les tombeaux de ses pères

s'élèvent inconnus dans des forêts ignoreés. En un mot, tout annonce chez l'Américain le sauvage qui n'est point encore parvenu à l'état de civilisation, tout indique chez l'Arabe, l'homme civilisé retombé dans l'état sauvage."

Of the Arabs of Yemen.—The following is a very exact description of the Arabs of Yemen, communicated to me by M. d'Abbadie, the enterprising Abyssinian traveller. The description, which was taken on the spot, does not apply, as M. d'Abbadie informed me, to the people on the coast, whose characteristic traits may be supposed to have undergone modification through the intercourse of strangers with the genuine Arabian stock, but from a careful inspection of about five hundred prisoners, brought from Asyr, a place in the interior, who happened to arrive, having been taken by the general of Mehemet Ali, at Ckounfoudah, at the time when M. d'Abbadie reached that place. By this opportunity, says M. d'Abbadie, "j'ai pu étudier un assez grand nombre de réjetons d'une race que l'orgueil de ses généalogies doit avoir préservé de toute dégéneration. Mes observations se resument par la description suivante :—

"Taille moyenne; peau tenant le milieu entre la couleur de la crême, et cette du cuivre rouge; pied petit et joliment formé; coude-pied fortement arqué; talon étroit et jambe fine; mollet petit mais musclé; genou en dedans; bassin très large; corps étroit au dessus des reins; poitrine très developpé, ce que explique la légèreté de ces Arabes à la course; bras et mains bien musclés; celles-ci courtes et larges; poignet étroit; barbe petite et pointue, en avant; nez droit, comme dans le type de la statuaire Grecque, mais au peu trop élargée à son extremité pour se rapporter au type Hellénique; lèvres épaisses, la supérieure ni longue ni courte; œil petit et très sombre; front bien dans le sens phrénologique; le trou auditif situé en arrière d'un plan qui partageroit le crane en deux partes égales; cheveux d'un noir luisant, ayant tout l'air d'être frisés naturellement, le plus souvent assemblés en deux longues tresses qui pendent sur chaque épaule."

We may be sure, from this description, that the natural complexion of the Arabs of Yemen, in the countries at no

great distance from the coast, is not white, but a yellow tinge. Carsten Niebuhr bears the same testimony: he says, "Les femmes Arabes des contrées basses et exposées aux chaleurs ont naturellement la peau d'un jaune foncé, mais dans les montagnes on trouve de jolies visages même parmi les paysannes."

The following is a description of the Arabs in the neighbourhood of Sana'a, given to M. d'Abbadie by Dr. Hermanowicz, physician in chief of the army of Yemen:—

"Œil *bleu, grisâtre;* cheveux unis et plutôt *châtains que noirs;* sourcils très petits, mais aggrandis par la peinture; cils presqu' enlevés par l'usage de l'antimoine; nez droit, à l'extremité fin; lèvres minces; menton et visage ronds; oreilles, mains, et pieds, petits et bien faits. Tous les muscles, y compris ceux du mollet, bien développés; dents très beaux et blanches par l'usage du mouswak (jeune tige de la plante du Prophète), le bassin tellement grand qu'il est impossible de distinguer le squelette d'un homme de celui d'une femme; les genous toujours en dedans. Les pays habité par ces Arabes est plutôt froid que chaud."

Bruce has observed that some of the Arabs have fair complexions in cold situations. "Some of the women," he says, "are exceedingly fair. The mountains of Ruddua, near Yambo, on the coast of Yemen are," as he says, "high and craggy, abounding in springs of water and verdant spots, where various fruits grow wild in abundance." He adds, "the people of the place told me, that water freezes there in the winter, and that some of the inhabitants have red hair and blue eyes, a thing scarcely to be ever seen but in the coldest mountains in the East."*

Mr. Fraser has thus described the Arabs near Muscat, on the eastern part of the Peninsula:—

"The Arabs," he says, "who in colour resemble mulattos, are of a sickly, yellow hue, with a deeper brownish tinge about the eyes, neck, and joints: some are very dark, and an admixture of Negro blood seems to be common." He adds, that "the genuine Arabs, with some exceptions, are rather spare and active than athletic men. Those of

* Bruce's Travels. vol. 5, p. 246.

the superior orders who came under our observation, as the Sheiks and their families, bore a strong characteristic resemblance to each other in features. *The countenance was generally long and thin;* the forehead moderately high with a rounded protuberance near its top; the nose prominent and aquiline; the mouth and chin receding, giving to the profile a circular rather than a straight outline. The eye was deep-set under the brow, dark and bright. Thin and spare, deficient in muscle, their limbs were small, particularly their hands, which were sometimes even of feminine delicacy. Their beards were almost always of a deep black, artificially coloured, not naturally so: a few wear them grizzled; and we observed an old man, whose beard, of a milk white colour, had been dyed yellow, which, contrasted with a conspicuous pair of blue eyes, had a very singular effect."*

People of Mekka and Medina.†—"Like the Mekkans, the people of Medina are by far the greater part strangers, attracted by the reputed sanctity of Mohammed's tomb. Few original Arabs of Mekka or Medina of the old native race remain in either; both are filled with colonies from every part of the Mohammedan world.

"The individuals of different nations settled in Medina have, in the second and third generation, all become Arabs as to features and character, but are yet distinguishable from the Mekkans. They are not nearly as brown as the latter, thus forming an intermediate link between the Hedjaz people and the northern Syrians. Their features are somewhat broader, their beards thicker, and their body stouter than that of the Mekkans; but the Arab face, the expression and cast of features, are in both places the same."

The Mekkan complexion is a yellowish brown colour. They have not the fine aquiline noses and handsome features of the Bedouins.

The Arabs differ widely in their habits, and corresponding differences have been observed in their physical characters. In Egypt, and in some parts of their original

* Fraser's Narrative of a Journey in Khorasan, pp. 51-57.

† Burckhardt's Travels in the Hedjaz, vol. 2.

country, they are divided into three classes: the first and the most noble are the Ebn-el-Arab or Bedauwi, termed by Europeans, Bedouins, the Children of the Desert, who are shepherds and nomades: a second class are tillers of the earth or Felahin; a third, Haddri or dwellers in towns. The Felahin, or agricultural peasants, are stout and of large form; the Bedauwi are generally thin and meagre. The Bedouins of the desert between Damascus and Bassora, are thus described by M. de Pagès:—"they run with extraordinary swiftness, have large bones, a deep brown complexion, bodies of an ordinary stature, but lean, muscular, active, and vigorous. The Bedouins suffer their hair and beards to grow, and indeed, among the Arabian tribes in general, the beard is remarkably bushy. The Arab has a large, ardent, black eye; a long face, features high and regular, and, as a result of the whole, a physiognomy peculiarly stern and severe."* "The tribes who inhabit the middle of the desert, have locks somewhat crisped, extremely fine, and approaching the woolly hair of the Negro."

A memoir, drawn up by Baron Larrey, for the use of the scientific commission sent to the French province in Africa, contains much information on the physical characters of the Arabian race.† Baron Larrey is well known to have been one of the contributors to the work of the French scientific men who accompanied the republican army to the banks of the Nile. He is the author of some of the best articles on physical subjects contained in the magnificent "Description de l'Egypte." During his services in that expedition he made extensive anatomical researches into the physical constitution of the different races found in the country. His collection of skeletons and crania were, unfortunately, destroyed in his house at Cairo, which became infected by the plague and was burnt by order of the commissioners of health; but he had pre-

* De Pagès, Travels Round the World, English translation, vol. 2, p. 102.

† Compte Rendu, No. 23. Juin. 1838.—See also Notice sur la Conformation physique des Egyptiens et des différentes races qui habitent l'Egypte, par M. le Baron Larrey.—Description de l'Egypte, tom. 2.

served in writing observations on the peculiar physical constitution of the Arabs.

He distributes the Arabs into three branches. 1.—The Eastern Arabs, whom he considers as the proper inhabitants of the Peninsula of Arabia. 2.—The Western Arabs or Africans of Mauretania. These are the people termed Moggrebyns. 3.—The Bedouin, Scenite or Nomadic Arabs.

1. The people of the first groupe, whose descendants are the Fellahs or labourers of Egypt as well as the artisans of that country, are somewhat above the average stature: they are robust and well formed; their skin is sun-burned and brown and is elastic; their countenance is oval and copper-coloured; their forehead is broad and elevated; the eye-brow is black and bushy; the eye is of the same colour, deep-seated and quick; the nose is straight and of moderate size; the mouth is well shaped; the teeth well set, beautiful, and white as ivory; the ear, well formed and of natural size, is slightly curved forwards; the auditory foramen is exactly on a level with the external or temporal commissure of the eye-lids."* Some additional traits are noted of the women. "The graceful contour of their limbs is especially admirable, as well as the regular proportions of their hands and feet, and the elegance of their attitudes and gait."

2. The second groupe of Arabs differs not essentially from the former either in person or in moral qualities.

3. The Bedouins or Nomadic Arabs live under tents and roam about the borders of the deserts. They strongly resemble the other Arabs, but their eyes are more sparkling, their features less strongly marked, and their stature rather inferior to that of the civilised Arabs. They are more agile, slightly built, and yet very strong. They are haughty and independent; lively, but suspicious, dissembling, and restless; of great craft and intelligence. They are excellent horsemen and skilful in the use of the lance and javelin.

The manners of all the classes are nearly alike, allowance

* M. Dureau de la Malle thought the auditory foramen placed lower in the heads of Arabs than in those of any other people. M. Larrey contradicts this. He says they are just the same.

being made for the difference of their circumstances of living. Their language and religion are the same. They are all sparing and abstemious; drink little, eat little meat, and bear privations of every kind.

The women allow their hair to grow, and often colour it, as well as their eye-brows, with stibium, and their feet and hands with henna. The men shave their heads and wear turbans.

Their heads are almost spherical in form with a remarkable elevation of the cranium.

"The perfectibility which we have recognised in all the internal organs, and in those which belong to the external senses, really announce," says M. Larrey, "an innate intelligence proportional to that physical perfection, which is, *without doubt*, superior to that of the people of the northern regions of the globe."

In Egypt we have observed that the young Arabs of both sexes imitate all the productions of our artists and artisans with astonishing facility. They also acquire languages with equal facility.

Independently of the elevation of the vault of the cranium, and of its almost spherical form, the surface of the jaws is of great extent and in a straight or perpendicular line: the orbits, likewise wider than they are usually seen in the crania of Europeans, are somewhat less inclined backwards; the alveolar arches are of moderate size, and supplied with very white and regular teeth; the canines especially project but little: the Arabs eat little, and seldom of animal food. We are also convinced that the bones of the cranium are thinner in the Arab than in other races, and more dense in proportion to their size; their transparency proves their greater density."

The physical perfection found in the bones of the head is apparent in other parts of the skeleton. The bones of the limbs are more dense and of a more compact tissue, without losing anything of their elasticity. The prominences which afford insertion to tendons and ligaments are strongly marked.

The following are M. Larrey's observations on the struc-

ture of those parts of the bodily organization which are most immediately connected with the exercise of the mental faculties in the Arabs:—

"We have observed," says M. Larrey, "first, that the convolutions of the brain, whose mass is in proportion to the cavity of the cranium, are more numerous, and the furrows which separate them are deeper, and the matter which forms the organ is more dense or firmer, than in other races; secondly, that the nervous system, proceeding from the medulla oblongata and the spinal chord, appears to be composed of nerves more dense in structure than are those of Europeans in general; thirdly, that the heart and arterial system display the most remarkable regularity and a very perfect developement; fourthly, that the external senses of the Arabs are exquisitely acute and remarkably perfect: their sight is most extensive in its range; they hear at very great distances; and can, through a very extensive region, perceive the most subtile odour."

The muscular or locomotive system is strongly marked: the fibres are of a deep red colour, firm, and very elastic; hence the great agility of this people. This physical perfectibility is very far from being equalled by the mixed nations of a part of Africa and of America, and especially by the northern nations of Europe.

"Upon the whole," says Baron Larrey, "I am convinced that the cradle of the human family is to be found in the country of this race."

The complexion of the Arabs displays great diversities in the different countries inhabited by them. Volney says that some of the Bedouins are black. Niebuhr and De Pagès assure us that the colour of the lower orders is naturally a dusky or yellow brown. According to Burckhardt, the Arabs in the low countries of the Nile bordering on Nubia are black. This traveller carefully distinguishes the Arabs from Negroes and Nubians. Higher up the Nile than Dongola are the Shegya Arabs, of whom we have an excellent description from an English traveller. "The general complexion of the Shegya Arabs," says Mr. Waddington, "is a jet black. The Shegya," he adds, "as I

have already mentioned, are black,—a clear, glossy, jet black, which appeared to my then unprejudiced eyes to be the finest colour that could be selected for a human being. They are distinguished in every respect from the Negroes by the *brightness* of their colour; by their hair and the regularity of their features; by the mild and dewy lustre of their eyes; and by the softness of their touch, in which last respect they yield not to Europeans." It appears from the account given by Burckhardt and Rüppell that the Arabs on the Nile do not intermarry with the natives. The blackness of their complexion is, therefore, owing to climate alone.*

Physical Characters of the Jews.

The Jews have assimilated in physical characters to the nations among whom they have long resided, though still to be recognised by some minute peculiarities of physiognomy. In the northern countries of Europe they are fair or xanthous. Blue eyes and flaxen hair are seen in English Jews; and in some parts of Germany the red beards of the Jews are very conspicuous. The Jews of Portugal are very dark. Jews, as it is well known, have been spread from early times through many countries in the eastern parts of Asia,—in China, Tartary, and the northern parts of India. There are many of them in towns of Cochin and the interior of Malabar. They hold communication with each other in their eastern colonies, which appear to be of one stock or migration; but at what era they reached these countries it is unknown. Their residence in Cochin appears to have been from ancient times; and they are now black, and so completely like the native inhabitants in their complexion, that Dr. Claudius Buchanan says he could not always distinguish them from the Hindoos.† He has surmised that

* For a fuller account of the Shakié or Shegya, I may refer to the second volume of my "Researches into the Physical History of Mankind," third edition.

† There is at Mattacheri, a town of Cochin, a particular colony of Jews, who arrived at a later date in that country, and are called Jerusalem or White Jews.

the blackness of the Jews spread through different parts of India is attributable to intermarriages with Hindoos; but of this there is no evidence: it is probable that the preservation of the Jews in these countries as a distinct people is owing, as elsewhere, to their avoiding all intermixture with the native inhabitants. The Jesuits in China expressly inform us that the Jews settled in Honan, where they have been established for many ages, keep themselves distinct, and intermarry within their own community.* It appears that the ancient Jewish inhabitants of Cochin were a people of the same migration with those of China; and it is very improbable that they differ from their brethren in the particular above alluded to.

SECTION IX.—*Concluding Observations on the Syro-Arabian Race.*

We have, in the instance of the Syro-Arabian nations, taken collectively an example of a single race, for the essential affinities of their dialects give us a right to draw the inference that they are of one stock, spread through different regions of the world, and displaying the greatest diversity of complexion. There are circumstances connected with the history of most of these tribes which preclude almost the possibility that these variations are the results of mixture with aboriginal inhabitants of the several countries. In Europe we know that the Jews are, for the most part, an unmixed race. In the East we are informed that they remain distinct in China, and there is no reason to suppose that their habits are in India different from those observed among them in other parts of the world. We know that the Syrian communities of Kúrdistan are unmixed with Kúrds, and we have a similar assurance respecting the Shegya and other Arabian tribes. Let us compare those offsets of the Syro-Arabian stock towards the south and north with the great body of the race who still remain within the Arabian Peninsula. There the native

* Duhalde. Astle's Voyages, vol. iv. p. 227.

colour of the people is a brownish white, with black eyes and hair in the southern parts, varying in Yemen to a lighter colour of both as we have seen in the description of these tribes, while in high mountainous tracts the xanthous variety appears. The same xanthous variety shews itself and becomes general among the Jews of Northern Europe, and the Syrians of Kúrdistan, while the Shegya and other Nilotic races are black, and, as Mr. Rozet informs us, the Arabs of Mauretania are sometimes quite black.

But not only the colour, the physical conformation of the race differs widely in different countries. The Jews of Europe differ in nothing except a peculiar caste of physiognomy from the native inhabitants of the countries where they dwell. The Arabs differ considerably among themselves, and they likewise differ from other nations. They nowhere display, in their mental character, the simple, undeveloped intellect of the Mongolian and other nomadic tribes, nor have they sunk into the squalid and sensual condition of savage life. We neither discover among them the pyramidal heads of the former nor the prognathous countenance of the genuine Negro. These at least are not frequent phenomena. It is, however, by no means ascertained, that the Shemite race would not degenerate, as others do, under circumstances tending to physical degradation. The following observations will be found to have some bearing on this question; and, if they are accurately related, will go far towards furnishing a solution of it. "The most curious example," says a learned and highly-gifted writer, "which I have met with of the spreading tendency to produce in one human race the characteristics of another, is mentioned by a recent traveller, almost the first who explored the Haüran, a district beyond the Jordan. He writes as follows:—'The family residing here,—at Abu-el-Beady,—in charge of the sanctuary, were remarkable for having, with the exception of the father only, negro features, a deep black colour, and crisped hair. My own opinion was, that this must have been occasioned by their having been born of a negress mother, as such persons are sometimes found among the Arabs, in the re-

lation of wives or concubines; but while I could entertain no doubt, from my own observation, that the present head of the family was a pure Arab of unmixed blood, I was also assured, that both the males and females of the present and former generations were all pure Arabs by descent and marriage; and that a negress had never been known, either as a wife or slave, in the history of the family. It is certainly a very marked peculiarity of the Arabs that inhabit the valley of the Jordan, that they have flatter features, darker skins, and coarser hair, than any other tribes; a peculiarity rather attributable, I conceive, to the constant and intense heat of that region than to any other cause.' If all the facts and circumstances here given can be considered as sufficiently verified, we have, certainly, a very striking instance of approximation in individuals of one family to the distinctive characters of another, and of these being transmitted by descent."*

The only further comment which I think necessary to add to this observation is the following account which was communicated to me by Mr. Hodgson, the learned author of an excellent memoir on the Berber race, which was one of the first publications that drew the attention of the world to that interesting subject. In the vast wilderness occupied or wandered over by the Berber Tuaryk there are great variation of climate and situation. The natives of particular oases in the Great Desert are like the inhabitants of islands in the ocean. They never move in any considerable numbers from their native spot, nor are they visited by many strangers. They acquire, consequently, characteristics of physiognomy, through the agency of external conditions, the effect of which accumulates through many generations. In one of these oases, namely, that of Wadreag, Mr. Hodgson discovered that the people, though Berbers by the evidence of their language which they speak with purity and correctness, were not only black, as many of

* This relation is given by Mr. Buckingham in the Narrative of his Travels among the Arab tribes of Syria and Palestine. I extract the passage in the text from the Right Reverend Dr. Wiseman's admirable Lecture on the Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion.

the genuine Arabs of the country are known to be,* but have features approaching those of Negroes, and hair like that which is characteristic of the Negro race. It was the opinion of Mr. Hodgson that these characteristics had been acquired, not as the result of intermixture of races, which the circumstances of the tribe seemed to him to preclude, but through the long continued agency of physical causes upon a tribe of genuine Tuaryk origin, though the ordinary type of that race is almost similar to the Arabian.

* Rozet, Voy. dans la Régence d'Alger.—See Physical Researches, vol. 2, p. 259.

CHAPTER X.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISTORY OF THE RACES OF PEOPLE WHO INHABIT THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE AND ASIA.

SECTION I.—*General Survey of the Relation between Different Families of Nations.*

IN bringing to a close this part of my work, which relates to the history of nations inhabiting the Continent of Europe and Asia, it remains for me to make some brief and general remarks on the different series of facts to which I have called the attention of my readers.

When we survey the relative positions and compare the physical, moral, and national characters of the different families of men spread over the Great Continent in the earliest times, as far as they are displayed by historical evidence, we are led to remark a variety of phenomena which indicate a very ancient separation and a strong distinction of some of these races from others. By an attentive inquiry into the nature of these indications we are enabled to recognise traces of two series of events, which must have taken place under very different circumstances, and apparently in different ages of the world. One of these is the dispersion over an immense space of the nations which belong to the Indo-European stock from some common centre, where it would appear that they must have remained during a long period in juxta-position with each other, and, if we go back to still earlier times, whence they originated as the branches of one primitive stem. The other series of events is a succession of migrations which must have

preceded the former by many ages, and the traces of which are less distinctly marked, though, on the whole, sufficiently to be ascertained. I shall begin with the dispersion of the Indo-European nations. With reference to this subject, it has been repeatedly observed, that the principal ground, on which we consider a common origin between these nations established, is the near and essential affinity of their languages. This extends to all the dialects spoken in the countries which lie between the mouth of the Ganges and the extreme parts of Norway and Iceland. There is likewise some additional evidence, derived from other considerations, which, though it would by itself be insufficient to establish the fact, tends to strengthen our conviction, that all the nations of this Indo-European groupe, formed as they appear to have been, during the early periods of their developement, in similar habits, and ever retaining a certain resemblance in their social and intellectual, as well as their physical character, must have had one origin. The era of their dispersion must have preceded by many ages the commencement of European history, and perhaps of all history preserved by nearly contemporary records. The period, for instance, must have been very remote when the idioms of the Hindoos, the Medes and Persians, the Greeks and Latins, the Letts and Slaves, the Goths and Germans, the Britons and the Gael, began to assume their peculiar characters or were first developed from common elements. The original seat of the whole race may be conjectured with a probability of near approximation to the truth. The primitive position of the Indo-European tribes must have been some country between the extreme points of their dispersion. It is generally imagined to have been within the ancient Iranian empire.

A second series of observations leads us back to events in the history of the world still more remote in time than the dispersion of the Iranian nations. As the different offsets of the Indo-European stock spread themselves in varirous directions and formed colonies in remote parts of the world, it appears that they found many countries previously occupied by races of people, who were regarded by

them and looked upon themselves, as aboriginal inhabitants. But even these earlier tribes of the remote borders of Europe and Asia, when their history, manners and languages are carefully examined, are found to bear indications of a common origin, but of one distinct, in the sense in which we have used that expression, from that of the Indo-Europeans. In many instances we have collected proofs, more or less decisive, of their descent from the great pastoral nations of Central Asia. Thus all the tribes belonging to the Ugrian race, spread, in remote times, over the northern parts of Europe, (where, under the names of Finns and Lappes, they opposed the progress of Gothic or German tribes in the western parts, and where in the east Tschudes and Ougres retired before the Slaves to the northward of the Waldai mountains and to the Uralian forests), the tribes of Khasova or Samoiedes on the Icy Sea descended from the Soiots of the highest region of Altaï, the Sochalar or Turks of the Lena, and the Tungusian tribes of the Aldan, are all to be recognised as of undoubtedly foreign origin and as emigrants, though of immemorial antiquity, from regions far to the southward of the countries where we discern them at the earliest dawn of history.

It is very probable, though we cannot at present consider the fact as historically proved, that all the other tribes on the northern border of Asia are allied to the same class of nations. The languages of these tribes, though as yet but very imperfectly known, appear to have much in common with those of the Ostiaks and Samoiedes, and in the habits of life and in superstitions, as well as in the physical conformation of the people, it is difficult to discover any distinguishing characters.

The nations occupying the eastern border of Asia, as well as the long promontories of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, ally themselves more or less nearly to the Chinese, whose earliest abodes were, as we have seen, about the eastern border of the High Plateau of Asia. Near the upper course of the Hoang-ho and the banks of the Blue Lake or Khó-kho-nór, and from thence to the sources of the Irawadi and the rivers of Siam and Camboja, we may, with

great probability, look for the original country of these nations. In what relation they all really stand to the great nomadic races who, physically, so much resemble them is a question not yet elucidated.

The primitive nations of Southern India or the Dekhan belong, as we have seen, to a stock which some writers have conjectured to be connected with the Finnish tribes. The evidence on this point is very defective, but some analogies in the grammatical structure, which have been pointed out between the languages of the Tartar or nomadic nations of High Asia and those of the Tamulian family, are favourable to the supposition. No person possessed of a competent knowledge of the Tamulian languages, and likewise of the Finnish, Ugrian, and Tartar idioms, has yet pursued this investigation, which was first suggested, but only suggested, by Professor Rask.

The Finnish nations were probably far spread in the north-west of Europe before the earliest appearance of the Teutonic tribes, who conquered them and supplanted them. As the Celts apparently preceded the German race in advancing towards the north and west, it is probable that they first came into contact and collision with the Finns or the Finno-Lapponic tribes. To the south-west, in Gaul and Spain, the Celtic invaders found the Euskarian nations in previous possession of the country. Between the Euskarians and the northern border, which afterwards became the scene of warfare between the German nations and the Finns, there is a wide space, and it is not likely that all this region was found by the Celtic tribes destitute of earlier inhabitants. Who were these earlier inhabitants, and did the Celts or, perhaps, rather the priestly and military classes, who alone among the Celts may have been of Indo-European origin, exterminate them or only reduce them to vassalage and ultimately form one nation with them? These are questions which it is difficult to answer. We only know, that in the Celtic countries there always existed a lower caste, a tribe deprived of all civil rights and looked upon as mere serfs or slaves, while among the Teutonic nations, who were of a pure Indo-European

race, there was perfect equality and the people were free. The supposition which these facts appear to support will likewise serve to explain the greater diversity of the Celtic vocabulary from that of other European languages. It may also lead us to the true source of the strong differences observable between those languages which are referred in common to the Celtic stem. The Irish and Welsh have, as it is well known, a great number of words peculiar to each. An inquiry is here suggested, whether any considerable number of these Celtic words can be recognised in the Allophylian languages. A comparison was long ago instituted on this gound by Arndt, who looked upon the Celtic as a great part Finnish.* The following are a few examples of the resemblances which he detected on comparing the Celtic with the Allophylian languages in the Petropolitan vocabularies :—†

* Ueber den Ursprung und die verschiedenartige Verwandtschaft der europäischen Sprachen, &c., von Chr. Gottl. von Arndt. Frankfurt, 1818.

† The reader will perceive that several of these words are common to the Allophylian and some of the Indo-European languages.

Celtic Dialects.	*Finnish & Lapponic Dialects.*	*Siberian Languages*	*Tartar Languages.*
EARTH,—			
Talamh, *Irish*		Tyala, Tanam, *Samoiede*	Tala, meadow, *Mongol.*
MOON,—			
Ré, *Gael.*		Iri, Yirri, *Sam.*	
Gealach, *Irish*		Gáilgen, Géilygen,	
FIRE,—		Tchagaloh, *Koriak*	
Taan, *Welsh*	Tol. *Lapp.*	Tu, *Sam.*	Tog, Toggo, *Tungusian dialects*
Teine, *Gael.*	Taut, *Vogúl.*	Tyein, *Sam.*	
LIGHT,—			
Goleu		Jale, *Sam.*	
Goleune		Jallena, white	
		Jaleine, ray of light, *Sam.*	
AIR,—			
Athar, *Gael.*			
Awyr, *Welsh*			Achar, Ahar, *Mongolian*
MAN,—			
Fear, *Irish*	Feri, *Magyar*		
WOMAN,—			
Gwraig. Gwrach, *Vetula. Welsh*			Geregen, *Mong.*
THUNDER,—			
Taran			Sheran, *Tung.*
HEAD,—			
Pen, *Welsh*	Pae, *Fin.* Pœnk, *Vog.*		
HAND,—			
Lhaw, *Welsh*	Lagol } *Ostiak*		
Lamh, *ie.* Lav, *Gael*	Lagel }		

EYE,—			
Lhyyad, *Welsh*		Leleugi, *Koriak* Lilœgin, *Tchuktschi*	
Suil, *Gael. & Irish*	Silme, *Fin.* Zialme, *Lapp.*		Issal, Eschol } *Tung.*
WET, WATER,—			
Uisg, *Irish*	Wesi, *Finn.*		Ushun, *Mong.*
Isk, Ex, Ax, Usk, —names of rivers in Britain		Ushe, *Yukaghir Sam.*	Suw, *Turk.*
HORSE,—			
March, *Welsh*			
Mar, Mara, *Old German*, Maere a jade, *New Ger.*			Mori, *Mong.* Mar, *Vulgar Chinese*
Ox,—			
Bywch, *Welsh*			Bucha, *Mong.*
SLEEP,—			
Codail, v. Codeil, n. } *Irish*		Kondaal, *Sam. Tawg.* Kaddade, *Sam.* of *Mangaseia.*	
Cwsg, n. Cwsgu v. } *Welsh*			Chussun, *Ossetic.*
DRINK,—			
Yv-ed Root Yv } *Welsh*	Iovva, *Fin.* Iuuvva, *Fin.*		
Olaim, *Irish*	Ilem, *Ostiak*		
EAT,—			
Ith, *Irish*			Idä, *Mong.*
TOWN,—*i.e.* Enclosures			
Caer, *Welsh*	Kar, *Votiak Ugrian*		Gaer, *Mong.*, house
SMALL,—			
Beg, beag, *Irish* Bäch, *Welsh*			Bag Bacha } *Mong.*

These instances of resemblance are few in number, but they belong to various assortments of words, and are, at any rate, sufficient to awaken a strong suspicion that further proofs of relationship might be discovered on further inquiry. It must be remembered that for the most important part of this comparison we have very scanty materials. I know not whether a grammar has yet been written of any of the Siberian languages, either of the Samoide or Ugrian families, or of the more remote north-eastern idioms, which, from some remarks made by M. Ermann,* appear to have a part of their component material in common. All that we have as yet of these languages consists of some scanty vocabularies, and it is but rarely, and as it were by chance, that we can detect resemblances when they exist through

* Reise um die Erde. Bd. 2.

so deficient means.* Of the Finnish dialects spoken in Europe we have more information; grammars have been long existing of the proper Finnish and the Lapponic idioms. In the treatise of Leems on the Lapponic grammar† it may be seen that the Lapps modify the initial letters of words in construction in a manner somewhat analogous to that adopted in the Celtic languages. In the declension of pronouns the Finnish dialects display, as I have heretofore remarked, remarkable analogy to the Welsh. Nor is this confined to the more western dialects of this race, whom Klaproth called, with very doubtful propriety, Germanised Finns. The languages of these western tribes may be suspected to have undergone modification from the long abode of the people in the neighbourhood of western European nations. The resemblance is equally striking in the idiom of the Morduans on the Wolga, who, by local situation, are beyond the suspicion of any similar influence.‡

Section II.—*Psychological Characteristics briefly Contrasted*

In the introductory chapter to the third volume of this work I have made some remarks on the most striking features in the moral character, social habits, civil polity, and religious institutions, or predilections which have distinguished the great families of nations in the Old Continent from the earliest periods of history. I have observed, that theIndo-European races are found raised above the Allophylian tribes by a higher mental cultivation and by more artifi-

* There are synonyms, or words nearly synonomous, and differing by some slight shade of meaning, in most languages, and it often happens that vocabularies contain only the dissimilar words. Thus, if we should inquire whether the Spaniards preserve the old Euskarian word *yan*, to eat, and look in a Spanish vocabulary, we should probably find only *comer*, a corruption of *comedere*, while the same language has another word, of popular and vulgar use, *yantan*, which is the Euskarian vocable somewhat modified.

† See also Rask's "Lappiske Sproglære."

‡ C. v. d. Gabelentz, Versuch einer Mordwinischen Grammatik.—Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Mongenlandes, 2 Band, 2. H.

cial forms of society. The former appear to have been subjected from times immemorial to powerful dynasties or to sacerdotal orders, who claimed a divine right to rule over them as descendants of the gods. Some of these orders were regarded as the depositories of ancient tradition or of religious dogmas revealed to mankind during a golden age of primitive happiness, and handed down by oral recitations or preserved in sacred books; they cultivated poetry and embellished human life by festive celebrations and solemnities, erecting in many countries magnificent temples or worshipping the Unseen Powers in the darkness of sacred groves, deprecating and appeasing them by solemn rites, by sacrifices, music, litanies, and processions; by all which means they were believed to possess the power of rendering the future state of retribution as well as the calamities of the present life more tolerable to their votaries. In tracing the history of particular races in the sequel of these general remarks I have shewn that they are confirmed by facts and by all the accounts transmitted from early times among the several tribes belonging to this family of nations. Powerful hierarchies, for example, are known to have governed the Hindoos, the ancient Persians and Medes, the Celts, the Etruscans, the Slaves, and the old Lithuanian or Pruthenian race, whose Pagan pontiff, at Romowe, struck the first Christian missionaries in that country as singularly resembling, in his high dignity and attributes, the hierarch of the Latin Church. As indications of the deep root which similar principles had taken in the mind and character of these nations, we have remarked, in tracing the history of Indian theology, that when attempts were made in the East to shake off the power of the priesthood, when, for example the protesting followers of Sakya asserted the natural equality of mankind and claimed for the laity the privilege of access to the Divinity without the intervention of sacerdotal mediators, such innovations had but a temporary prevalence, and the natives of the East, after a period of anarchy, again acquiesced under an influence that was in harmony with the sentiments of mankind in those ages and re-

gions of the world. It was under the influence of such a sway that mental culture advanced among the Indo-Europeans, as it had done in still earlier times among the Egyptians, and that poetry and literature, and, in later times, moral and physical sciences were developed. By poetry and oral recitation memorials of the first ages of the world were preserved until the invention of letters. When, afterwards, literature had attained a certain degree of cultivation, schools of moral philosophy and of dialectics were formed among the Hindoos and the Greeks, and, lastly, physical sciences were cultivated by those nations as well as among the Etruscans and some other nations in the West.

Very different is the history of the Allophylian races Nearly destitute of any traditionary creed or doctrine, and almost without recognised laws of morality, they yet live under a sort of instinctive religion, which consists in an indefinite apprehension of ills from the unknown agency of retributive powers and unseen avengers. The dread of some maleficent influence of material objects, under the direction of a mysterious destiny, is the groundwork of that superstition of fetisses which we have traced among the native tribes of Africa, and on the same foundation, with very little variety of developement, was formed the Schamanism of the Siberian nomades. The best portrait of Schamanism that I have seen has been given by a Russian traveller of great reputation. "Schamanism," says Baron von Wrangell, "has no dogmas of any kind; it is not a system taught or handed down from one age to another: though widely spread, it originates in every individual as the fruit of a highly-excited imagination, acted upon by external impressions, which are every where similar through the vast wildernesses of northern Siberia. Shamans are not mere impostors: they are persons born with excitable feelings and ardent imagination, who grow up amidst a general belief in ghosts, wizards, and mysterious powers in nature, wielded by sorcerers. The youth conceives a strong desire to partake in these supernatural gifts. No one teaches him. His enthusiastic fancy is worked upon by solitude, by contemplating the gloomy aspect of surrounding nature, by long

vigils, fasts, the use of narcotic drugs, till he becomes persuaded that he has seen the shadowy beings who dwell in the obscurity of forests and mountains, and whose voices are heard in the winds of the desert. He then becomes a Shaman, and is instituted with many ceremonies, which are held during the silence of the night, and receives from his order the magic drum. Still his actions are those of the individual mind. A Shaman is not a cool deceiver, but a psychological phenomenon of a wonderful sort. When I have seen them perform," continues the same writer, "they have left a permanent gloomy impression on my mind. The wild look, the blood-shot eyes, the labouring breast and convulsive utterance, the apparently involuntary distortion of the face and body, the streaming hair, even the hollow sound of the drum contributes to this effect; and it may well be imagined how the whole exhibition is regarded by the rude spectators as the work of goblins or unembodied spirits."

Schamanism constitutes one chapter, and a very remarkable one, in the history of human superstitions. It might be termed the religion of nature, if the most degraded and barbarised state of humanity were really the original and natural one. It is that form of superstition which is congenial to mankind when they have long lost or have as yet not gained by art and skill a power over the physical elements, and, like the inferior tribes of the creation, are still their sport, and can only by a severe struggle maintain a precarious existence. Mental refinement begins with the nomadic state, surrounded by fewer dangers and affording leisure for reflection. With poetry and the culture of the imagination mythology begins: the fierce spirits of the storm become personified as gods of the firmament. Jupiter and Indra, or even the Ilmarinen and Vaidamoinen of the Finns, were a great advance on the indefinite and monstrous conceptions which terrify the wild Schaman and his timid votaries. The tribes of Siberia never rose far above the rudeness of Schamanism. The festivals of the Tanshu or emperor of the primitive Turks and the religious rites of the ancient Ouigours, as we have described them

in the preceding pages, were merely an adoration of the visible objects of nature. The bloody sacrifices of Kali or the Black Goddess of Indian mountaineers, are relics of the rude and barbarous rites celebrated among the hill tribes of the Dekhan long before the conquests of Rama or the proselyting zeal of Agastya introduced among them a more refined and less cruel system of idolatry.

We may conclude with the general observation, that all the different tribes of the human family, whose history we have surveyed, though the conceptions which they form of the nature and attributes of the divine rulers of the world and avengers of guilt differ in different countries according to the different degrees of mental culture, are yet completely in harmony with each other if we scrutinize the moral sentiments and impressions which have exercised so extensive an influence on their imaginations.

Section III.—*Physical Observations deduced from the Comparative Survey of European and Asiatic Races.*

Under the head of physical observations on the Asiatic and European races, and with reference at present more especially to the former, we must take notice of phenomena displayed by the conformation of the skull and other bony parts in particular tribes, and to the changes observed to take place within the limits of particular families, and likewise of the phenomena of colour or complexion in different nations.

We have repeatedly observed that two principal types of organisation have been recognised among the Asiatic races. One of these is the form termed in this work Turanian, an expression more general than that of Mongolian, and fitter to denote the physical character which is common to all nomadic nations of Great Tartary and to the wandering hordes of the Frozen Coast. The other is the Indo-European, Iranian or Arian type. The former seems to be the ancient character of all those tribes who constituted the principal population of High Central Asia, whether

referrible to the Mongolian, Turkish, or Tungusian race. It belongs also to a variety of nomadic races whom we suppose to have descended from the High Plains in different directions and at different times. In those races who have retained their ancient manner of existence, in all the tent-dwelling, roving hordes, this character is still prevalent. Among the settled tribes who have ceased to nomadise and have become tillers of the soil or inhabitants of towns, it has given way to a physical character resembling that of the European and Iranian race.

The Mongolian race, properly so termed, are all nomades, and among them all type of organisation which Blumenbach designated after their name is still universal. But some of the Tungusians have become partly civilised. Among the Mandschú Tartars who are of this race, travellers have observed numerous individuals who approach the northern Europeans in features and complexion. A similar observation applies still more extensively to the races inhabiting the eastern border of Asia, allied, though perhaps remotely, to the great nomadic families of the Central Highland. Among the Kooraï and the people of Nippon European forms are frequently seen, and the xanthous complexion is in many places prevalent, though great bodies of men among these nations still display the type impressed of old on the ancestral stock. In the centre and the west of Asia the Turkish race, as we have seen, as well as the Finnish or Ugrian tribes, present very similar phenomena. The nomadic Turks and the nomadic tribes allied to the Ugrian race have the Turanian or Tartar physiognomy not less strongly marked than the Mongoles themselves. Not so the civilised Finns and the settled Tartars and the Osmanli and other descendants of the old Seljukiyan Turks. I shall not enlarge further on this topic: the reader may trace particular instances by referring to the general observations at the end of each chapter in the history of the races above named.

With respect to the varieties of colour discoverable among the Asiatic nations so much has already been said under particular topics that it is unnecessary to add more

at present than a brief reference. That white races inhabit the cold north and black tribes the south is an obvious fact, but it would not be conclusive as to the original causes of the phenomena of complexions unless there were some historical proof that deviations have taken place within particular families. But for instances of this kind, established with as complete evidence as we can expect to find in support of any historical or ethnographical fact, we may refer to the physical history of the Hindoos and the offsets of the Indian race in the Himálaya, and likewise to the history of the Shemite or Syro-Arabian tribes.

It appears that races bearing that type of organisation which belongs more especially to the nomades of Turan have, in conjunction with their other characters, a texture of skin which does not so readily assume a variety of shades or yield to the influence of climate as does that of Europeans and the Asiatics of the Arian race. Yet the xanthous colour displays itself in the Turanian tribes, as we have seen in tracing the physical history of the eastern Asiatics. It may be supposed that generally the complexion remains nearly permanent until the tribe has been exposed to the influence of particular physical agencies, and those agents which modify the complexion of the stock produce their effect also in the first instance on the configuration and structure of parts.

APPENDIX.

1.—OF THE GIPSEYS AND OTHER MIGRATORY TRIBES.

The Ethnography of Europe and Asia would be incomplete without some allusion to wandering races who have no particular country and whose original abode can only be discovered by the analogy of their languages. They are principally Indian tribes of low caste.

The Bazeegurs or Nuts are a tribe of this description, of whom an account may be seen, by Captain D. Richardson, in the seventh volume of the "Asiatic Researches." They are a numerous and widely-spread people, divided into seven castes. The writer has shewn, by a comparative vocabulary of their dialect and that of the Gipseys with the Hindústaní, that a considerable resemblance exists between all these languages; and he conjectures that the people termed in England Gipseys descended originally from a branch of the Bazeegurs.

Several other wandering tribes, spread through different parts of India, have been described in a late memoir, by E. Balfour, Esq., assistant surgeon, published in the thirty-fifth volume of the "Edinburgh and New Philosophical Journal." They are as follows:—

1. The Gohar, called, by Europeans and natives of India, Lingari or Lumbari.
2. Hind-Shikarry or Hind-Pardy, the Hunters.
3. The Taremook or Wandering Blacksmiths.
4. The Korawa.
5. The Teling Korawa of Korowa or Telingana.
6. The Bhatoo.
7. The Maddikpor.

The Gipseys have, doubtless, descended from some mi-

gratory Indian tribe; but to what particular race of Hindoos they are most nearly related is yet to be discovered. Their dialect is well known to be a corrupt Hindí.

The Indian origin of the Gipseys was first conjectured by Büttner. It was proved by Grellmann. They appeared in Europe about the beginning of the fifteenth century. They are termed, by the Germans, Zigeuner, by the French, Bohemians, by the Spaniards, Gitanos. They call themselves Roma, Men, Kola, Blacks, and Sinte, perhaps from the river Indus. A careful comparison of their dialect with the languages of the migratory Indian tribes will probably elucidate their history.

Gipseys are seen occasionally of very dark complexion; but they are in Europe much lighter than the Hindoos of low caste, who are often as black as the Negroes of Guinea.*

* The reader will find much information on the history of the Gipseys in Grellmann's Historischer Versuch über die Zigeuner, Götting. 1787,—Adelung's Mithridates, Th. 1,—Pallas's Travels in the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire,—Dr. Bright's Travels in Hungary,—Noyland's History of the Gipseys,—and, lastly, in the well known work of Mr. Borrow on the Gitanos or Gipseys of Spain.

APPENDIX II.

ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE BERBER LANGUAGE, BY F. W. NEWMANN, ESQ.

In this and the following paper it has not been thought worth while to introduce unknown types of letters. In consequence, *sh*, *ch*, *j*, must receive their popular English sounds: an apostrophe will denote the *Ain* of the Hebrews and Arabs; δ, θ, χ, γ, will receive the aspirated utterance given them by the Greeks; *q* stands for the Arabic and Hebrew *Qâf* (ק); and a *Roman* t distinguishes the Hebrew ט. The long vowels and dipthongs are *a*, *ey*, *y*, *o*, *ou*,—the two last being modifications of the consonant *w*,—and have the sounds of Italian *à*, *è*, *ì*, *ò*, *ù*. The short vowels are *e*, *i*, *u*, of which the first is probably very obscure and intermediate to the English vowels in *bet* and *but*. Final *a* also is short unless accented.

The information of the present writer concerning the Berber language is derived from a very imperfect translation of the four gospels, the property of the Bible Society, which was made by a native Berber, said to belong to the region of Algiers. The conclusions hence obtained have been checked by the slight notice of the language extracted from the papers of Venture by M. Langlés, the French editor of "Hornemann's Travels." It is easy to see that M. Venture has had access to a Berber dialect far less adulterated with Arabic than that of the MS. which has furnished the following conclusions. It is moreover stated by M. d'Avezac, that the dialectual variations of the language are very considerable.

The *vocabulary* of the Berbers differs so largely from that of the Arabs and Hebrews, that, judged of by this test, no

one could suspect any connexion between the languages. Whether it has greater similarity to any of the Abyssinian idioms must remain for future inquiry. Even when Berber words are found, as occasionally happens, to be more like Hebrew than Arabic, the question arises, whether they may not be Punic importations. The Berbers, near Algiers, have adopted the Arabic numerals, except for One and Two; the true Berber numerals, however, are given by Venture, and they are not entirely unlike the Arabic. In fact, the numbers Two, Six, Eight, Nine, are manifestly at bottom the same as in that language; and the same is probable both of Five and Seven. This brings the Berber as near to the Arabic as the Amharic is. The isolated pronouns are as follows:—

Nekki, I	*Kechchi*; thou (m)	*Netta*, he
	Kemmi, thou (f)	*Netteθ*, she
Nekni, we	*Kunwi*, ye (m)	*Nuθni*, they (m)
	Kunwiθ? ye (f)	*Nuθnet*, they (f)

Suffixed	1st. s.	1st. pl.	2nd.s.m.	2nd.s.f.	2nd. p. m.	2nd. p. f.	3rd. s.	3rd.p.m.	3rd.p.f.
To Nouns	-y,-iw	-neɣ	-ik	-im	-wen	-went (?)	-is	-sen	-sent(?)
To Preps.	-i,-u	-neɣ / -eɣ	-ek	-em / *-ekim	-wen	-went (?) / -χunt	-es	-sen	-sent
To Verbs dat.					-ewen		-as	-asen	-asent
To Verbs accus.	-i,-y-yi	-eɣ	-ik	-em	-kum		-iθ,-it	-iθen	
Prefixed									
To Verbs dat. / accus.	ey-	eɣ-	ek-	em- / ek(i)m-	ewen / on- / ekun-	*ewent- / *ekunt-	es- / eθ,-θ-	es(e)n- / eθ(e)n-	

The pronouns of the first and second person are obviously Syro-Arabian, though scarcely more like than to those of the Coptic. As for the third person, there is in it also a distant similarity to the Coptic, which makes *Neθof* he, *Neθos*, she, *Neθôû*, they. *Es* also, which marks the suffix *him* or *her*, in Coptic means *her*.

The principal tense (or Aorist) of the verb is thus conjugated; supplying from Venture the *feminine* plural of the second person, which is defective in the MS.

	Singular.	*Plural.*
Aorist	3. *Isher* (m); *Θesker* (f)	*Eskeren* (m); *Eskerent* (f);
	2. *Θeskeret*	*Θeskerem* (m); *Θeskeremt* (f);
	1. *Ṣekreɣ*	*Nesker.*

Imperat. { 2 *s.* *Esker*, make thou
2 *pl.* (m) *Sekreθ*, make ye
(f) *Sekerimt.*, do. (Venture)

The Aorist, when not otherwise influenced, bears a *past* sense; so that *Isker* means "He made;" but it is capable of meaning present or future time when the context suggests it.

Every one acquainted with any of the languages immediately allied to Hebrew, will see at a glance how similar this tense is in form to the Hebrew present or future. A striking discrepancy, however, is found in the first person singular (*Sekreγ*); but in the Ghyz, the Maltese, and the later Samaritan, the first person singular ends in *k* (Gesenius.) Both γ and *k* must come from *Nekki*, I; for which the dialects of Coptic have *Anok* and *Anoγ*.

By prefixing *Eδ* to the Aorist a sort of present tense is produced, which admits equally of a future or subjunctive meaning; as *Eδisker*, *facit*, *faciet*, *faciat*, *faceret*.

By prefixing *Ere* in like manner, a tense arises which seems to be specifically future and also potential,—to use the common term,—as *Ereyisker* "he will make," *Ekkenni ereyisker*, "that he *may*, or *might*, make."

The two prefixes are often combined; as *Ereδisker* or *Ereddisker*, "he is about to make."

The syllable *Ey* appears often to stand for *Ere*, but some uncertainty hangs over its real meaning.

Another tense is produced by annexing the termination *ed* or *d* to the Aorist, after the pronominal parts, when they follow the root; as *Isekred*, *Eskerend*, *Θessekreted*; and if a pronoun is suffixed to the verb the syllable *ed* follows even it; as *Iban*, apparuit (Aorist); *Iban-es* or *Iban-es-ed*, apparuit ei. It would appear that this expresses specifically and essentially past time; and that when a pronoun is *prefixed* to the verb the *ed* becomes prefixed also, but follows the pronouns; as *Isheyya'* or *Ishey'ed*, misit, *Eyisheyya'* or *Eyeddisheyya'*, me misit. But both of these points need confirmation.

The participial system of the Berbers is important, and, in the syntactical use of it, the language approximates to

the Amharic. The simple or Aorist participle has the form *Isekran*, "making" or "having made;" it sometimes degenerates into an adjective, but much oftener into a mood of the verb,—undistinguished in the three persons,—which follows a relative or interrogative. Compound participles are also found, generated by prefixing *Ed* and *Ere*, on which there is no room to enlarge here.*

Participles take the affixed pronouns *before* the verbal root; as *Izran*, videns, *Ey-izran*, me videns, *Eθ-izran*, eum videns. The syllable *Ere* in the participle, and in the verb both *Ere* and *Eδ* require the affixed pronoun to follow them immediately; as *Eδiniγ*, dico; *Eδ-on-iniγ*, vobis dico; *Iseyel*, interrogavit; *Er-es-iseyelan*, ei interrogaturus.

The negative particle *Ur* is only used when prefixed to a verb, and not merely draws all affix pronouns close to it, so as to precede the verb, but, what is still more characteristic, forces the final *an* of the participles into the same position. Thus, we get

Is'an, habens;	*Ur-nes'a*, non habens
Izran, videns;	*Ur-n-ezri*, non videns
Isnan, sciens peritus;	*Ur-n-essan*, non sciens, imperitus

Minutiæ of this sort eminently testify to a genuine native system.

From any verbal root are deduced several other verbs, just as in the Syro-Arabic and Abyssinian tongues, though under different forms. When the Berbers adopt an Arabic verb, they immediately subject it to these processes. Some of the most important derived forms are here given.

Root.

Ikθay-[putavit (?) not yet found.]
Itkaθay-ratiocinatus est.
Imakθay-secum reputavit, meminerat, (plur.) inter se reputaverunt.
Itmakθay-pluries (?) meditatus est.
Ishukθay-dubitavit-opinatus est.

Root { *Awal*, rumor, vox-
Issawal, nunciavit, narravit.

Roots { *Ikkar*, surrexit: *Itar*, descendit:
Isakkar, surgere fecit *Issatar*, descendere fecit.

* These are all the tenses as yet positively ascertained; but their form is varied by Euphonic changes, which cannot be here further developed. It may, however, be well to state, that *δδ*, *θθ*, *nθ*, *δn*, systematically change into *dd*, *tt*, *nt*, *nn*, and that *δ*, *θ* appear very seldom to have any significant difference from *d*, *t*.

Of these, the best defined in meaning are, first, the *causative* verb, beginning with *Is;* next, the reciprocal or reflective verb, beginning with *Im;* which in sense resembles Latin verbs compounded with *con.* The form beginning with *It* sometimes appears to be a genuine passive,—as in the VIth form of the Ghŷz, and in Isenberg's IVth form of the Amharic,—but it oftener assumes either a frequentative meaning, with much analogy to the Vth and VIth of the Arabs,—Hebrew, *Hithpahhel,*—or becomes entirely deponent, to the great injury of the language. Altogether there is much doubt and difficulty hanging over its meaning as yet.

The form beginning with *Is* has a perfect counterpart in the VIIIth of the Amharic, and in both languages is of equal utility and extensive application. Gesenius mentions the same form as existing in the Himyaritic.

The demonstrative pronouns of the Berber are numerous and important. The language is not destitute of the definite article, but appears to have neglected and corrupted it, so that it now is found *chiefly*, but not solely, as a substitute for the sign of the genitive case.*

The Berber article appears under two or three forms, if, indeed, they are not two different words. 1.—Chiefly with proper names, monosyllables and dissyllables beginning with a consonant, and with feminine nouns,—nearly all of which, in genuine Berber, begin with Θ,—it has precisely the form of the Hebrew article, dropping the *h;* namely, it doubles the first consonant of a word and prefixes *e* or short *a.* Thus, Θi*δet*, truth, Et-*tiδet*, the truth; *Namus*-em-*Musa*, the law of Moses (*νόμος ὁ Μωσέως*); *Ussan*-ah-*Heyridus*, the days of Herod. This is, at first sight, nothing but the Arabic article. But the Arabic distinction of solar and lunar letters, which the Berbers faithfully observe in all Arabic words, has no place with native nouns; a fact which assimilates it to the Hebrew. 2.—If the noun is of one or two syllables and begins with a vowel, *w* is first superadded, and then we proceed

* M. Abbadie, in a recent letter in the "Journal Asiatique," makes the same remark concerning the article of the Saho, an Ethiopian tongne.

as before. Thus, *Elgem* a camel, *Ew-welgem* [sounded *Owelgem*] the camel. 3.—If it is polysyllabic, its initial *E* becomes *U;* as *Emeqran*, great, grandee; *Umeqran*, the grandee, the mighty one. All masculine Berber nouns are apt to begin with a vowel, and in the singular they have a strong tendency to superadd *w*, which there is much room for thinking to be only a degenerate article.

In at least one instance the *w* before a participle is employed with all the conciseness of Greek idiom. *Ikshem*, he entered, makes *Ereyikshemen*, about to enter, and *Wereyikshemen*, that which will enter, τὸ εἰσίον, *Mat.* 15, 11. Scattered analogies of this kind lead the writer to believe, that, at least in a former state of the language, *Ew* and *w* were the true article; and the analogy of the kindred languages would then justify us in regarding this as a softened form of *El*. The Berbers sometimes use *El* before native nouns: with Arabic nouns they habitually incorporate it,—as the English say the *Al*coran,—without understanding its meaning.

The element *Wa* seems to be detected, with the sense of the demonstrative *That* or *This*, and likewise as a relative, in several rather rare forms; but this must not yet be pronounced positively. *Iδa* is a similar element, seeming at bottom to be the Arabic ذا, Hebrew זֶה, which pervades numerous words. The actual demonstratives, however, are as follows:—

This, (m.) *Wayyi*, (f.) Θeyyi, (com.) *Eyyi*.
These, (m.) *Weyyini*, (f.) Θeyyini, (com.) *Eyyini*.
That { (m.) *Winna*, (f.) Θinna, *Enni*, (m.) *Netta*, (f.) *Netteθ*.
{ (m.) *Wiδek* (?), (f.) Θiδek (?), *Iδek*, *Iδej* (?).
(cf. Arabic هذاك)
Those (m.) *Widek* (f.), Θiδek, *Itteδek*, *Enni*, *Nuθni*.

Demonstratives are often connected with the article, as in Greek:

Winna ew-was, that day: ἐκείνη ἡ ἡμέρα
Meryema et-teyyini, that Mary: (quasi, Μαριὰμ ἡ ἐκεινη)
Wiδek em-meddan, those men, ἐκεῖνοι οἱ ἄνδρες.

Here the article cannot be resolved into a mark of the genitive case; nor, indeed, can many other uses of it which might be produced.

The demonstrative joins itself with the participle, so as to pass over into the idea of a relative and verb. Thus, *Winna isallan*, Ille audiens (ὁ ἀκούων), is the common expression for Is qui audit. In fact the participle is at least ten times found in this connection for once in any other; and, as a consequence, we find a double demonstrative sometimes used, of which the latter evidently imparts the feeling of a relative.

Urilli eδweyyi eδwinna, wiδek ibγan elmuθis J. 7, 25.
Nonna-est hicce ille, *qui* desiderata (?) mors-ejus. [Else *enjus* desiderant mortem ejus.

In short, the finite verb is sometimes, though less seldom, used after the demonstrative, with the full sense of the relative implied in the latter. The demonstrative *Netta* is not used as a pure relative, but for "Utpote qui" or else for the conjunction "Quod," the latter use often causing extreme ambiguity.

As interrogatives, are found *Enwa*, (f.) *Enta*, besides the word *Uyomi*, which often appears as an oblique case of the relative, especially as a genitive. Perhaps its essential part lies in the last syllable; for *Ma* is a Berber conjunction or relative adverb, which may be rendered by *Quod* and *Si*; having several usages very similar to those of the Arabic particle *Ma*. A closer likeness to *Uyomi* is found in the Amharic relative *Yam*.

As an inseparable interrogative particle an initial *E* is employed, which may be compared with Arabic ا and Hebrew הַ; especially as the two former are also marks of the vocative case.

The word *Eshu* and (apparently its feminine) *Eshuth* are very common in the Berber MS. for "What?" with derivatives *Eshuera*, What in the world? (τί ποτε); *Eshiχel*, How many? Yet it is certain that the word is imported, since, even in Arabic, it is of known and of recent formation, being a vulgarism for the three Arabic words *Ey shi hu*, "what thing is it?" This may teach us caution as to ethnological inferences from such similarities.

The nouns, it has been seen, freely admit of that substitute for a genitive case which is in Hebrew and Arabic.

entitled the putting of two nouns into regimen or construction. In fact, several of (what we may presume to be) the oldest nouns of the language, have a real construct form, which consists in adding θ; as *Baba*, father, *Yemma*, mother, *Emmi*, son; whence *Babaθ-ney*, our father; *Yemmaθ-san*, their mother; *Emmiθ-wen*, your son. Besides this, the Berber forms a dative by initial *I*, which, perhaps, may be compared to the genitive of the Amharic, formed by initial *Ya*. There is also a very characteristic case, which for the present may be called the "Emphatic," produced by prefixing *Eδ*. The usage of this has many similarities to that of the Hebrew אֵת, to which it is so similar in sound; and the fact is more striking, since each word *likewise* indicates the preposition *with*.

The plurals of nouns are very irregular in the Berber, though not quite to the same extent as in Arabic; for, with considerable vowel changes, the plural generally ends in *en*. So too in Arabic the regular plural masculine is in *un* or *yn*. Considering that in the third person plural of the Aorist the Berber verb ends in *en* or *an*, which in old Arabic is *un*, the two coincidences can hardly be accidental.

The Berber has a large stock of prepositions, totally different from those of Arabic and Hebrew, with the single exception that *Eδ*, *with*, has a similarity to אֵת. In conjunctions the language is very deficient, and clearly to distinguish between the ideas of *Si*, *Utrum*, *Ut*, *Quòd*, *Quare*, *Quoniam*, appears to be rather difficult. The Hebrew particle כְּ, *as*, is perhaps an element in the Berber *Ekkayyi*, so, *Ekkenni*, as.

As a universal remark, the principles of radical letters and of syllabic distribution are in this tongue thoroughly Syro-Arabian. The roots are in appearance oftener biliteral than triliteral; but, according to a well known law of the Shemitic languages, the lost radical *w* or *y* often reappears in the inflexions. Thus, *Ifka*, "he gave;" but, *Ifkayes*, "he gave to him;" showing the true root to be *Efkay*: similarly *Ishfa*, "he abode;" but *Ishfuth*, "abide ye" (with *u*), and *Ishfawa*, "abidingly;" the root being *Eshfaw*. Either of

the three radicals may thus be liable to vanish; which, together with the system of derived forms in the verbs, gives rise to a necessary division and subdivision of conjugations on the same principles as in all the recognized Shemitic tongues.

The general structure and order of a Berber sentence is strikingly like to one in Arabic or Hebrew. The chief exception is found in the power of *pre*fixing the fragmentary pronouns to the verbs, and the peculiar usage of the participle. Moreover, the possession of a double set of affixes to distinguish *dative* from *accusative* gives a great complexity and precision to the Berber speech; which, in fact, occasionally combines three pronouns with one verbal root; as, *Efki-γ-ek-et*, "I give thee it."

The verb *to be* appears to express by its Aorist essential past time; *Illa*, "erat;" just as in Arabic *Kàn*. Hence, exactly as the Arabs put *Kàn* before another verb to impart a clear idea of past time, so do the Berbers with *Illa;* which is as if the Latins were to say *Erat venit* for He came. In sound, the verb *Illa* (present *Eδyili*) comes very close to the Amharic verb *Ala*, "he is."

The sounds of the language also are such as might be expected from a Shemitic tongue though in some respects nearer to Hebrew than to Arabic or Amharic. They possess טצץ, although these letters are less common than in the other languages; and various cases appear in which they have been softened away. It is comparatively rare to find roots distinguished merely by significant vowels; and in some of the cases where this *seems* to happen (though the vowel-points of the MS. cannot be wholly trusted), there is room to suspect that one or other verb has been imported. [Thus *Ichchi*, he ate, and *Ichcha*, he left; *Iswa*, he drank, *Yusa*, he came, *Issa*, he strowed or spread. But *Chi*, eat, is found in the Haussa language, and the Berbers have also another word for it: *Se* means drink in Coptic, and so does *Sha* in the Haussa. *Yusa* is a verb very common in the MS., but unknown to Venture.]

To sum up what has been said.

The Berbers have a verb too elaborate in its system,

especially in its union with affixed pronouns and participles, to allow us to suppose any large part of it to have been borrowed from the foreigner. Its most essential part, and that only, is Syro-Arabian, namely, the personal endings of the principal tense and the *idea* of derived forms of verbs, just as we find Latin and Greek to have the personal endings of the present tense (primitively) identical; but in the rest of the developement of the verb to be diverse. The double set of pronoun-affixes in Berber is a refinement which could hardly have been attained, unless the pronominal system had been worked out from the beginning by the nation itself; and the use of the participle is another home-sprung peculiarity which forbids us to attribute much to the action of Arabic on the language in imparting the more fundamental principles of the verb.

It has been further seen that the Berber article is closely similar to that of Arabic, or still more to that of Hebrew, while it does not seem to have been borrowed; that the demonstratives are based on similar elements; and that the nouns are declined with several points of principle in common, especially that of "regimen;" that the general principles of inflexion, euphony, and radical letters are identical.

On the whole, the evidence appears to show that the Berber is a *Hebræo-African* tongue, like the Ghŷz and Amharic. With an enormous difference of vocabulary, its pervading genius is thoroughly the same; and, following grammatical peculiarities as our guide, the received doctrines on this subject would seem to justify the inference, that the Berbers are a race anciently connected by blood with the Canaanites and the Ethiopians.

APPENDIX III.

REMARKS ON THE HAUSSA LANGUAGE, BASED UPON "THE VOCABULARY" OF THE SAME, "WITH GRAMMATICAL ELEMENTS," BY THE REV. J. F. SCHÖN, 1843.*

A slight survey of the Haussa vocabulary, delivered by Mr. Schön, detects a sprinkling of corrupt Arabic words, chiefly relating to religion. Such are, *Alichana*, heaven; from Arabic *Al Jenna*, paradise; *Lahira*, heaven [or hell] from Arabic *El àkhira*, the other (world.) The only thing here worth noticing is the tendency of the Haussa to elide final consonants; as *Albaru*, gunpowder, Arabic, *Albarut; Gamma*, to finish, Arabic, *Kamil; Araha*, cheap, Arabic, *Arkhys; Bia*, to pay, Arabic, *By'*, to sell. Indeed, it would appear that in strictness no Haussa word ought to end with a vowel. Such a language rapidly corrupts, for the sake of euphony, even its native words; in consequence, the relation of its vocabulary towards other tongues is exceedingly obscured.

Only a very small number of Haussa verbs and nouns have been observed to bear any likeness to those of the Hebræo-African groupe. A list of those may not be without interest.

* It has not been thought safe to touch Mr. Schön's vowels; for uniformity, therefore, in the Berber words *a* is used instead of the short *e* of the preceding paper. His consonants, however, to prevent confusion, have been remoddelled; and where he has employed *h* to lengthen a vowel preceding it, a grave accent has in preference been placed over the vowel.

Haussa.	*Hebræo-African, &c.*
Kira, Kirra, to call	Heb., Ar., Berber, *Qara*
Mutu, to die *Mutum,* a man, pl. *Mutani*	[Coptic, *Mu,* to die] Ar. *Mut,* death B. *Maddan,* men
Samma, sky	Ar. *Sema,* Heb. *Shema*
Sariki, king, &c. *Saruni,* hero *Saraunia,* queen	Heb. *Sar,* prince, chief
Mai, Moi, oil	Ar. *Mai, Moi,* water
Rabbawa, to divide, distribute	Ar. *Arbà,* four B. *Rabbà,* to arrange (?)
Nama, meat	B. *Na'ma,* food [Dankali, *Nahamè,* do.]
Chi, to eat	B. *Achcha,* to eat
Sha, to drink	B. *Aswa,* to drink [Coptic, *Si,* to drink]
Issa, to reach, arrive at *Sà,* to come	B. *Usa,* to come
Sani, to know	B. *Asan,* to know
Tuba, to repent	B. *Tuba,* to become good (?) to be meek (?) to repent (?) *Attabuθ,* holiness Heb. Ar. *Tùb,* goodness, &c.
Assa, to lay or strew	B. *Assa,* to lay or strow *Usa* or *Tisi,* a bed
Baba, great	B. *Bàba,* a lord [also, a father; as Arab.]
Shekara, year	B. *Asaggas,* a year
Ido, eye	B. Θit, eye; *M*-ittaw, tear
Suma, bee	B. *Samamt* / Θamamt — honey
Gadu, goods	B. *Agla, Ajla* / *Ajda* — property *Waγda,* price (?)
Taru, net	B. *Tararaχ,* nets
Wawa, foolish	B. *Yahwah* / *Ihwah* — evil, faulty Ar. *Hùhah,* silly

Far more important is the similarity which the Haussa discloses in its pronouns to the Hebrew family in general, and in its prepositions and demonstratives to the Berber language. The fact will be seen in the two first persons of the pronouns at a glance.

	Haussa.	*Hebrew, &c.*
I,	*Nà*	Ar. *Ana* (suffix) *-ni*
We,	*Mu*	
Thou,	*Kà* (m.) *Ki* (f.)	Ar. (suffix) *-ak* (m.) *ki* (f.)
		Heb. *-ka*
Ye,	*Ku*	*kum, kun*

The third person pronoun must be compared with the formatives of the Hebrew and Arabic verb, namely,—

Haussa, *Ya*, *Shi*, he, *Ta*, she [Cf. Amharic, *Yeh*, this, *Yà*, that], but their plural *Su*, they, like *Mu*, is peculiar.

Hence we get,

	He called		She called
Haussa,	*Yakira*		*Takira*
Arabic, Hebrew, Berber	*Yaqra*, *Yaqqar*	and	*Taqra*, *Θoqqar*

though the same *time* is not denoted by the Arabic and Hebrew tense, as by the Haussa. *Ya* seems never to be isolated from the verb, more than in the other languages (but *Shi* is then used for it), though Mr. Schön does not positively state this. *Ta* is used after prepositions for "Her."

For Him, It, the Haussa also employs *Sa*. Compare the Berber suffix *As*, "him, her, it," after a preposition.

PREPOSITIONS.

Haussa.	*Berber.*
Na, of	*An*, *Na*, of
Da, with, and	*Aδ*, *Δa*, with (used for *and* with nouns)
Ga, in, by, at, to	*Ag*, *Ga*, in, by, at, to, from, than, as
Daga, from, by, through	*Δag*, *Aδga*, from, by, through, in, out, of
Gara, to, for	*Γar*, to, for *Gara*, between, among

None of these prepositions are found in Arabic or Hebrew, except that Berber *Aδ* admits of comparison with אֵת and *Ga* with כְּ (In Amharic, *Ka*, of, out, from, than.) Mr. Schön complains of the extreme vagueness of the Haussa prepositions; the same word being used for In and Out. So in Berber, *Ga* and *As* are used for To and From in sentences which do not give any clue from the context as to the real meaning.

Mr. Schön complains of the extreme dearth of adjectives in the Haussa language: the same defect appears in the Berber. One class of adjectives, he remarks, distinguishes genders as follows:—*Nagari*, fem., *Tagari*, good. It is not an insignificant fact, that in Berber we constantly find something similar; as *Δamaqràn* fem. *Θamaqrant*, great;

the initial Δ of the masculine not being indeed essential to the word, but very common. As a substitute for adjectives and substantives the Haussa uses a periphrasis by the relative and verb; as *Halbi*, to shoot, *Ma ihalbi*, one who shoots, a sportsman; pl. *Ma suhalib*, which seems in strictness to be, *Qui* (telam) *jaciunt*, although Mr. Schön writes, "*Maihalbi*, and pl. *Masuhalbi*" in single words. The Berber uses a precisely similar periphrasis for the same purpose.

DEMONSTRATIVES, CONJUNCTIONS, &c.

Haussa.	*Berber.*
Mè, Mi, Mia, what ? }	{ [Heb. Ar. *Ma*, what?]
Ma, who, what }	{ *Ma*, conjunct. that
Hakka, so, as	*Akka*, so
Hakkawa, so, as	*Akkayyi*, so
Hakkana, so	*Akkanni*, as
Awa, as	*Awa*, also (?)
Dagana, hence	{ *Dagginit* } here { *Dayyini* }
Enà, what? }	{ *Anni*, that, who, who ?
Nawa, what ? }	{ *Anwa*, who ?
Enda, where ?	*Aniδa*, where ?
Kamma, as	{ *Amm*, as
Kaka, how ?	{ *Amak*, how ? [כ as]
Wonne, that, who	*Winna*, that, who
Wongga, this, who	*Wayyi*, [for* *Waggi* ?] this
Woddanga, these, who	*Wuyanni*, they, which
**Da*, that, which	[Ar. Δa, Heb. זה. Berb. element, *δa*]
Wota, another	*Wayat*, another
Amma, but	*Umma*, but [Ar. Turk. &c.]

The particle *Wa* (which enters into the Haussa equally with the Berber demonstrative), appears also in the Haussa words *Kòwa*, whosoever (perhaps for *Kulwa*, "omnis qui," *Kul* being Arabic.) *Komi* is whatsoever; exactly the Arabic *Kul ma*, omne quod, quidquid. Indeed *Wa* is given by Mr. Schön positively as "What?" in one sentence, besides *Wosu*, "somebody." That *Wa* enters the Berber interrogatives and demonstratives, and was *perhaps* once the definite article, has been already stated.

The verb of the Haussa language, as far as Mr. Schön has

* Venture, at least, has *g* instead of *y* in derivatives of this root.

† Mr. Schön imagines *da* to be a shortening of *Woddanda*, plural of *Wonne*; but *Woddanda* itself appears to be a compound.

developed it, has no recognizable similarity to that of the Berbers. The form of the roots is eminently in contrast; vowels bearing so much greater proportionate importance in them than in any of the languages of Hebrew alliance. As one striking specimen of this, a group of roots is here extracted from Mr. Schön's vocabulary.

Ka, can, may	*Kiwo*, feed, watch
Kai, carry	*Koya*, teach
Kao, fetch	*Koyo*, learn
Kiai, spare	*Kuwa*, exclaim
Kì, hate	

Many of the roots are so short as to remind a student of those in the Coptic grammar, as

Wa } do	*Sò*, like, wish
Yi } make	*Ja*, be able
Chi, eat	*Fi*, pass, surpass
Shi, hear, feel	*Ga*, see, find
Sha, drink	*Da*, have, possess
Sa, Sani, know	

Compare the Coptic

Fi, carry	*Mo*, take
Hi, cast	*Ma*, give
Shi, measure	*Mu*, die, &c.
Se, drink	

Perhaps enough has been written to show that a comparison of the Negro languages with those of Hebrew relationship is by no means idle; and that a Coptic scholar might find the tongue of Egypt to be separated by no sharp and impassable barrier from those of Sudan.

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